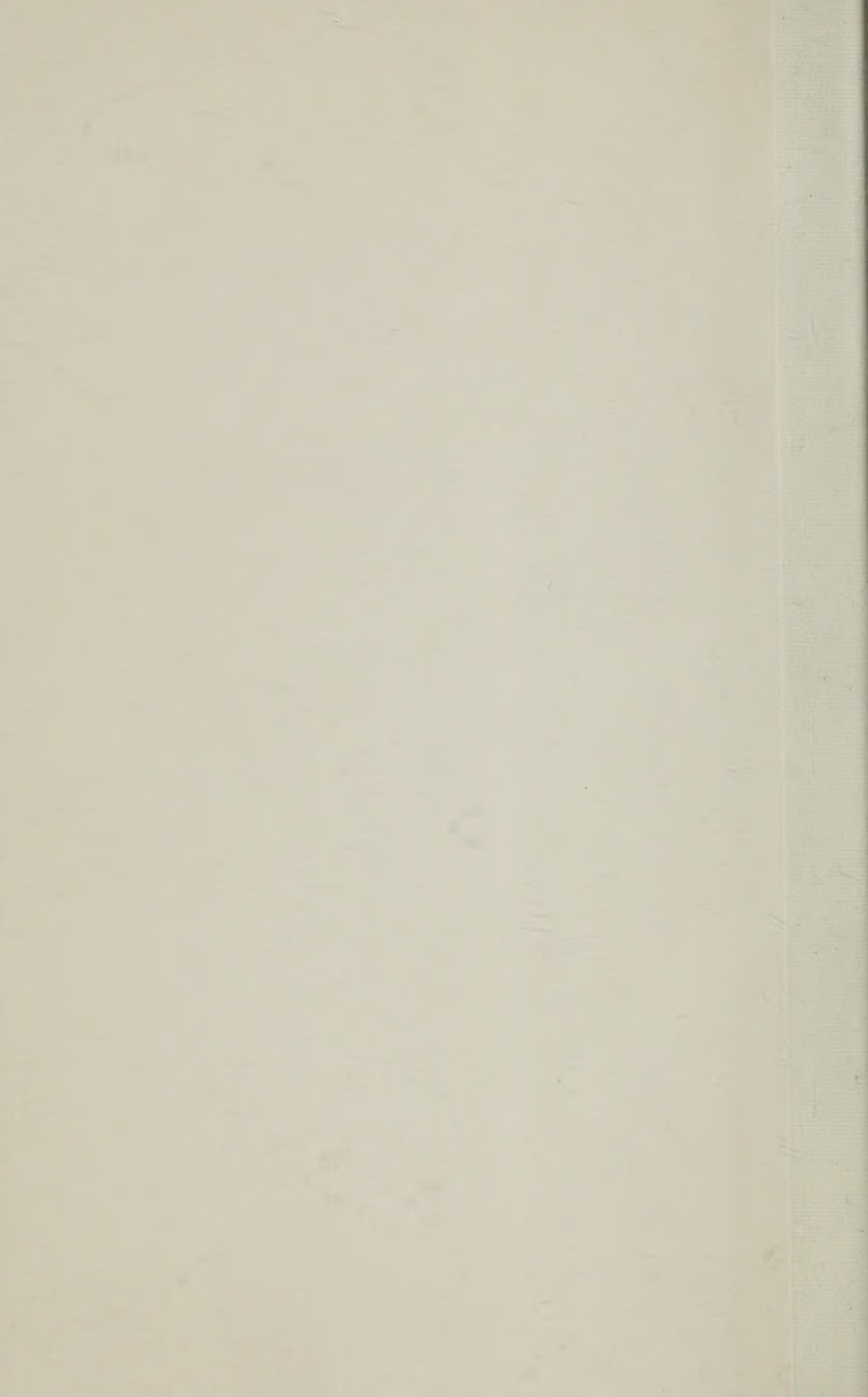
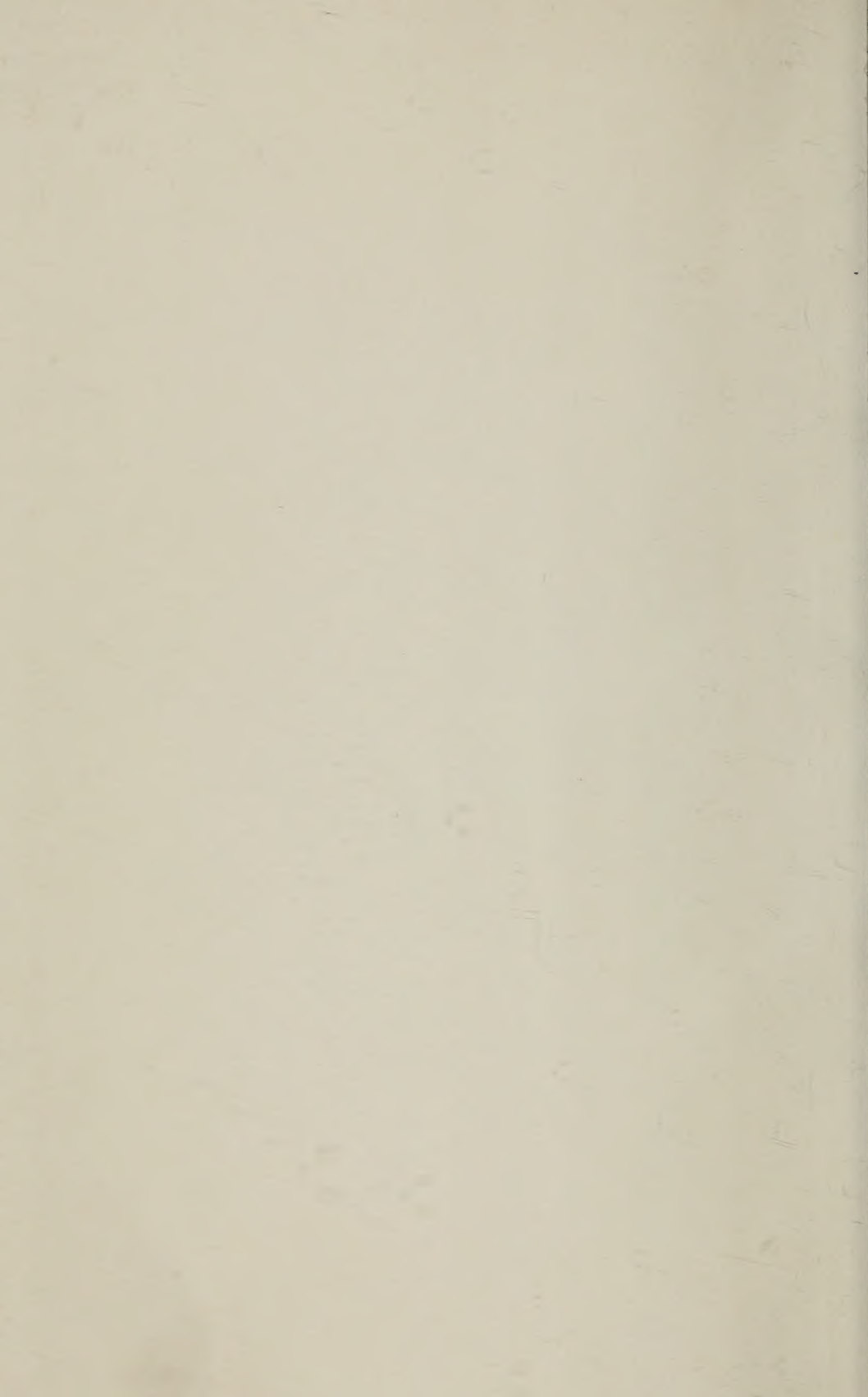




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THE
ANNUAL REGISTER,
OR A VIEW OF THE
HISTORY,
POLITICS,
AND
LITERATURE,
For the YEAR 1796.

THE SECOND EDITION.



LONDON:

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1807.

PREFACE.

EVEN in the history of the present war, so novel in both its origin and conduct, the year 1796 is particularly interesting to every subject of the British empire. The spirit of innovation, imported into this country, from France, became strong, rampant, and daring. The established order of affairs was loudly threatened. Outrage, in a quarter that ought to be held the most sacred from violence, was actually begun: multitudes of men appeared ready to precipitate themselves into anarchy and rebellion.

In such circumstances, the British government deemed it necessary to take strong measures of prevention. On the conduct of administration the nation was divided, according as they were, more or less, forcibly struck with the dangers to be apprehended from popular encroachments on the one hand, or those of the executive government on the other. The apprehensions of both parties were abundantly justified by experience.

It was scarcely possible, that, in such a shock, the balance of our constitution should not, in some degree, be shaken, and bent a little, for a time, towards one side or other. The candour and indulgence with which we have treated the opposite opinions on this important, delicate, and tender subject, we wish to be considered, by our readers, as a pledge of that perfect impartiality and freedom from all party spirit, by which we wish this work to be distinguished. As it extends to many years back, so we hope it will be continued, and find acceptance in the world, for many years to come. It is not for any party, or temporary humour, or passion, that we select and record the transactions and events of the passing years, but for our countrymen, and all men, in all times and circumstances.

Though we are rather inclined to be of opinion with those who think the measures of administration, to which we have now alluded, were compelled by the dangers and exigencies of the times,

we are neither unconcerned, nor unalarmed, at whatever seems to impose restraint on civil or political freedom.

On a due balance between prerogative and liberty has the British constitution been supported. When either of these has preponderated, many evils have been suffered. But there is something in the genius, manners, habits, and character of the English nation, different from, and paramount to, laws and forms, that, amidst all the deviations of the constitution, has constantly brought it back to its true spirit. The same principles which have enabled England, by the immensity of its resources, to stand unshaken in the midst of the disasters that befel the coalition, and to display greater and greater energy, in proportion to increasing difficulties, will, we doubt not, save the state from the disastrous consequences which too often flow even from precedents founded in temporary expediency.

In tracing the movements of armies, the revolutions of states, the political intrigues, dissensions, and contests, which mark the year 1796, we have exerted our usual industry, not only in delineating objects, according to their respective magnitude and importance, but in reducing them within the wonted limits of our Annual History of Europe.

To the various hints of so many of our readers on this head, they will perceive we have not been inattentive. It is not a minute and circumstantial detail of transactions and events that we understand to be wished for and expected in our historical sketches; but a narrative brief and rapid, yet clear and comprehensive: one that may give a just view of what is passing in the world, without too much time or trouble of reading. The curiosity of such of our readers as may have a taste and turn for more particular information, respecting various occurrences, will be gratified in the second part of the volume.

THE
ANNUAL REGISTER,
For the YEAR 1796.

THE
HISTORY
OF
EUROPE.

CHAP. I.

Situation of the French Nation and Government, and Views of the Directory.—Difficulties to be encountered by France at the Close of 1795.—State of Parties in England.—Temper of the British Nation.—Assemblies for the Purpose of a Parliamentary Reform, and Peace with France.—A great and dangerous Scarcity of Provisions.—Meeting of Parliament.—Insults and Outrages of an immense Mob against the King, on his Way to the House of Lords.—The regret of all People of Sense at this Treatment of the King.—Speech from the Throne.—Debates thereon.—In the House of Commons.—And in that of the Lords.

AFTER the death of Robespierre, the convention were more at liberty than they had been to declare the voice of the people; and the sentiments of nature, with an inclination to peace, began to appear in the public councils, as well as among the generality of the French nation: but it too often, nay, most commonly happens, in all governments, that the real interests of the many are sacrificed to those of the few: the dictates of humanity

to the views of personal aggrandizement and ambition.

Uniformity and steadiness of government may proceed from different and even opposite causes; the predominant habits and passions of absolute monarchs on the one hand; and the virtues of nascent and juvenile republics on the other: when the external relations of the state are neither many nor complicated; when its interests are easily discerned and constantly pursued, the

integrity and upright intentions of the representatives and rulers being constantly supported by a general simplicity of manners, and a sacred regard to the principles of morality and religion. In the newly constituted government of France both these kinds of steadiness were wanting. It was less democratical indeed than that of 1793; but still the executive power was consigned into five hands instead of one only. It was not stayed, as all other republics of any extent and durability have hitherto been, by some individual power, whether under the name of archon, duke, doge, king, stadtholder, or the president of a congress. It was impossible that five directors, and these Frenchmen too, should, for any length of time, act with harmony. They split into parties hostile and violent, in proportion to the power with which they were invested: in order to retain which the preponderating party treated their rivals in the directory, and their opponents in the councils, with the most merciless severity, and repeatedly violated the constitution, under the pretence of preserving it. Like their predecessors in the revolution, in default of simplicity of manners, and the other requisites to a genuine republic, they had recourse to intrigue and violence. Had their own manners been more pure than they were, without those adventitious supports in so great and corrupt a commonwealth, and where all are so prone to direct, but none to be directed, they could not, for even a short time, have held together any semblance of a regular fabric of government.

There was one point however, in which the directory on their elevation to power unanimously agreed.

The jacobinical party, that had so long domineered in the public councils, confident, as above related, from victory over the sections of Paris, and treading in the very footsteps of Robespierre, had appointed a commission of five, for the safety of the country; and but for the bold and animated efforts of a few men would certainly have effected the slavery of France in the premanency of the convention. The directors, conscious of the general odium they, in common with the other leaders of the convention, had incurred on this attempt, and also of their malversation in precipitating the consideration of the new constitution, and garbling the reports that had been made concerning its acceptance, determined to divert the minds of the nation from their own conduct, and to exhaust the public discontents by a prosecution of the war. If this should prove successful, of which they entertained not any doubt, the merit would, in a very great degree, be reflected on themselves, and the enemies of the directory would be regarded, by the nation at large, as enemies to the victories and glory of France. They were undoubtedly fortunate in the choice of their commanders. The successes of their generals occupied and dazzled the public mind for a time; but wisdom, constancy, and purity of design, without which no prosperity can be lasting, were wanting in the supreme councils. The armies were neglected; the tide of success was turned; and finally, to shew how little that temporary success was owing to any principles inherent in the constitution, the vast and stupendous genius of one man, to which chiefly the directory were indebted for a

temporary

temporary splendour, ultimately wrought their ruin, and introduced a new order of affairs into the distracted and fluctuating commonwealth.

The close of the year 1795 was not so favourable to the French as that of the preceding; they had projected at its commencement to follow up their successes in Holland, by carrying their victorious arms into the heart of Germany; but a variety of obstructions had either prevented or frustrated their designs. At home the violence of the many factions, open or concealed, stood perpetually in the way of government, and impaired its proposed energies. Abroad the remaining parts of the coalition against France, though foiled in their repeated attempts, still preserved their spirit, and determination to persist at all hazards in carrying on the war.

The principal scene of action had been on the banks of the Rhine. Here it had been generally expected, that, after the subjugation of the seven United Provinces, the French would have met with no considerable opposition; but though dispirited, as well as weakened, by the severing of so material a limb from the great body of the confederacy, it still found sufficient resources to make head against the French, in a country where the generality of the inhabitants, though dissatisfied at their rulers, were not so imprudent as to prefer a foreign to a domestic yoke, and would not fail to co-operate in opposing a French invasion. To this disposition of an incomparable majority of the inhabitants of Germany was, in a great measure, due the little progress of the French in those provinces of the empire on the right

side of the Rhine, into which they had, with much difficulty, found means to penetrate, and from which they had been, after much fruitless toil and unsuccessful efforts, compelled to retire with very considerable losses.

The failure of the French in their expedition into Germany; their expulsion from every post they had occupied on the eastern banks of the Rhine; their retreat across that river; the pursuit of their discomfited army into the borders of France; and the several defeats they experienced, were circumstances so little hoped for at the commencement of this year's military operations in those parts, that they proportionably revived the spirit of their enemies, and infused a degree of confidence into them, to which they had been strangers, since the disasters of the preceding campaign.

But, notwithstanding their ill success on the Rhine, the French maintained a decided superiority in every other quarter. Europe seemed to stand at bay; and to wait with anxiety the termination of a quarrel that had produced so many stupendous events. The dissolution of the confederacy, by the secession of Prussia and Spain, was far from being considered as complete: the principal members, Great Britain and Austria, were held fully competent, though not to the purpose of subduing, yet still to that of repressing the French; and this was now viewed as the only object, at which they ought, in prudence, in the present situation of their affairs, to aim.

During the course of the campaign, the government in France had entertained some ideas tending to a general pacification; but the

loftiness of their pretensions, dictated by the pride of their nation, was so apparent, that Europe was not surprised that they were only mentioned transiently in their occasional discourses on that subject. The inveteracy of the ruling party of England subsisted almost as violently as ever. The French beheld, with that rancour which attends an unsuccessful rivalry, the improbability of their ever attaining to an equality with the English at sea. It greatly mortified their pride, that all the European nations should unanimously ascribe a decided superiority in naval tactics to the English, and represent those as no less invincible on the ocean, than the French had hitherto been at land; with this difference, however, to the disadvantage of the latter, that it would prove a much easier task to overcome them at land than the others at sea.

Other causes of dissatisfaction militated against the ruling party in France. The royalists, however depressed, were not dispirited: their numbers, though inferior to those of the republicans, were immense; they maintained a close correspondence with each other, and cemented their reciprocal connections with all those acts of friendship and kindness that bind men so strongly together, when suffering from the same causes, and acting from the same motives.

The vigilance of the republican government found constant employment in obviating the dangers that threatened it from the indefatigable activity of those irreconcilable antagonists, who, though surrounded with continual observers of all their motions, neglected no opportunity

to further their designs, and boldly encountered every risk of being detected in their prosecution.

Enraged at these domestic enemies, the predominant party was perpetually occupied in holding out every species of menace and terror to repress and discourage them; but neither threats nor invitations availed. Actuated by hatred and resentment the royalists considered themselves as equally justified, by conscience and interest, in their determination to seize every occasion of resisting the established powers, holding them as usurpers, with whom no measures ought to be kept, and whom they were bound to oppose, whenever there appeared the least likelihood of doing it to any effect.

Such was the situation of France at this period, deeply convulsed at home, and though in possession of many extensive countries, yet, fearful that having acquired, and retaining them only by the right of the sword, they might lose them through the same means: an event, which, considering the vicissitudes of war, was not more improbable than the astonishing successes that had attended their arms against all likelihood and expectation.

While the people in France were distracted with these internal divisions, those of England were agitated little less with incessant differences and disputes on the propriety of continuing a war, which had occasioned such losses of men and expence of treasure, without producing those effects which had so repeatedly been represented as infallible. Nothing had been omitted to procure success: every ministerial demand had been granted, every measure acceded to; but the object proposed remained

remained unaccomplished, and as far out of the reach of all reasonable expectation, as at the first moment of its being attempted. All parties seemed, at this period, to unite in the like strain of reasoning. Numbers of those who had warmly espoused the cause of the minister, thought that a sufficient trial had been made of the various schemes he had brought forward, in order to compel the French to revert to their former situation; and that, having failed, prudence enjoined him to desist, and to leave the re-establishment of the French monarchy to a future period, and more auspicious opportunities.

That party, which had opposed the war from its very commencement, were loud in their reprobation of its continuance, and reproached ministers with a total want of foresight, in not seeming to have apprehended the difficulties they would have to contend with, and, with equal inability, to encounter them. As the events of the war countenanced these reproaches, the public joined in them, and the government was thought very reprehensible in persisting against reiterated experience, in a contest that threatened to waste the strength of the nation ineffectually, and the aim of which, were it attained, would not prove an indemnification for its cost.

Ideas of this nature were now generally predominant, and became, at last, so prevalent, not only among the multitude, which had long been swayed by them, but among the more reputable classes, that a variety of associations were formed, and meetings held, for the avowed purpose of petitioning the legislature in favour of peace. The city of Lon-

don led the way, and, in a common-hall, the votes, for a petition, were four thousand, and only one hundred against it.

The terms in which it was conceived were extremely pointed. "None of the ends proposed by the war, (to use the words of the petition) had either been, or appeared likely to be, obtained, although it had been carried on at an unprecedented expence to this country, and had already produced an alarming increase of the national debt, augmented by subsidies, paid to allies, who had notoriously violated their solemn engagements, and rendered no adequate service for large sums actually received by them, and wrung from the credulity of the generous and industrious inhabitants of this island." It concluded by expressing a firm and decided conviction, that the principle on which the war appeared to be carried on, neither was, nor could be, essential to the liberty, the glory, or the prosperity, of the British empire.

Other addresses, in a similar style, were resolved on in several of the principal cities in the kingdom. The adherents to ministry endeavoured, on the other hand, to procure counter petitions: but these were faint and languid in comparison to the former; those who framed them, did not venture to speak in justification of the war; they went no farther than to leave to ministers the choice of their own time for pacific negotiations.

A circumstance that had greatly indisposed the mercantile and trading classes against ministry, was, the refusal to permit the Dutch people of property to deposit their money and effects in England, without pay-

ing the customary duties. Had this permission been granted, upwards of twenty millions of specie, and other treasure, would, it was said, have been brought into this country. The reason alleged, for denying the request of the Dutch merchants, was, that if they were allowed to transport their effects into England, it would operate as a discouragement to their countrymen, and prevent them from acting with vigour against the French, who, having subdued the Austrian Netherlands, were then preparing to carry their victorious arms into the United Provinces: but the reply to this allegation was, that the French party was so powerful in Holland, that it was easy to foresee that all resistance would be vain. It would have been good policy, therefore, to have encouraged the monied-men, in that country, to have lodged their property in England; as most of them were manifestly inclined to do, in order to preserve it from the rapacity of the French, whose wants were such as would infallibly induce them to supercede all considerations, in order to provide for them as soon as they should find themselves in possession of a country, the wealth of which was competent to supply them with what they needed.

This refusal, on the part of the British administration, was generally deemed a very unseasonable oversight. It threw into the hands of the French an immense quantity of money and wealth of every denomination, which might evidently have centered in England, together with its owners. This would, in a very considerable measure, have compensated for the loss of Holland to the confederacy, and amply indemnified Great Britain, by the prodigi-

ous accession of real property that must have been the necessary consequence of the emigrations of rich individuals from the United Provinces.

Another oversight, no less real, though less noticed, was an article in a treaty which had been agreed on with the American States, by which their trade to the British islands in the West Indies was restricted to vessels of an inferior size. This, instead of diminishing their commerce thither, tended rather to increase it, by adding to their number of seamen: whether in large, or in small vessels, this commerce was so profitable to them, that whatever obstacles were thrown in their way, would quickly be overcome by their industry and activity: the profits of trade would be more divided, but the number of hands employed in it would produce the double consequence, both of gradually extending it, and of augmenting the number of American seamen.

These various considerations contributed materially to displease the generality of people. The burthens of the war were so heavy, and such multitudes felt their weight, that discontents and murmurs abounded every where. The different motives assigned, at different epochs of the war, for its continuance, were also highly prejudicial to ministers, as they led many to think that the real motive was purposely kept out of sight, and was of too invidious a nature to be frankly acknowledged.

Ideas of this nature were now universally current among the disapprovers of the war, and were asserted and circulated by them with considerable effect. But that circumstance which was the most unfortunate

fortunate and alarming, in the midst of this general dissatisfaction, was, that it had arisen, in many, to such a degree of rancour at the authors and abettors of the war, that the attachment, which men naturally feel for their country, and its concerns, had given way to sentiments of the most violent hatred and hostility to government. It was no longer a simple disapprobation of the war; it was a fervent desire that it might terminate to the disadvantage of this country, and that the French might prevail against the English. So extraordinary and unnatural an antipathy arose, however, from other causes besides the war with France: the persuasion that no reforms would take place in the government, while it was able to maintain its ground against France, prompted the determined advocates of these reforms to express, with marked anxiety, their wishes for the success of this inveterate enemy to England. They seemed unconscious, or heedless, of the consequences that must necessarily follow, were the French to succeed in their designs against this country, to that extent which they had projected, and which the generality of their well-wishers in England appeared to desire with no less fervour than themselves.

But the animosities, produced by internal divisions, had, in truth, taken such unhappy possession of most men, that those who sought to reconcile them to moderation, became equally odious to both parties: no medium was allowed; whoever deplored the war, as pregnant with calamities that might have been avoided, was reputed a foe to his country; whoever pronounced it just, and necessary, was deemed a conspirator

against its liberty, and an abettor of arbitrary power.

In this unfortunate disposition of mind the nation continued during the whole year 1795. The summer, in particular, was marked by a variety of tumults and riots. These were occasioned by the methods practised in the enlisting of men for the army: what with the general averseness of the common people to the war; what with the iniquity of the practice itself, those who were concerned in it became such objects of execration to the multitude, that their persons and dwellings were equally exposed to its resentment and fury. Several houses, either tenanted, or made use of, by those who are vulgarly known by the appellation of crimps, were demolished, or stripped of their furniture, and the owners put in danger of their lives. So great was the rage of the populace, that it was not without some difficulty those riots were suppressed by the soldiery. Several of those who had been active in these disturbances were executed; but the public highly disapproved the condemnation, to death, of individuals, guilty of no other offence than giving way to a sudden impulse of indignation at the violence offered to their fellow subjects.

Such was the temper of the commonalty, previous to the meeting of parliament, about the close of October, 1795. A fermentation of the most alarming kind seemed to pervade the whole mass of the people. The various associations of individuals, united for the purpose of obtaining a parliamentary reform, were, at this period, peculiarly noticed for their boldness and activity. That which was known by the name of the corresponding society, distinguished

tinguished itself, by the resolute speeches of its principal members, at the several meetings that took place in the course of the year. That which was held near Copenhagen-house, in the neighbourhood of Islington, was the most remarkable. The numbers that attended, either through zeal in the cause, or through curiosity, were computed at about fifty thousand. Some very daring addresses were made to the multitude: the conduct of ministers was arraigned in the most unqualified language, and a remonstrance to the king, on the necessity of peace, and of a reform in parliament, was universally agreed on.

The proceedings, in these assemblies, were highly offensive to ministry. As they consisted of individuals void of all hopes of rising by interest or favour; and who, to a man, were inimical to the measures of government, they condemned them with a freedom of speech that knew no bounds. Often times too, those meetings were attended by persons of parts, who seized those opportunities of venting their discontent at the system of the times, and of representing administration in the foulest colours, and imputing to them the most flagitious designs. Nor were there wanting, among the members of those societies, though almost entirely composed of the commonest classes, individuals who, though deficient in education, had received talents from nature, which frequently shone through coarse and vulgar language. The avowed aim of the divers institutions of this nature was to oppose government, and to bring about the two great objects; at this time, in general contemplation; a peace with France, and a reform in parliament. These

two objects being incompatible with the views of ministry, the point at issue between these, and the various associations that were increasing in every part of the kingdom, was clearly this, that either the latter would overturn administration, or that administration would overturn them.

Prompted by this consideration, the principal heads of government had, it was rumoured, come to a determination, to take the first plausible opportunity of putting an end to the meetings of these societies, which they represented as wholly made up of the lowest populace, ready to imbibe every notion offered to them by evil-designing men, and to break out into the most dangerous excesses of sedition. Under the pretext of instructing them in their rights, the disaffected availed themselves of their ignorance, to misrepresent the conduct of government, and to excite them to hold it in hatred and contempt; but a circumstance, still more alarming, was, that among those who took such pains to inflame the passions of the multitude, there were emissaries from France, who, though natives of Great Britain, or Ireland, had thrown off all attachment to their country, and were become its most violent and rancorous enemies. The danger accruing from such characters was obvious; the difficulty of detecting individuals connected with our foes, enabled them to assume the appearance of patriotism, and to delude, with facility, the majority of their hearers, into a persuasion that they spoke and acted from principle, and had no other intention than to expose abuses, and to induce the people, at large, to assert their rights.

Such was the description, given by the adherents to government, of the

the numerous assemblies, and associations, that had been instituted in opposition to its measures. It was not, on the other hand, denied, that the outrages, still adopted in most of the popular meetings, was an object that called for suppression. The warmest friends to the principles inculcated by them, did not deny the impropriety of attacking the ruling powers, with such acrimony of speech, and prognosticated, that, through want of moderation in their invectives, these meetings exposed themselves to certain dissolution, as the powerful adversaries they were continually provoking, would certainly labour to silence them, and probably find the means of doing it.

To the agitation occasioned by political disputes, another was, at this period, superadded, of a still more dangerous consequence. A scarcity prevailed throughout the kingdom, and was woefully felt by the poorer sort, several of whom perished for want. The means of procuring sustenance were narrowed from various causes; but the discontented attributed this evil to the war; and the sufferers, through defect of employment, were ready enough to believe those who represented all the calamities that afflicted the nation, as proceeding chiefly, if not solely, from that cause. This prepared them for the commission of those excesses, to which men are so prone, when they find themselves aggrieved, and imagine they are punishing the authors of their grievances.

The state of the nation, from these various circumstances, appeared so critical, that it was judged necessary to call parliament together at an earlier period than usual. It met, accordingly, on the twenty-ninth of

October, a day that will be long remembered, on account of the events that attended it, and of the consequences that followed them, and of which they were the immediate cause.

A report had been spread, that an immense multitude, of discontented people, had agreed to take this opportunity of manifesting their sentiments to the king in person. This, of course, excited the curiosity of the public, and the park was crowded in a manner unprecedented since the king's accession to the throne. In his way to the house of lords, which lay through the park, his coach was surrounded, on every side, by persons of all descriptions, demanding peace, and the dismissal of Mr. Pitt. Some voices were even heard exclaiming no king, and stones were thrown at the state-coach as it drew near to the Horse-guards. In passing through Palace-yard, one of the windows was broken, it was said, by a bullet, discharged from an air-gun. These outrages were repeated on the king's return from the house, and he narrowly escaped the fury of the populace, in his way back from St. James's Palace to Buckingham House.

All reasonable people were deeply affected at this treatment of the king. They were duly sensible that it would produce effects highly disagreeable to the public, and, instead of answering the purposes proposed, by those who were so misled as to approve of it, that, on the contrary, it would tend to strengthen the hands of ministers, by enabling them to bring forward such restrictive measures, as would considerably abridge the freedom of speech and action, hitherto enjoyed by the people at large.

The

The speech from the throne was, in the mean time, allowed to be as well appropriated to the circumstances of the times, as any that had been delivered since the commencement of the war. It mentioned the disappointment of the French in their attempts in Germany, and the internal difficulties under which they continued to labour. Their present situation afforded a well-founded presumption, that they would listen to equitable and moderate terms of peace. In order to obtain such terms, it would be necessary to shew that Great Britain was able to maintain the contest, till such a peace ensued, as accorded with its dignity and interest. The other particulars of the speech referred to the preparations for a vigorous continuance of the war, the treaties concluded with foreign powers, the prosperous state of commerce, and the means of providing against the present scarcity.

Lord Dalkeith moved the address, and was seconded by Mr. Stuart: the latter gentleman dwelt chiefly on the exhausted situation of France, and the oppressive methods it was reduced to adopt for the raising of supplies. The situation of this country was the reverse: whatever money was demanded was instantly found, without oppressing the subject; the confidence of monied men in government keeping pace with all its exigencies. Much had been said of the conquest of Holland by the French, but they were obviously indebted much more to fortunate casualties, than to their own prowess, and could place little reliance on the attachment of the natives, who were now convinced of their imprudence, in trusting to the friendship of the French.

Mr. Sheridan was extremely severe in the reply which he made on this occasion. Among other invectives, he reproached ministers for their unskilful management in the West Indies, where the force employed was totally inadequate to the objects proposed, and numbers of the men had been lost through negligence, and want of medical assistance, in that unwholesome climate. He accused ministers of designing to restore despotism in France. He called upon them to act as Spain and Prussia had done, by treating with those persons whom the republican armies looked upon as entitled to their obedience. He advised ministers to beware of a connection with the house of Bourbon. It was through such connections that the Stuart's had been expelled. The Bourbons had invariably proved the enemies to Great Britain; and this enmity would revive, were they to be re-established on the throne of France. The rash and fruitless attempts, to restore that family, ought therefore to be totally relinquished, and government should declare itself willing to treat with the French republic.

He was replied to by Mr. Jenkinson, with the many arguments, so frequently repeated, in justification of ministerial measures. He added, that the retention of the United Provinces, by the French, rendered all treating with them inadmissible. It was necessary, therefore, to compel them to abandon this new conquest, or to make such acquisitions as might counter-balance it, and induce them to give up the possession of that country. Had the members of the coalition acted with fidelity to the cause they had espoused, the French would, by this time,

time, have been forced to abandon their lofty pretensions.

In answer to this, the prospect of affairs was represented, by general Tarleton, as very disadvantageous. The numerous army, with which the French had lately obliged the king of Spain to come into their own terms, would now be employed in the invasion of Italy; while our efforts against the French possessions, in the West Indies, would probably be frustrated, as they had been on the coast of France, through misconduct on our side, and the difficulty of the very attempt itself. It was vain to repeat exertions that had been so successively foiled. Ministers were no longer deserving of confidence; their evident incapacity required their immediate dismissal, and the trial of new men, as well as of new measures.

He was followed by Mr. Fox, who inveighed, with great animation, against the assertions made by ministry, as fallacious and delusive. Instead of the flattering description they had given of the situation of this country, the fact was, that one hundred millions had been added to the national debt, and four millions a year to the standing taxes. In lieu of reducing the enemy within his former bounds, he was master of all the Austrian territories on the west of the Rhine; nor was there any well-grounded hope of our recovering them. He was preparing to invade Italy with a great and victorious army. The scarcity that afflicted the kingdom had been foretold; but ministers disdained to listen to the warning, though enforced from the most respectable quarter. The propriety of persisting in the war was argued from the distress to which France was reduced by

the depreciation of its paper currency: but was this an argument proper to be adduced by men acquainted with the transactions of the American war, and who must be conscious of the futility of pecuniary calculations, when people were determined to suffer every hardship that human nature could bear, and to try every expedient that necessity could suggest, rather than admit the idea of submission? It was time to abandon so hopeless a cause, as that of the royal family of France. The opinions of so mighty a nation were not to be subdued by force of arms. When pressed to listen to pacific language, ministers alleged the incapacity of the French government to maintain the usual relations of harmony between different states: but had such objections held good in the cause of Spain, Prussia, and even the king of Great Britain himself, in the quality of elector of Hanover? Had not this far-fetched and absurd obstacle vanished before the reasonableness of putting an end to the calamities of war? It was ridiculous to insist upon danger from treating with the French, because they had subverted their former, and adopted a new constitution: the permanence of a treaty depending on its equitableness, and correspondence with the reciprocal interests of the contracting parties. It was become nugatory to talk of our allies: we had, indeed, mercenaries in our pay, whom we could only retain by excessive bribes, and who were, every moment, hesitating, whether to accept of them, or of the terms proffered by our enemies, to detach them from this country. Adverting to the scarcity so heavily complained of, Mr. Fox observed, that war, and its fatal concomitants,

comitants, tended, undeniably, to impede cultivation, and to desolate the countries where it was waged: the most fertile parts of Europe having lately been the continual scenes of this destructive war, the productions of the earth had been necessarily diminished, and it was unreasonable to deny that the war was, in a very considerable degree, the cause of a deficiency in the necessities of life. He concluded by moving, that such conditions of peace should be offered to the French, as would consist with the safety and dignity of Great Britain.

The ideas of peace and security were, in answer to Mr. Fox, represented by Mr. Pitt, as incompatible with the situation of this country respecting France. Every motive militated for a perseverance in the contest. The enemy felt his increasing debility, and, notwithstanding his successes in the field, betrayed a consciousness that his strength was materially diminished. Hence it was that he had latterly shewn a disposition to peace. But the interest of this country required a deliberate consideration of the state of France, in order to judge of the expediency of entering into negotiations at the present moment. Such was the fall of the French paper in circulation, that it was now sunk to one and a half for every hundred of nominal value. Seven hundred and twenty millions sterling had been fabricated and made current, and this enormous quantity was still on the increase. Was it credible that a nation, reduced to such straits, would be able to make head against the formidable enemies that were preparing to assail it with redoubled vigour, and whose situation was so much more advantageous in point

of pecuniary resources? However successful on their frontiers, through military efforts, and the chances of war, the system of the French was so radically heinous, that it could not last. Were the European powers to reunite against them, they could no longer stand their ground. The interior parts of that large kingdom were in a state of the utmost wretchedness. Trade and commerce were annihilated, and industry found no occupation. Hence proceeded the facility with which the French recruited their armies, and the desperate spirit, that animated men, who could procure no sustenance but at the point of their swords. But energies of this kind were not in their nature durable, and would certainly terminate in a short lapse of time. So great was the difficulty of procuring specie for the most urgent demands, that necessary articles, in kind, were given in payment, and people were glad to accept of any thing that bore the semblance of pay. Would it not, therefore, be the height of imprudence, after reducing them to such a situation, to pass by so favourable an opportunity of reducing them still lower, and of securing, to ourselves, the advantages resulting from their evident and undeniable depression? After adducing farther arguments, in vindication of his conduct, a division took place, when two hundred and forty voted for the address, and fifty-nine for the amendment, moved by Mr. Fox.

On the next day, which was the thirtieth of October, the address was moved, in the house of lords, by lord Mountedgecomb, who supported it with much the same reasonings that had been used in the house of commons. He was seconded by lord Walsingham,

Walsingham, who dwelt particularly on the dangerous consequences of a precipitate peace, which would be throwing away the advantages we had gained by our perseverance in this arduous contest, and yielding to despondence, at a time when we ought to make the most of the difficulties our enemies had to contend with, and were not likely to surmount, if we continued to act with the resolution that had hitherto characterised our measures.

In reply to these assertions, it was observed by the duke of Bedford, that it was more consistent with the dignity of a British parliament, to frame an address of its own, than to copy the speech of the minister, though delivered from the throne. His sentiments differed materially from the ministerial language he had heard. It represented the French as on the verge of ruin; but the truth of facts, opposed to the illusion of words, was that they were hitherto superior in the contest, notwithstanding the constant predictions of the minister and his partisans, during the three preceding years, that they had not sufficient resources to prolong it another campaign. The duke adverted with great severity to the reiterated allegation, that the French government was incapable of fulfilling the customary duties and relations of amity and good understanding with other states. He reprobated with equal asperity the fruitless destruction of men in the West Indies, and the ill-fated expedition to the coast of France. These, and the other evils of the war, particularly the scarcity that afflicted the nation, he imputed to the misconduct and incapacity of ministers. It was therefore the duty of parliament to

lay these grievances before the sovereign, and to supplicate him to relieve the sufferings of the nation, by consenting to a negociation for peace, which was the only effectual remedy for the many calamities under which the people laboured, in consequence of this unfortunate war.

The observations of the duke of Bedford were warmly controverted by lord Grenville, who insisted that the situation of this country was evidently superior to that of France in every point of view. Our successes at sea were far more conducive to the internal prosperity of the kingdom, than the dear-bought victories of the French had, or could ever prove to the people of France. The depreciation of the paper currency in that country, was, in his opinion, a circumstance to its detriment, and in our favour, that fully deserved the reiterated notice that had been taken of it. The most judicious of the French financiers were deeply sensible of the effects it would ultimately produce, and strongly deprecated the farther issue of any notes, and the withdrawing of no less than ten parts out of thirteen from circulation. With such glaring proofs of the pecuniary distresses of the enemy, was it prudent or reasonable to advise pacific measures, when, with a moderate degree of patience on our side, he would probably be soon compelled to listen to more reasonable terms of peace, than the pride resulting from his late successes would now permit him to accept. He concluded, by representing the failure of the expedition to the coast of France as occasioned by the treachery of those French corps, that had been too confidently relied upon.

He was replied to by the marquis of Lansdowne, who pointedly animadverted on the prosperous situation wherein ministers asserted the country stood at the present moment. What he had foretold was come to pass; our allies had deserted us, and our enemies were every where victorious. The trite argument of their ruined finances was still revived; but in what state were our own? were they inexhaustible? were they equal to the support of ourselves, together with the weight of those pretended friends who had taken our money, and converted it to purposes entirely foreign to those for which it was granted, and who were waiting with their accustomed avidity for fresh grants. Taxes could only be carried to a certain length: beyond which they would in this country, as in all others, become intolerable. But money alone was no security for success; sagacity was of far greater consequence. The ministerial projects and enterprizes displayed little of this essential requisite; failures and disappointments continually attending them. This however was not surprising, as their attempts against the foe were glaringly marked with imprudence. The expedition to St. Domingo, for instance, was an unpardonable act of temerity; here the French were insurmountable: it was the capital seat of their strength in the West Indies; of this the great lord Chatham was so well convinced that he wisely forbore, even in the midst of his successes, to make it an object of attack. The French, it was true, were straitened for money, but they had that which was better; they had good soldiers and excellent commanders; on those they chiefly depended, and

fortune had favoured them. Courage was inexhaustible, but wealth had its limits: and the example of France ought to warn us of the danger of stretching the pecuniary resources of the nation beyond their natural bearings. The war had tried them to such an extent, that it was time to cease the experiment how far they would go, and to make negotiation take place of hostilities.

The earls of Mansfield and Darnley spoke in favour of the address, and the duke of Grafton and the earl of Lauderdale against it. The latter inveighed bitterly against ministers for the assurances they had given to the public in the former sessions, that such was the superior might of the confederacy, that France would be utterly unable to resist it; but how different the reality from the fair appearances they had held out! defeat and desertion had characterised those allies in whose name such lofty promises had been made; and to complete the picture of the national calamities, we were now visited by a scarcity, undeniably owing to the improvident conduct of those at the helm; yet ministers boldly asserted that our condition was improved, and that of the enemy worse than ever. But did not facts give the strongest denial to those shameful asseverations? was not the enemy in possession of all we had conquered, and preparing for new conquests? was not the coalition broken and dissolved, and some of its principal members in treaties of peace and amity with the French? could any man of sense and integrity interpret such things as improvements in the situation of this country? did they entitle us to expect that the
French

French should be the first to sue for peace, as ministers presumptuously asserted?

The amendment brought forward by the duke of Bedford was strongly opposed by earl Spencer, who contended that in so extensive a war, waged in almost every part of the globe, it could not be expected that the mercantile shipping of this country would always escape the vigilance of an enemy, whose only and perpetual object at sea was depredation. It was indeed more surprising that his captures were so few, when it was considered that we carried on nearly the whole trade of Europe. He gave a satisfactory account of the naval transactions during the preceding season, and made it appear that the mischances which had befallen the commercial fleets were owing to unavoidable accidents and not to misconduct. He justified the employment of Mr. Puissey, as a person through whose means the principal communication was kept up with France, where he headed a considerable party of royalists.

The duke of Norfolk spoke for

the amendment, and the lord chancellor in opposition to it. The duke of Bedford in resuming the subject, resorted to the expressions used by lord Grenville, which were, that "in case the constitution now offered to the people of France, should be found likely to establish itself in such a form as to secure a government that might preserve the relations of peace and amity, his objections to treat with them would be entirely removed."

The substance of what had been spoken by lord Grenville, was conformable to the words taken down by the duke of Bedford; but the former declared himself of opinion, that it was not parliamentary to make the words of a peer, uttered in the course of the debate, a formal ground of proposing or of recalling a motion. Hereon the duke consented to withdraw his amendment; refusing however his approbation to that part of the address which asserted an improvement in the situation of public affairs. The address was then finally moved, and carried in the affirmative.

CHAP. II.

A Proclamation offering a large pecuniary Reward for the Discovery of any Persons guilty of the recent Outrages against the Person of the King.—Conference between the Lords and Commons on this Subject.—A Bill for the Safety and Preservation of the King's Person and Government.—Debates thereon in both Houses of Parliament.—A Bill for the Prevention of Seditious Meetings.—Debates thereon.—The two Bills under Discussion in Parliament occasion a general Alarm, and much Opposition without Doors.—In this Opposition the lead was taken by the Whig-Club.—Which was followed by the Corresponding Societies and other Associations.—As well as different Bodies legally incorporated.—The Ministry still persevere in their Measures.—Debates on the numerous Petitions against the two Bills now pending in Parliament.—General Indignation against the Principles and Objects of these.—The two Bills passed into Laws.

IN the mean time the indignities offered to the king were a subject of universal discourse, and highly reprobated by the prudent and moderate, as precursory of far greater evils than had hitherto been experienced by those who vented their discontent in this outrageous manner. On the last day of October, a proclamation was issued, offering a thousand pounds for the discovery of any person guilty of those outrages. On the fourth of November it was followed by another, wherein it was said, that previously to the opening of parliament, multitudes had been called together by hand-bills and advertisements, who met in the vicinity of the metropolis, where inflammatory speeches were made, and divers means used to sow discontent and excite seditious proceedings. These meetings and discourses were followed three days after by the most daring insults to the king, by

which his person had been imminently endangered. Rumours had also been spread, that assemblies were to be held by disaffected people for illegal purposes. In consequence of those proceedings, it was enjoined by the proclamation to all magistrates, and well affected subjects, to exert themselves in preventing and suppressing all unlawful meetings, and the dissemination of seditious writings.

So great had been the alarm and indignation, created by the treatment of the king, that as soon as he had gone through the reading of his speech, and had left the house, it was immediately ordered to be cleared of all strangers, and a consultation held by the lords, in what manner to proceed upon so extraordinary an occasion. An address to the king was resolved upon, and a conference with the house of commons to request their concurrence therein. The majority agreed in

in this measure ; but the marquis of Lansdowne accused the ministers of intending to seize this opportunity to work upon the passions and fears of the people, and to lead their representatives into concessions derogatory to the public liberty, and debasing to their character, in order to confirm their own power at the expence of the constitution.

A conference with the commons was held accordingly in the course of the day, and witnesses were examined in relation to the outrages committed. Their evidence was communicated to the commons, and both houses unanimously concurred in the addresses proposed.

On the sixth of November, lord Grenville brought forward a bill, for better securing the king's person and government. The motive he alleged, was the necessity of preventing abuses similar to those that had taken place on the opening of the session. He explicitly attributed them to the licentious language and maxims held forth in the audacious meetings, which had been so long suffered, without due notice on the part of the legislature, but which were now arrived to such a degree of insolence, that they required immediate restriction. He would recur, on this occasion, he said, to precedents framed in approved times, the reign of Elizabeth, and the commencement of the reign of Charles II. He entertained no doubt that the house coincided with his opinion, that a remedy ought instantly to be applied to the danger that threatened monarchy, in the attack so daringly made on the king's person. In order more effectually to obviate so great an evil, he would move the passing of a bill,

which he produced, and which was entitled "an act for the safety and preservation of his majesty's person and government against treasonable and seditious practices and attempts."

The bill introduced by lord Grenville was represented, by the earl of Lauderdale, as creating new crimes and treasons, in addition to those already contained in the criminal code of this country. It tended materially to enlarge the laws respecting treason, and would effect an alarming alteration in the very nature and spirit of the constitution. There was no evidence that the insults offered to the king originated in the meetings of the people in the fields near Islington, or in any other places. These meetings had been remarkably peaceable, and those who harangued the crowds, that resorted to them from all quarters of the metropolis, were particularly careful to warn them against all riotous proceedings, lest ministers should avail themselves of that pretext, to put an end to all assemblies of the people. So harsh a measure as that proposed had not therefore the least foundation in the unruly behaviour of those meetings, and were it to pass into a law, the liberty of conferring together, so long enjoyed by the English, and which they justly considered as their indubitable right, would be radically destroyed, and with it the firmest support of public freedom. The intent of ministers, in adopting so unprecedented a measure, was clearly to silence the complaints of the nation against a war that had involved it in so many calamities, and which they were determined to carry on in defiance to the general inclination to peace. The

vast acquisition of power, that would accrue to ministers from such a law, would enable them to strain the words and actions of individuals into treasonable meanings, whenever they were inclined to exercise vengeance on those who were obnoxious to them. For these reasons, whoever valued the constitution of this country, must consider this bill "as one of the severest and most dangerous to the rights and liberties of the people that had ever been introduced."

It was asserted, in reply, by lord Grenville, that it was owing to the firmness of parliament, that the seditious principles imported from France, and industriously propagated in England, had been successfully resisted, and the constitution protected against the malevolent designs of its domestic enemies. When the provisions of the intended bill came into examination, the necessity of adopting it would be rendered manifest; nor would it prevent the people from holding legal meetings. None but evil-disposed persons could suffer by the enacting of such a law.

In answer to these allegations, the duke of Bedford, after declaring his disapprobation of the bill, expressed in strong terms his persuasion, that while it still remained in their power to meet together, the people would every where assemble to testify their averseness to so glaring an infringement on their freedom, in so explicit and resolute a manner, that he could not think the house would consent to a bill so visibly repugnant to the feelings of Englishmen.

It was observed on this occasion, by lord Radnor, that if in the old statutes of the reign of Edward III.

relating to treason, certain offences had been omitted that ought to be considered and punished as such, they ought in such case to be declared and enacted to come within that meaning, in order to put men on their guard, and prevent them from committing what they would then know to be criminal. The question was then put, and carried for the printing of the bill.

On the tenth of November, the second reading of the bill was moved by lord Grenville, who observed, that the seditious speeches and treasonable libels, circulated in the meeting that had been held near Copenhagen-house, three days only before the opening of the present session, had, in the opinion of all reflecting people, prompted that audacious spirit which insulted the person of the sovereign, and bid defiance to the legislature. The purpose of the bill, he said, was to protect the king from similar outrages, and to punish treasonous proceedings. No punishments would be enacted by the bill for crimes not already acknowledged deserving of them; its sole intent was to include treasonable publications and discourses among them, as being no less criminal in their consequences. It was high treason to devise the king's death; to conspire against his person and government, as specified in the bill, amounted therefore to a degree of criminality that evidently merited the severest chastisement, whether such conspiracy consisted in levying civil war against him, or in encouraging foreign enemies, by publications, writings, or speeches. The provisions of the bill were conformable to the principles admitted in the acts of Elizabeth and Charles II. and were as similar

similar as circumstances would permit. Difficulties having arisen in the construction of the laws relating to treason already in force, the intent of this bill was to explain and fix the meaning of those laws. It would not prohibit any act or meeting, allowed to be legal, but only provide a more suitable punishment according to the degree of criminality, than that ordained by the laws in force, as in various cases, notwithstanding criminality was evidently proved, an apposite punishment had not been enacted. On these grounds he moved the second reading of the bill.

It was acknowledged, by the duke of Bedford, that every man ought, in duty, to abhor the treatment offered to the king, and earnestly desire the punishment of the guilty; but the bill before the house did not tend to procure more safety to the person of the sovereign, than the laws already existing. There was no sufficient proof that the outrages committed were connected with the meetings to which they were attributed; and though ministers declared themselves convinced of this connection, that was not sufficient to induce the house implicitly to coincide with their conviction. When the habeas-corpus act was suspended, a select committee was appointed to investigate the necessity of such a measure, and the proceedings on that occasion gave them at least an appearance of deliberation; but the present measure required certainly much more consideration. It was not the temporary suspension of an act. It was the enacting of a law entirely new to the spirit of the constitution, and which was undeniably an abridgment of the liberty of the

subject. Before so dangerous an innovation should be suffered to pass, parliament ought seriously to weight its certain consequences against the mere allegations of its necessity. The pretence of the bill was the security of the king's person; but, were the laws in being any ways deficient in that respect? The duke then adverted to the times from which the ministry had borrowed their present proceedings, the reigns of Elizabeth and Charles II. but was it not an insult to the understandings of Englishmen, to speak of such times as models fit to be copied; but even the precedents alluded to in those times would not authorise ministers to follow them. Those enacted in queen Elizabeth's reign were directed against the bulls issued by the Pope, and those that were adopted under Charles II. passed immediately after the restoration, when it was thought indispensable to protect him by the strongest fences against the fanatic rage of those who had opposed it.

The duke of Bedford was warmly seconded by the earl of Lauderdale, who represented the actual sufferings of the people as the causes of the outrage offered to the king. It was not astonishing, he said, that, among a hundred thousand individuals casually assembled, forty or fifty of them should be prompted, by the feelings of distress, to express them in that outrageous manner. Oppressive and cruel laws were contrary to the disposition of the people of this country, and tended to render them averse to the government that framed them. The statutes of Edward III. were made at a time when the power of the crown was very great; yet the de-

definition of what was to be accounted treason, was much clearer and precise than in the words of the present bill, which contained words and phrases, the meaning of which might be so construed as to create new crimes at the option of ministers. There were times, he said, when resistance on the part of the people was justifiable, and even considered as a duty, by great and well-known authorities. The heads of the law should not therefore be entrusted with a discretionary power of extending, or interpreting the laws, as thereby the freedom of individuals could never be secure; and as the sense of such a state of insecurity might justly rouse them to such exertions, for the recovery of their rights, as might throw the realm into the most fatal disorders.

The statute of Edward III. was represented by lord Mansfield, in reply, as too lax and imperfect; it was not explanatory in various cases similar to that which was now under consideration; it was not sufficient therefore to prevent or to punish adequately delinquences of this nature. The statute against treason in the reign of Elizabeth served as a precedent to that under queen Anne, and ought not to have been spoken of as unfit to be imitated. The laws enacted to the same purpose under Charles II. were pointed at the republican party at that day, which, like the same party at the present, consisted of sworn enemies to monarchy, and of consequence to the sovereign that wore the crown: if it was deemed necessary then to protect him from their fury, it was no less indispensable now, that principles of the most rebellious nature were openly circulated in

defiance of all law and government. He justified the wording of the bill as sufficiently clear and intelligible; and was of opinion that seven years transportation was not too severe for the offence on which the bill inflicted it.

The duke of Norfolk took this occasion to assert, that to the principle of resistance the family of Brunswick owed its exaltation to the British throne; this principle ought therefore never to be forgotten by the friends of liberty. Though they should be careful not to misapply it, yet occasions might arise, as they had formerly arisen, when the application of it would become as necessary as at the periods to which he alluded. From the evidence relating to the insult offered to the crown, he was persuaded that measures might easily be adopted to prevent such outrages in future; but he thought himself bound to reject the bill produced by ministers in its present form, as invading the liberty of the subject in a variety of respects, and placing it too much at their disposal.

After other peers had delivered their opinions on the subject, the duke of Bedford concluded it, by saying, that the reasonings against the bill had met with no adequate answers; they stood upon constitutional ground, and though they might be out voted, they could not be refuted. The bill added nothing to the personal safety of the king, but increased the power of the crown in a most unconstitutional degree; he would therefore oppose it, as a direct attack on the liberty of Englishmen. Should it unhappily pass into a law, it would prove so fatal an infringement on the constitution,

tution, that the public would soon be sensible of the change effected in its condition, and lament, when too late, the spiritless acquiescence of those who, forgetting their own dignity and interest, as well as that of the nation, had sacrificed it to unjustifiable motives, or personal views. On putting the question, it was carried in favour of ministry by seventy-nine votes against eight.

On the same day, Mr. Pitt moved, in the house of commons, that the royal proclamations, in consequence of the late riot, should be taken into consideration. He grounded his motion on the necessity of preventing such insults being offered to the sovereign, as he had experienced on the opening of the session. He presumed every loyal subject would unite with him on this occasion, and that methods would be taken to obviate those causes from whence the outrages proceeded, which were the factious meetings of disaffected people, wherein seditious discourses were constantly held, and principles maintained utterly subversive of good order and obedience to government. The pretence of these meetings was to petition the legislature for rights withheld from the people; but the real motive was, to promulgate opinions inimical to government, and calculated to bring it into contempt. If the executive power were not invested with sufficient authority to control these meetings, they would finally endanger the existence of the state. It was, he acknowledged, the indubitable right of the people to pass their judgment upon ministers and their measures, and freely to express their sentiments on all political subjects, as also to petition the different branches of the legislature; but

these rights ought to be kept within their intended limits, and it was the duty of parliament to prevent their becoming instrumental in the subversion of the established government. The rights of the people doubtless ought to be respected, but it was equally indispensable to obviate their abuse. The question before the house was, to use Mr. Pitt's own words, "Whether the pressure of the moment did not require an instant remedy?" A precise and acknowledged power was wanting in the magistrate to disperse such meetings as threatened disorders. This power indeed ought not to extend to meetings held for lawful purposes, but only to authorise him to watch over the proceedings of any large assembly, whatever might be the object of those who assembled. To this intent, notice should be given to the magistrate previously to the intended meeting; he should be empowered to be present, and if it appeared of a seditious tendency, to seize the guilty on the spot; to obstruct him should be made felony; and if the meeting did not disperse at his command, the penalties provided in the riot-act should be inflicted on the refractory. There was, added Mr. Pitt, another species of meeting, consisting of persons who attended public lectures on political subjects; the lecturers were men notoriously disaffected to government, and the doctrines they delivered were calculated to instil the rankest principles of resistance and rebellion to the established powers. In order to obviate this effectually, the act against disorderly houses should be applied to meetings of this kind, whenever "they exceeded, by a number to be stated

in the act, the real family of the house." So alarming a restriction occasioned an immediate cry of hear him, on the opposite side, but Mr. Pitt persisted in his determination, and moved for leave to introduce a bill for the prevention of seditious meetings.

The motion being read, Mr. Fox began a long and animated speech, by declaring his abhorrence of the treatment offered to the king, but professed himself no less offended at the discourse he had just heard. An attempt had been made to found the necessity of framing the bill proposed on the proceedings of the assemblies so highly reprobated by ministers, who contended that they struck at the existence of parliament itself; but if such were the real case, were not those who broached these rebellious tenets amenable to the law, and liable, on conviction, to condign punishment? There was no evidence that the late outrages, though justly complained of, originated in the meetings alluded to. Proclamations were no evidence; they were the fabrication of ministers, frequently to serve the worst purposes. Public discussions, on national subjects, were not only legal, but the very life of the English constitution; without these no liberty could subsist. The bill, it was said, would not prevent, but only regulate them. "But attend," said Mr. Fox; to the regulation; I thought, he continued, that I knew the rights of men, and the rights of Englishmen." A great cry arising of hear him: "What, said he, do you suppose it a slip, and that the rights of man is a sentence without a meaning? have men no natural rights? if so, Englishmen's rights

can have no existence. The rights of man, I say, are clear: man has natural rights, and he who denies it is ignorant of the basis of a free government: he is ignorant of the first principles of ours, for these rights are connected with the best parts of the history of our country." The people, Mr. Fox continued, had an inalienable right to deliberate on their grievances, and to demand redress from the legislature, but were forbidden by this bill to exercise these rights without the attendance of a magistrate, and previous notice to him of their intention. He was empowered to arrest any one present, whose words he might think proper to call seditious, and even to dissolve the meeting at his own pleasure. "Say then at once, Mr. Fox exclaimed, that a free constitution is no longer suitable to us. Conduct yourselves at once as the senators of Denmark did: lay down your freedom, and acknowledge and accept of despotism, but do not mock the understandings and the feelings of mankind, by telling the world that you are free. Can a meeting, under such restrictions as the bill requires, be called a meeting of free people? is it possible to make the people of this country believe that the plan is any thing but a total annihilation of their liberty?" After some strictures on the number of persons to whom the bill limited henceforth all meetings; "behold," pursued Mr. Fox, the state of a free Englishman; before he can discuss any topic which involves his liberty, or his rights, he is to send to a magistrate, who is to attend the discussion; that magistrate cannot prevent the meeting, but he can prevent their speaking, because he can allege that what is said has a tendency

dency to disturb the peace of the kingdom." Mr. Fox hoped that the people would perceive the danger that threatened their freedom; and meet together, while it still remained lawful, to consult in what manner to preserve it from the infringement designed in the bill proposed, and to express their detestation of it. He had seen and heard of revolutions, but experience had shewn they were not owing to the freedom of popular meetings, but to the tyranny exerted to enslave men. The French revolution arose from ministerial oppressions, and the arbitrary proceedings of a despotic government that held the people in continual dread, and silenced their very fears by the terror of those punishments suspended over those who dared to utter their sentiments. If the people's complaints were groundless, the less they were noticed, the sooner they would cease, as false surmises would very soon be discovered and lose their effect; but, if well-founded, the efforts made to repress them must terminate, either in a base-minded submission of the people, or in a resistance fatal to their rulers as well as to themselves. Were the introduction of such a bill insisted on, he thought himself bound, previously to any farther discussion, to move for a call of the house.

Mr. Fox was supported by Mr. Stanley, who explicitly affirmed; that if the bill should pass, he should consider this country as on the eve of a revolution. He reminded ministers of the well-known assertion of Montesquieu, that a numerous increase of penal laws as a sure prognostication of a state's verging to its decline. This alone

appeared to him a sufficient motive for opposing so oppressive a bill. There existed laws adequate to the suppression of unlawful meetings; but the bill was, in fact, the severest libel on the good sense and attachment of Englishmen to their constitution; it represented them as insensible of its worth, incapable of enjoying liberty, and deserving, for that reason, to be deprived of it.

In answer to these arguments, sir William Pulteney admonished the opposers of the bill to consider it impartially, before they described it in such odious colours. It by no means prevented free discussion, that of the press particularly, which he viewed as fully adequate to the support of that public spirit, and those popular maxims on which the constitution rested. The press was the strongest pillar of liberty, by the latitude with which every political subject was allowed to be treated: while this remained untouched, the public was in no danger of ever seeing the constitution subverted, and it was a privilege which he would never consent to part with; but it could not exist in a democracy any more than under an arbitrary government, nor, in truth, any government but a limited monarchy like our own. The great danger of popular meetings was, that they heard only one side of the question. Uninformed multitudes were easily deluded by the specious and inflammatory speeches of designing persons, who well knew, that in such meetings they would have little, or rather no contradiction, to encounter, and find their audience ready prepared to acquiesce in whatever they might think proper to deliver. Times

and circumstances called for regulations apposite to the dispositions of men at different periods. The present temper of men was marked by precipitation and temerity, and ought to be repressed accordingly. Proceedings that bordered on sedition ought certainly to be opposed with firmness and diligence. Were magistrates, in such cases, to exceed their powers, they would certainly be called to a severe account, in a country where juries had shewn themselves so tenacious of the liberties of their fellow-subjects, and where the spirit of liberty animated, so manifestly, the legislature itself, as to induce it to declare those very juries competent judges whether a publication should be deemed a libel.

Mr. Halded acknowledged the propriety of the first proclamation, offering an ample reward for the discovery of those who had insulted the king, but totally disapproved of that proclamation, in coincidence with which the bill had been brought into the house. The misbehaviour of the populace, he affirmed, proceeded from the sense of their feelings, and ought not, in equity, to be attributed to that meeting of the people, three days before, which had not exhibited the least sign of a riotous disposition, and had parted as peaceably as it had met. The miserable situation of the rioters, though not a justification, ought to weigh with those who reflected to what irregularities men might be driven, when they wanted bread. But the inveteracy of ministers to men who had opposed their measures, with such constancy and determination, was the real motive that prompted them in the formation of this bill. They pro-

posed by it to infuse such terror into the societies so long obnoxious to them, as would deter them, at once, from ever daring to resume the prosecution of their designs, and thus to crush, at one blow, all attempts and ideas to affect any reform in parliament, or to remedy any of the abuses and grievances so long complained of by the nation at large.

The bill was opposed by Mr. Maurice Robinson, as separating the interests of the king from those of the people, and setting them, as it were, in opposition to each other. The king, as father of his people, was in justice bound to treat them with paternal care, and not to permit ministers, on the pretext of consulting his personal dignity, to render their condition worse than ever it had been, by punishing the many for the offences of a few, hurried into the commission of their delinquencies by the pressures of hunger and want. No evidence had been produced to countenance the ministerial assertion, that the riots were caused by the popular assemblies, held in the vicinity of the metropolis. The clear and well-known purpose of these meetings was to petition for peace and reform; the endeavours to obtain which could not, by any legal construction, be deemed acts of sedition.

The bill was supported by Mr. alderman Lushington, as a measure without which the person of the sovereign would be continually exposed to the insults of the vilest populace, who would become the more daring and outrageous when they saw that parliament passed by unnoticed the criminal insolence of which they had been guilty. Were
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the bill to be rejected, the consequences would quickly prove how necessary it was for the preservation not only of the king but of every well-affected subject, as well as of the good order and peace of the community.

The attempt of ministry to enact such a law as that purported by the bill, was represented by Mr. Curwen as the most flagitious innovation. Its direct and visible aim was to strip the subject of his most valuable privilege, that of speaking his mind on every matter relating to the public. Herein consisted, in fact, the very essence, not only of English, but of all real liberty. The movers of the bill had reason to wish themselves authorized to impose silence on the people, who had so much reason to be displeased at their conduct. The voice of that people had occasionally prevented them from prosecuting their imprudent schemes, and constrained them to listen to disagreeable admonitions. So resolutely was he determined to prefer this voice to that of ministers, that he did not scruple to avow himself ready to support it at the risk of his property and his life. It appeared to him immaterial whether the constitution fell by insurrection or by despotism. The bill proposed would effect it as certainly as any of the tumultuous proceedings of an enraged people. But this fatal bill was obviously dictated by ministerial resentment at the opposition it had met with, both in and out of parliament. He did not, however, imagine, that, when the inimical intentions it displayed against public liberty were duly perceived, the people of England would remain so heartless and

supine as not to resist it with the vigour and spirit of their ancestors.

The principle of the bill was decidedly approved by Mr. Wilberforce, as tending to check the licentious disposition, among the common people, introduced by the doctrines imported from France. The ideas of that people, on religious as well as political matters, had lately made an alarming progress in this country, and it was the duty of the legislature to discourage them by all prudent and legal methods. He did not consider the bill as an invasion of public liberty, which, he was persuaded, would rather be strengthened, when popular discussions upon national affairs, and meetings called for that purpose, were duly regulated. He concluded, however, by acknowledging, that he sincerely wished there had been no occasion for such a bill, to which his assent was extorted by the necessity of choosing, among a variety of difficulties, that which appeared the least productive of evil. The meetings of individuals, to debate upon national affairs, had certainly been attended with such improper freedoms, that they well deserved to be restrained. The only assembly, to which the people could resort with well-grounded confidence of meeting with friends to listen to their grievances and to redress them, was the house of commons; it was the shield of public liberty, it was truly a popular meeting, wherein the nation would always find able and resolute defenders of its constitutional rights; it was a tribunal, before which its cause would be pleaded with efficacy; and where its complaints, when justly founded, would

would never be refused an attentive hearing.

Mr. Sheridan severely animadverted on the motives assigned by Mr. Wilberforce for supporting the bill. Instead of strengthening public liberty, it went directly to destroy it, by silencing every voice that might have been heard in its defence. Ministers had boldly asserted, that one of the fortunate consequences of the war, was the eradication of French principles; but the falsehood of this assertion was evident, from their gradual increase throughout the multitude. The discussions of the people would now, he observed, be wholly at the disposal of ministerial dependants and agents, either to permit, or to forbid, as they thought proper, or, more probably, as they were directed. Thus, in fact, that liberty of speech, upon which Englishmen were wont to value themselves, they would hereafter hold barely upon sufferance. Were the bill to pass, he should consider the house of commons as no longer able to express the real sentiments of their constituents, who, when restrained by terror from the manifestation of their thoughts, would not have it in their power to lay them before their representatives, between whom, and themselves, that free communication of ideas, on the national business, must cease, which constituted the principal basis of English liberty.

The bill was opposed also by Mr. Martin, who explicitly charged the minister with having seized the opportunity of the late riots, to raise an alarm throughout the nation, that might be converted to the support of the ruinous measures in which he was still resolved to persist. War, alone, was now become the object

of ministers. They studied to propagate the like infatuation in every part of the country, which now exhibited endless scenes of military parade. The bill tended, as other ministerial measures, to introduce an arbitrary system of government. This was evidently the project which he must have formed, by accompanying it with so many restrictions on the personal freedom of individuals. There was a time, when the people of this land would not have borne such an audacious attempt on their liberties, nor any minister have dared to try the experiment.

Mr. Windham sharply contended in favour of the bill. He observed, that loud asseverations, of the loss of liberty, were heard from the opposition in the house, and the popular meetings: a marked unanimity of sentiments subsisted between them. But it was time to suppress these sentiments, wherever they took occasion to manifest themselves, by punishing, with merited severity, their propagators and abettors. It was absurd to affect an ignorance of the designs in agitation at the meetings, of the commonalty, and of the societies, that pretended to have no other object in view, than peace and reform. Their object was to concert the methods that were most likely to embarrass and subvert the present government, and to substitute another, more consistent with their own notions, which were, in fact, those adopted in France. This was the country of their predilection, and to the arms and councils of which they notoriously wished every possible success against the machinations of so dangerous a party, existing in the bosom, as it were, of the nation, and striving, with indefatigable efforts, to infuse into it the

poison of their detestable opinion. Was it not the duty, as well as the interest, of the legislature, to arm itself with every precaution? Every man that valued his country, and its constitution, would, on this occasion, come forward, and join, with heart and hand, in its preservation from the calamities that must befall it, were the French, and their English adherents, to succeed in their designs against this country. It was against those united enemies the present bill entirely militated? it was inimical to no Englishman that loved his country. In the actual circumstances of affairs, it was the only remedy applicable to the mischiefs meditated by our foes abroad and at home, who, if not impeded in their plans, by the measures so judiciously proposed, would continue to carry them on, till it might become highly difficult to frustrate them. These plans were, undeniably to overturn every political institution differing from that established in France, which they boastingly asserted was the only just and lawful one in Europe. He would ask every man of spirit and patriotism in that house, and in the whole nation, whether such presumption were supportable? Could it be deemed unjust to take up arms against so assuming and arrogant a people, or to frame acts for the counter-acting of those among ourselves, who were either so weak, or so wicked, as to abet them? The bill he allowed to be of a nature hitherto unknown, and new to the ideas of the people of this country; but extraordinary cases required extraordinary treatment. Enormities, uncommonly atrocious, must be encountered by laws adequately severe. Such was the rage that actuated the enemies

to government, that they had circulated opinions and sentiments tending, unequivocally, to affect the king's life. Could the legislature, consistently with its professed attachment to the sovereign, and, with its own reputation and dignity, pass by, unpunished, so execrable a violation of all principles on which the constitution of the land, and the peace of the public was founded? Did ever any government suffer individuals, of this character, openly to meet and consult together in the face of day? They had too long been tolerated, and it were a disgrace to parliament, and would argue pusillanimity, to allow them to meet any more. No such meetings were permitted by the new constitution lately adopted in France, however the rulers in that country might be ready to avail themselves of our imprudence, in having so long, and so unpardonably connived at them.

In reply to these allegations, it was observed, by Mr. Gray, that ministry, after exulting in the extinction of democratic principles, operated by their vigilance, now came forward with a bill, which they founded on the necessity of obviating the alarming progress they had made, and were daily making, throughout the nation: to which of these assertions were we to give credit? If those principles were not extinguished, ministry had been deceived, or had endeavoured to deceive the public. If they were, in reality, extinguished, the bill they proposed to pass against them originated from other motives; and those could be no other, than to silence the complaints of the people, enraged at their misconduct, and, chiefly, at their persisting in it, notwithstanding

withstanding the admonition of constant experience, daily proving, in the face of Europe, that they had undertaken what was impracticable, or, at least, what they had not abilities to execute. The connection between the meetings, and the insult offered to the king, instead of being supported by the least evidence, was totally disproved by every circumstance. But ministers wanted a pretence for depriving the people of that privilege which they most dreaded, that of exposing their incapacity, their imprudence, or their evil designs. Which of those imputations lay heaviest on ministry it was hard to decide; but the public, at large, loudly charged them with every one of them. The standing laws were of sufficient energy to reach and to punish conspiracy and sedition. To what end were additional ones to be enacted, unless to arm ministry with powers unknown to the constitution; and which, from their incompatibility with its nature, must unavoidably affect its destruction. It was, therefore, incumbent upon every friend to the constitution to oppose the bill with the firmest perseverance, as the passing of it would prove the surest step towards that uncontrollable situation, wherein ministers had so long, and so visibly, made every effort to place themselves. After a few other remarks, on each side of the question, the motion for bringing in the bill was carried by two hundred and fourteen against forty-two.

The propriety of a call of the house, previously to the decision of so weighty a matter, being insisted on by Mr. Fox, he was told, by Mr. Dundas, that he had so little objection to his demand, that, unless

it could be made apparent, that a plurality of the people sided with ministry on this occasion, the bill ought certainly not to pass, but he was fully satisfied of its being generally approved. He had, he said, "been besieged in his office, for months past, with applications for such a bill." It was in concurrence with the desire of a great number of persons of weight with ministers, that they had been persuaded to bring it into parliament.

The speech of Mr. Dundas gave occasion to Mr. Sheridan of making some pointed observations. Ministers, he said, had, in the first instance, grounded the necessity of the bill upon the outrageous behaviour of the populace; but the force of truth had now compelled them to acknowledge, however inadvertently, that this bill had long before been resolved upon: thus the professions of ministers were unworthy of credit, and their arguments stood upon no justifiable grounds; they made the first in defiance of truth, and they used the second with undeniable consciousness of their impropriety. Mr. Sheridan concluded by intimating that ministerial resentment, at their disappointment in the trial of Hardy, and the other members of the corresponding society, had, ever since, been brooding over the means of obtaining revenge.

Mr. Maurice Robinson, and Mr. Grey, seconded the motion of Mr. Fox for a call of the house, before a final decision took place in a business of such universal concern to the nation: the motion was agreed to accordingly, and the call appointed for that day fortnight.

In a committee of the whole house of peers, on the eleventh of November,

member, the bill for the safety of the king's person and government was formally read, and produced long and spirited debates on its various clauses. The duke of Leeds moved, that, instead of the word government, in the second clause, the words, consisting of king, lords, and commons, should be substituted, as defining, more specifically, the constitution than the word government.

The lord chancellor and lord Grenville were of a different opinion; but lord Thurlow asserted the difficulty of defining, with exactness, the terms government and constitution; the penalties enacted by the second clause appeared to him unduly severe. Was it equitable to criminate a man for saying it was an abuse, that twenty acres of land, near Old Sarum, should send two members to parliament? The laws in existence were, in his judgment, amply sufficient to punish every crime and misdemeanour therein alluded to; without needing its assistance. He reprobated the system of adding new laws and penalties to those already enacted, and condemned the whole of this clause, together with the following one, by which ministers were empowered to prosecute discretionally.

Much surprise was expressed by the lord chancellor, at the opinion delivered by lord Thurlow. The enormity of the offences, at which this clause was pointed, must, he said, be acknowledged by all who read the publications of the day: they were, in every sense, directed against the existence of the government and the constitution: they explicitly told the people, that they were in no wise bound to submit to their rulers: that monarchy was

an usurpation of national rights, and aristocracy an oppressive institution: they boldly gave the public to understand, that both these branches of the constitution ought to be lopped away, and democracy alone to remain; threatening, at the same time, to lose no opportunity of carrying those purposes into execution. Were such flagitious designs, said the lord chancellor, permitted to be avowed, in the undisguised, insulting manner they had so long been, to the astonishment and indignation of the sensible part of the public, what must become of the authority of the state, and of the safety of all its component members? Was it not evident, that all the evils which had afflicted this nation, in the last century, and all those experienced by France, at the present hour, would be renewed in this country, did not the legislature proceed with expedition and spirit to put a stop to the dissemination of those principles that tended, so manifestly, to produce such calamities?

The lord chancellor was supported by lord Mansfield, and opposed by lord Lauderdale, who noticed, that instead of encountering the arguments of lord Thurlow, he had described the pernicious tendency of the writings circulated by the democratic faction, which had not been denied, and which were no less deprecated by the parliamentary opposition to ministry, than by ministers themselves. But the fact was, that we lived in times, when the partiality to one branch of the constitution was such, that revilers of the others might go unnoticed and unpunished, while that alone would be fenced and protected by clauses and penalties against those that spoke, or wrote, of it disrespectfully.

spectfully. The crown, for instance, might be represented as the power paramount to lords and commons, and totally, by right, independent of their control; and the man that had made such an asseveration, might, instead of rebuke and punishment, meet with approbation and reward, while he, that dared to insinuate the contrary, would expose himself to the wrath of government. A time, indeed, might come, when the principles that seated the house of Brunswick on the British throne, might be reprobated, and held forth as proofs of disloyalty in those who maintained them, while those who pleaded the cause of the prerogative, would be abetted by the whole authority and strength of government.

The duke of Bedford was particularly severe on that clause of the bill, which condemned, to a transportation for seven years, any person convicted of having offended, a second time; against the purport of the bill. He thought the penalty far exceeded the offence, and spoke, he said, as a man that felt himself liable to incur it. He took this occasion to condemn, in bitter terms; an expression that had fallen from bishop Horsley, in the warmth of his antipathy to writings published on parliamentary reform. The bishop's reply to the duke's animadversions was, that the bill referred only to those seditious meetings where the discussion of laws was attempted by persons incompetent to judge of their propriety; nor did he know, "what the mass of the people, in any country, had to do with the laws, but to obey them."

An observation of this nature, drew, from the duke of Bedford, and the earl of Lauderdale, the ut-

most abhorrence that words could utter. The earl, in particular, affirmed, that had a Turkish mufti made such a declaration, in his presence, he should have imputed it to his ignorance; but to hear it from the mouth of a British prelate, excited his surprise no less than his indignation.

It may not be out of place to remark, that these words of the bishop did him considerable disservice, not only with the public, but with the ministerial party, who were abundantly sensible how much their cause was injured by such immoderate zeal, whether sincere or affected.

The bill, on the division, was carried by forty-five votes against three.

The third reading of the bill took place on the thirteenth of November, when the earl of Lauderdale proposed to extend the operation of it to Scotland, and to substitute it to the laws provided there against the like offences: observing, in support of his proposal, that more severity could not be requisite in Scotland, where the people were peaceably inclined, than in England, where a strong party was formed against the existing government. But his proposal was immediately negatived.

The bill was again opposed, with great vigour and animation, by the duke of Bedford. He felt, he said, a solicitude and anxiety on this subject, that compelled him to call forth every exertion, of which he was capable, to bear witness of his abhorrence of that bill, which he considered as a mortal stab to the English constitution, given, in despite of every remonstrance, by a ministry, determined to strike at every

every thing that stood in the way of their proceedings, however the voice of the public might reprobate them, or experience prove them contrary to the welfare of the nation. It was become usual, he said, to draw precedents from France, by the supporters of ministerial measures. He too could, with equal propriety, cite the example of that country in admonition to those who were become the rulers of this. What was it, he asked, that plunged France into those disorders and confusions that brought about the revolution? Surely not the field-meetings of the people, nor the discussions in private clubs, but the profligacy of a vicious court, and the licentious lives of the heads of the French nation, whose immoral characters lost them the esteem and respect of their countrymen; but the cause which principally accelerated that event was the iniquitous conduct of their government, and the corrupt subserviency of successive ministries to the wicked ambition of those who, unhappily for that kingdom, possessed the confidence of weak sovereigns, and involved them in contests and wars that drained the resources of the nation, and reduced the people to misery. These, together with the intolerable oppressions exercised upon the commonalty, excited that resentment of their wrongs, and that resolution to oppose tyranny, which produced the revolution. True it was, that the personal character of the monarch, on the British throne, was highly respectable and exemplary; but the perverseness of his ministers, in forcing his people into a war, neither of their choice nor to their interest, in lavishing their money

for its prosecution against their repeated wishes for its termination, in creating places and emoluments for the abettors of this ruinous system, and in adopting the severest and most unconstitutional measures against all who had the spirit to oppose them: these and other instances of obstinacy, arrogance, and contempt of the people's rights and interests, fully justified him in calling their conduct unconstitutional and corrupt.

The duke was answered by lord Grenville, who went over the same grounds of arguments already urged in support of the bill. He did not deny the duke's assertions respecting the corruption of the French court and government previous to the revolution, the commencement of which had excited the expectation of the people of this country, that the French would henceforth enjoy the happiness of a constitution similar to their own. But the horrible events that ensued owed their causes to the lawless principles maintained in the clubs and disorderly associations that took place in that unhappy country, and filled it with murder and desolation. Clubs, it was well known, had been instituted in England, in imitation and upon the same plan as those in France. Like them, they taught principles utterly subversive of ancient laws and constitutions, and inimical to the moral and religious order of things established for centuries. These were certainly most dangerous innovations, and tended evidently to throw this, and any country, into the most fatal disorders. They ought, therefore, to be resisted, and it would argue fear or imbecility not to oppose them in the firmest and most effectual manner,

ner, by holding out the severest chastisements to those who endeavoured to disseminate principles of so pernicious and destructive a tendency.

It was with much animal vehemence insisted on by the earl of Lauderdale, that the safety of ministers was much more consulted by this bill than that of the king. They were conscious, that if the people were suffered to meet together, their reiterated remonstrances could not fail, at last, to make some impression to their prejudice. The privilege of discussing parliamentary transactions had never yet been called in question or thought dangerous. The more important the question brought before the legislature, the greater was the propensity as well as the interest of the public to examine and scrutinize it. If this privilege was allowed in matters of little importance, it ought, indubitably, to hold good in affairs of great and weighty concern to the nation. Ministers had tried how far the law would bear them out in their endeavours to establish the doctrine of constructive treason; but the attempt was so odious, that it failed; the present, however, was an attempt far more invidious, and he doubted not, that if the people of England viewed it in that light, they would exert themselves so powerfully as to frustrate it, notwithstanding all ministerial arts and efforts in its favour. The debate finally concluded by sixty-six votes for the passing of the bill and seven against it. The duke of Bedford and the earls of Derby and Lauderdale entered a very solemn and spirited protest in opposition to it.

In the house of commons, the same influence prevailed as in the house of lords. A message from these was brought to the commons, on the 16th of November, informing them, that they had passed the bill for the king's better safety, and requesting their concurrence. Mr. Pitt, in consequence, moved its first reading, which was carried by one hundred and seventy votes against twenty-six; the second reading was voted by one hundred and fifty-one against twenty-five.

It being observed by lord Eardley, that a public meeting had been held on Sunday by persons who opposed the bill, a transaction which he looked upon as too much in the style of French principles, Mr. Sheridan observed, that the meeting was justified by its object, which was to prepare a hand-bill to dissuade the people from tumult and riot.

In conjunction with Mr. Fox, Mr. Grey, and Mr. Lambton, Mr. Sheridan proposed, that, previously to the discussion of the bill, a committee should be appointed to inquire into the particulars of the insult offered to the king. This was opposed by ministry as disrespectful in the first stage of a bill, framed for the security of the sovereign, and laid before them by the house of lords; but Mr. Sheridan insisted, that no proofs had been adduced to authorize so harsh a measure, and that ministers had no right to bring forward such a bill without the clearest proofs of its necessity. Ministers were bound, in their own justification, to make it appear to the public that they acted ingenuously and upon fair grounds, the case being of such importance and magnitude, that no suspicions

suspicious ought to be against ministers for undue compliances, of which, if guilty, they should not be suffered to escape the punishment annexed to their responsibility. It was equally absurd and unconstitutional to build any argument on the proclamations which were well known to be fabricated by ministers, and to deserve no more credit than the informers, reporters, and spies, employed by them in the prosecution of those whom they were compelled to release for want of better evidence. The doctrine of king-killing had been imputed to the meeting at Copenhagen-house; but, had such an imputation been founded, "prosecutions" said Mr. Sheridan, "must have taken place against the guilty, or else there must have been great neglect in the magistrates and the executive government;" but this being highly improbable, neither was the charge itself to be credited. On these premises he moved, "that a committee should be appointed to inquire into the existence and extent of the danger of seditious meetings, as referred to in the king's proclamation."

The notoriety of the inflammatory and seditious language, spoken at the popular meetings, was such, answered Mr. Powis, that no other evidence could be needed to justify the strong measures in contemplation, which were evidently necessary to check the turbulent disposition that had gone forth. It did not amount to absolute treason, but it approached so nearly to it as to call not only for immediate restriction but for adequate punishment; none being provided by any law in force, an act ought to be passed, both to restrain and punish the offenders in future. The proceedings of

the various assemblies of the people, both in England and Scotland, were invariably conformable to those of the clubs in France, and breathed a decided enmity to the constitution of this country.

Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Curwen, and Mr. Jekyl, vigorously supported the motion for an inquiry, and asserted the sufficiency of the existing laws for the suppression of conspiracies against the state, and that if they were not enforced the ministers themselves were to blame. Their representations of the state of things merited no attention; they were framed to deceive the public, and had neither truth nor even plausibility; they contradicted each other in the most perceptible manner, and could not therefore be relied on; the loyalty of the people and their attachment to government were one day insisted upon, and the next they were charged with factiousness and democratic principles. Was this a style of speaking becoming men at the head of the nation, and who were bound, by the exaltedness of their situation and the means of information it afforded, to be well acquainted with the temper of the nation, and ought therefore to be above the meanness of misrepresenting it to the sovereign, or of endeavouring to conceal it from the legislature? Mr. Fox, on this occasion, expressed particular indignation at the behaviour of some individuals employed by administration in the capacity of spies. In order to discover the designs of those they were commissioned to watch over, they affected to enter into their sentiments, and excited them to use words and to adopt proposals far more reprehensible than they first intended. What

name could be affixed sufficiently descriptive of so vile a character? He cited the case of those informers at the Old Bailey, who fall under this description, and he reminded the house of the cruel treatment of Mr. Walker, of Manchester, who, though liberated on the proof of perjury in his accuser, received however no compensation for his sufferings. The depravity of ministerial agents required indubitably to be checked, no less than the misdemeanours of those whose conduct they were employed to inspect. With sorrow, said Mr. Fox, he found himself compelled to bear witness to a melancholy truth, which was, that the freedom of the subject had been considerably abridged since the commencement of the present reign. It was vain to deny the discontent of the people at the conduct of ministers:—wherever popular meetings were held, this conduct was warmly and unanimously reprobated, as the cause of public calamities. He had, Mr. Fox said, been strongly impressed with the reality of this persuasion throughout the generality, by the unanimous marks of approbation he had met with that very morning from an assembly in Westminster, consisting of thirty thousand individuals at least, whom he had addressed to the same intent for which he was now speaking to the house, and who were apparently, almost to a man, convinced that he spoke the sense of the nation at large.

The motion for an inquiry was opposed by Mr. Pitt and the attorney-general, as creating a delay that might be productive of much danger. The tranquillity of the public required the promptest measures. The latter expressed great solicitude in vindicating his conduct

at the late trials: he insisted on the propriety of the bill in question, which, he said, would, at the worst, prove the adoption of a lesser evil, to prevent a greater. The present laws of the land were, in his opinion, inadequate to prevent the appearance of such publications as he had read, and of such meetings as had been held; new laws were of consequence necessary. The debate closed by twenty-two votes for Mr. Sheridan's motion, and one hundred and sixty-seven against it.

The second reading of the bill took place on the seventeenth of November. The liberty of speech was acknowledged by the solicitor-general to be a peculiar blessing of the English constitution, but it had lately been perverted by ill-designing men; in so glaring a manner, that the safety of the state required it should be so regulated, as to prevent the mischiefs wherein they were aiming to render it instrumental. So far, in his judgment, were the provisions of the bill sufficiently restrictive, for the purpose of curbing the licentiousness of the people, that they demanded additional restraints on the intemperance of speech, daily increasing among the commonalty. The provisions enacted by the bill would, he asserted, confine the people within the salutary limits of lawful discussions, and effectually obviate those riotous proceedings, that were the inevitable result of assemblies held by the vulgar classes, without some restraint to keep them in order. The presence of a magistrate would completely effect this, without entrenching on their privilege to meet for the purpose of laying their grievances before the legislature, and petitioning for redress. While this right remained untouched,

ed, and was only subjected to regulations for its more beneficial exercise, it was unreasonable to complain of its being extinguished. The solicitor, speaking of the purity and independence of the British parliament, took this occasion to condemn the system adopted by the French, of allowing salaries to the representatives of the nation. Hence, he asserted, arose the calamities of France. It was a practice which had long been relinquished by this country, and which denoted the prudence of the people and government. He also advanced another maxim, which was, that revolutions were always the work of minorities: these usually consisted of spirited and active individuals, who were not deterred by difficulties, and whose resolution and perseverance rendered them indefatigable, and enabled them finally to overcome the majorities that opposed their designs. These majorities being composed of the peaceable and well-affected to government, though acting with loyalty, did not exert themselves with a fervour equal to that of their antagonists, whose vigour and animation in pursuing the objects for which they were contending, inspired them with exertions too violent to be resisted by men, who had only ordinary motives to influence them, while the others were prompted by that multiplicity of passions which actuate men who are striving to exalt themselves above others, and to expel them from the seat of power, in order to occupy it themselves. From the various reasonings that had been used in support of the bill, he inferred, that as the laws in force did not sufficiently apply to the numerous meetings and associations,

where the seditious principles complained of were encouraged, laws that might clearly be directed against them, ought of course to be enacted.

In reply to the solicitor-general, Mr. Erskine positively denied the bill's consistency with the principles of the British constitution. Neither in the reign of Charles II. nor of William III. nor in those that followed, though two of them were marked by rebellions, had the ministry dared to attempt such an infringement on the liberty of the subject; and yet the first of these reigns was immediately after those commotions that had brought a king to the scaffold: the second was noted for the obstinacy with which the adherents to a dethroned monarch exerted themselves in his cause, even to the attempting the very life of the prince upon the throne. In the height of the rebellion of 1745, no minister had ventured to fetter the nation in the manner proposed by the present bill. Even the very framers of it, when they suspended the habeas-corpus-act, and were preparing their materials for the late trials, had abstained from this glaring invasion of national freedom. No plots had since arisen, corroborated with any proofs, to arm ministers with a just pretence for so outrageous an attack on the constitution; the fundamentals of which were so materially affected by it, that the right to petition, on which the security of the people against oppression essentially depended, would be utterly destroyed. The bill forbade all discussion that was not sanctioned by a magistrate. Did not such a clause empower magistrates appointed by, and removable at, the will of the crown, to be judges of the nature of the petitions

of the people? was it presumable that such persons would permit a petition, militating against any ministerial measure, to be brought forward in a popular meeting? but whatever the favours of absolute powers might advance in support of such a bill, it took away at once the right inherent in the people to resist a tyrannical government. The public meetings had been charged with speaking bold language; but there were occasions that warranted the boldest language. The people of England had inalienably the right to defend their liberties to the last extremity: such were the sentiments of the great lord Chatham, and such were his own. In no situation would he desert that cause, and was determined never to die a slave. It was, in the mean time, with the heaviest concern, that he observed a circumstance pregnant with much calamity: this was the estrangement of the higher classes from the lower: this had been the radical cause of the evils that had befallen France. Previously to the revolution there were but two orders of society in that country, a haughty and domineering nobility, and a wretched oppressed multitude. Hence arose the resentments of the lower classes, who beheld themselves tyrannised over by a profligate court and government, to which, for that reason, they did not conceive themselves bound to submit. Arguing from this weighty precedent, Mr. Erskine warned the possessors of power, and the owners of great property in this country, to beware of the fatal examples before them, and not to abet a law by which the people's liberties must necessarily be abrogated, and a spirit of revenge excited in them which would inevitably break forth soon

or late. Compulsion and the dread of force might induce them to submit awhile to their oppressors; but it would be a sullen submission, and though it might even last a few years, the remembrance of liberty would still survive, and prompt them, in an evil hour for the destroyers of their freedom, to resume it on some auspicious opportunity, and to take the most signal vengeance upon its enemies. In corroboration of his sentiments, Mr. Erskine referred to the speech of the chief justice, at the late trials for high treason at the Old Bailey. "Among the objects of the attention of freemen, said the chief justice, the principles of government, the constitutions of particular governments, and, above all, the constitution of the government under which they live, will naturally engage their attention, and provoke speculation. The power of communication of thoughts and opinions is the gift of God, and the freedom of it is the source of all science, the first fruit and the ultimate happiness of society; and therefore it seems to follow, that human laws ought not to interpose, nay, cannot interpose, to prevent the communication of sentiments and opinions in voluntary assemblies of men." So dangerously was the bill framed, that it was in the power of any one individual present at a meeting to occasion its dissolution, by speaking a few seditious words, that would instantly authorise the presiding magistrate to put an end to it on that pretence; but was it not clear that, for a paltry gratification, a hireling might be found to afford this pretence to a ministerial justice for executing the mandates of his employer? It was false that no law existed to prevent seditious proceedings: a magistrate had

had it always in his option to dissolve a disorderly assembly when it was evidently accompanied by a breach of the peace; and by the riot-act he was explicitly empowered to disperse meetings held on unlawful purposes. Mr. Erskine next proceeded to expose the change of sentiments in the English on matters of government. Mr. Burke had, he said, already taken notice of this alteration so long ago as the American war. "We begin, his words were, to acquire the spirit of domination, and to lose the relish of honest equality: the principles of our forefathers become suspected to us, because we see them animating the present opposition of their American descendants. The faults which grow out of the luxuriance of freedom, appear much more shocking to us than those vices which are generated from the rankness of servitude." Thus, said Mr. Erskine, neither the idea, nor the term of equality, were strangers to our language till lately, as some time-servers would insinuate. It were wiser in the higher ranks to cherish this idea, than to affect a secession from the commonalty, and to hold it beneath their dignity to make one common cause with them. The great ought seriously to weight the consequences that must certainly ensue from a contest between them and the little. It would indicate a spirit of disunion in this country, of which the French would not fail to avail themselves; far worse would be the conditions of a treaty with them in such a case, than if they found us united in disposition and interests. Mr. Erskine, reverting to the motives alledged in support of the bill, said, because, while the sovereign was going to parliament, at a time when

a complication of calamities had rendered the poor desperate, a few wretches were guilty of outrages to him, for which they might have been punished by statutes long existing, the whole nation is at once to lose the privilege on which it justly sets the highest value. The statute enacted in the thirteenth of Charles II. was, he observed, the acknowledged precedent of the present bill: by the tenour of that statute one hundred thousand individuals might assemble in order to concert together a petition: the only prohibitions contained in that act, were, to hawk the petition about for those to sign, who might not know of the grievances complained of, and that more than ten persons should present the petition to the king. It also empowered magistrates to interpose their authority when overt acts of tumult took place, and to require security against any breach of the peace; but no meeting nor communication of thoughts were forbidden; tumultuously petitioning was the only thing forbidden. How different, exclaimed Mr. Erskine, was this act from the bill now depending, which even prevented men from petitioning. He concluded by animadverting on the language once used by Mr. Pitt himself, on the subject of parliamentary reform. "We had lost America, were the minister's words, through the corruption of an unreformed parliament, and we should never have a wise and honourable administration, nor be freed from the evils of unnecessary war, nor the fatal effects of the funding system, till a radical reform was obtained." But the man who had spoken these true and memorable words was the same who now charged with sedition all

those who thought and spoke as he had done, and who reprobated the measures, which, after he had so bitterly complained of them in that speech, he had now thought proper to adopt.

A reply was made to Mr. Erskine by Mr. Anstruther and lord Mornington. The first repeated the various arguments adduced in favour of the bill, and the second produced a variety of passages out of several publications, in order to prove its propriety. The latter was violently arraigned on this account by Mr. Sheridan.

The bill was defended by Mr. Dundas, who took occasion to observe, that no member of that house had so frequently distinguished himself by appeals to the people as Mr. Fox, combating ministers in popular meetings one half of the day, and attacking them with equal fervour in parliament during the remainder. He had acted the same part during the American war to as little purpose, however, as it would appear he had done at present. Mr. Dundas inveighed, with great asperity, against some particulars in his political conduct and connections, which he exerted himself to describe in the most disadvantageous colours.

These reproaches drew a severe answer from Mr. Fox, who pointedly reminded him of the maxim held forth by his coadjutor Mr. Pitt, that popular harangues were "the best and most useful duty, which representatives in parliament could discharge to their constituents." In appealing to the public he had done no more than his duty, which enjoined him, whenever the conduct of ministers appeared in a questionable light to inform the people of his sentiments relating to

their designs. The bill he explicitly defined, a daring attempt to overthrow the fundamental principle on which the constitution stood; the universal freedom of discussion. With regard to the inefficacy of his remonstrances against the American war, he readily admitted that he had uniformly, and on all occasions, condemned that war from first to last, and that all his remonstrances against it, as the honourable gentlemen had justly observed, had been to no purpose. But whether this ought to be made matter of shame or reproach to himself, or of triumph to the honourable gentleman, he left the house, the world, and even the honourable gentleman, to judge.—A deep silence at these words took place for a few moments on both sides of the house, and every eye was turned on Mr. Dundas, who, contrarily to his usual manner, discovered, or at least was thought to discover, symptoms of discomposure. The debate closed with two hundred and thirteen votes for the second reading of the bill, and forty-three against it.

The second reading of the bill, for the better security of the king's person, was moved in the house of commons on the nineteenth of November; when the question being put, Mr. Fox opposed it on account of the absence of many members; but the motion passed by sixty-four against twenty-two.

In the mean time, the public was no less occupied than parliament itself, in the discussion of the two bills pending in both houses. The novelty of the measures proposed, their inimical tendency to the long established usages of the nation, their direct aim at its liberty, and the daringness of ministers in bringing forward so undeniable an infringement

fringement of rights, that had been respected by all preceding administrations: these combined motives excited an alarm, which was felt in every part of the nation. All people, without exception, cordially avowed their loyalty to the sovereign, but as vehemently protested against the passing of the two bills, as unconstitutional, and clearly subversive of the main foundation of English liberty, the right of the people to assemble and to communicate their sentiments reciprocally upon those subjects, which they thought necessary to bring into discussion, and to frame petitions upon them to the king and the legislature. The determinate steadiness and perseverance of the public on this critical occasion was the more remarkable, that every effort was used by the ministerial party to prevent those popular exertions against the designs in agitation: but these were viewed with so suspicious an eye, that every argument in their justification vanished before the discontent they seemed to have universally excited. Numbers even of those who did not disapprove the conduct of ministers in other respects, could not bring themselves to approve the two bills in contemplation. Those even who supported them, as requisite during the fermentation at present pervading all classes, frankly acknowledged them to be contrary to the principles of the English constitution, the freedom of which, however, unless restrained by some temporary regulations, threatened to become licentiousness, and to precipitate the public into all those miseries that had been so woefully experienced by their unhappy neighbours, the French. But those who thus maintained the necessity of these bills, pleaded only for a

limited duration of them. As they were indubitably an abridgment of national liberty, they ought, it was strongly asserted, to last no longer than the occasion that gave rise to them. When the disputes of the day, and the feuds they produced were at an end, they ought instantly to be repealed, and the full exercise of the ancient liberties of the nation, to be restored without the least diminution upon any pretence. Thus argued the majority of those who favoured the bills.

But a far superior majority would admit of them on no pretence whatever. They were, it was indignantly affirmed, the component parts of a system that began to unfold itself in too visible a manner not to be perceived, and too alarming a one not to be resisted by every real friend to the liberty of his country. This resistance was indeed proposed by some to be carried to the most resolute extremity; and had not the immense power of government been prudently weighed, the proposal would, in the opinion of numbers, have been carried into execution: but though a resistance of so dangerous a nature gave way to the cool reflections of the better advised, every other species of opposition took place against the two bills in question. Meetings and consultations, both private and public, were held every where. Clubs and associations were formed for the purpose of opposing them by every method not liable to the cognizance of the law. Never had there appeared, in the memory of the oldest man, so firm and decided a plurality of adversaries to the ministerial measures as on this occasion: the interest of the public seemed so deeply at stake, that individuals, not only of the decent, but of the

most vulgar professions, gave up a considerable portion of their time and occupations in attending the numerous meetings that were called in every part of the kingdom, to the professed intent of counteracting this attempt of the ministry.

The whig club, comprising not a few individuals of the first rank and property in the kingdom, led the way in this celebrated opposition. It met on the eleventh of November, and was presided by the duke of Bedford. All the members of both houses of parliament belonging to the club attended on this occasion. The speeches and opinions delivered were uncommonly spirited and resolute. After mature deliberation, it was unanimously resolved, that they would give every aid to the civil magistrate in detecting, and bringing to punishment, the persons concerned in the daring attack made upon the king, in his passage to parliament, on the first day of the session: that, lamenting, as they did, this nefarious act, they saw, with the utmost concern, that it had been used as a pretext for introducing into parliament a bill, striking at the liberty of the press, and the freedom of public discussion, in substance and effect destroying the right of the subject to petition the branches of the legislature for redress of grievances, and utterly subversive of the genuine principles of the constitution; and for proposing another measure, calculated to produce similar effects, by means still more exceptionable. That it was therefore highly expedient, that meetings of the people, in their respective districts, should be immediately called, to consider this important subject, and for the purpose of petitioning parliament against the said bill, or any other measure which

might tend to infringe the just rights of the people of Great Britain.

The corresponding society's numerous members, together with an immense multitude of their adherents and well-wishers, assembled on the twelfth of November, in the fields near Copenhagen-house. Here they solemnly denied all intentions of raising commotions, and disproved, by the strongest arguments they could adduce, the charge brought against them, by ministry, of being concerned in the outrages committed against the king. They framed three petitions, one to the king, and the two others to the lords and commons; stating them to be the unanimous petitions of nearly four hundred thousand British subjects, met together to communicate their sentiments, and express them freely, as authorised to do by the bill of rights, on the measures of ministry, which tended to invade the liberties vested in them by the constitution. They supplicated, therefore, the king to exert his royal authority, in the preservation of his people's rights, directly threatened by the two bills brought forward by his ministers; and they requested the two houses to interfere in behalf of the public, against the ministerial attempt to procure their passing.

The livery of London, the electors of Westminster, and the freeholders of Middlesex, agreed to remonstrances and petitions of the like nature, and were followed by a number of counties, and almost every town of note in the kingdom. In the public meetings, held for those purposes, people were nearly unanimous in their opposition to the bills: but they were secretly counteracted by the agents of ministry, who circulated clandestinely counter-

counter-addresses in their favour. It was strongly asserted, at the time, that these were signed by none but ministerial dependents, such as officers of the customs and excise, and military men. So great was the repugnance of the people at large asserted to have been, that the signatures of youth at school was resorted to. But with all these exertions, the petitions, on the side of the ministry, did not exceed sixty-four subscribed by about thirty thousand individuals of the above description, while the addresses against the bills, amounted to near one hundred, and the subscribers to upwards of one hundred and thirty thousand.

Among those who signalized their adherence to ministry, were the members of the association, formed, with the countenance and aid of government, by Mr. Reeves, at the close of 1792, and the commencement of 1793, against republicans and levellers. They stood forward on this occasion, with extraordinary zeal, in support of the two bills, of which they expressed the highest approbation in the address which they presented to the king.

But, notwithstanding the disproportion of numbers against them, ministry persisted, with unremitting resolution, in carrying forward their designs. However, opposed by the majority of the nation, they were secure of a support in parliament, that would enable them to compass the point proposed. The popular opinions were, in the mean time, represented by those who argued in defence of the bills, as the mere ebullitions of party zeal, and dictated to the people by the leaders of parliamentary opposition, who hoped to excite such complaints and clamours against the conduct of government,

as might deter it from the prosecution of its plans. These, they asserted, were, in the opinion of the judicious and the more respectable part of the community, necessary for the internal tranquillity of the kingdom, and could only be disapproved by those factious and disaffected people, who sought, for malicious purposes, to throw the country into confusion.

While the nation at large was thus agitated, its representatives were taken up with no less violent debates on the petitions now presented to them from every quarter. That from the corresponding society was laid before the house on the twenty-third of November, by Mr. Sturt, who warmly exculpated that society from the imputations of treason or sedition. In order to shew, at the same time, the malevolent intentions of ministry, and its partizans, he produced a performance, attributed to Mr. Reeves, the framer and president of the associations against republicans and levellers, wherein it was unequivocally maintained, "that the government of England was a monarchy; that the monarch was the ancient stock from which have sprung those goodly branches of the legislature, the lords and commons; that these, however, were still only branches, and that they might be lopped off, and the tree be a tree still, shorn indeed of its honours, but not, like them, cast into the fire."

So flagrant a violation of the fundamental principles of the English constitution excited the indignation, not only of the opposition, but of many of the members friendly to ministers. The public loudly proclaimed it a stab aimed at the vitals of the constitution, and loaded the author with the most opprobrious

ous epithets. So universal was the detestation of the principles contained in this performance, that it was judged requisite, in order to appease the public, formally to vote it a libel on the constitution, and to direct the attorney-general to prosecute the author. But so weak and faint was the prosecution, in the opinion of the public, that they stigmatised the prosecutors, as acting knowingly under the control of directors, who certainly would not suffer so valuable an instrument of their designs to suffer an injury for having acquitted himself so much to their satisfaction.

On the twenty-fifth of November, a motion was made, by Mr. Curwen, to postpone, one week, the discussion of the two bills. He spoke, with marked vehemence, against the bill for preventing seditious meetings, as tending, in its infallible effects, to change the whole constitution. It was only in popular meetings, he observed, that the real sentiments of the people could be manifested; and these sentiments, thus freely expressed, had hitherto, though affectedly slighted by ministers, proved an effectual restraint on their power, and stemmed that torrent of corruption with which they endeavoured to overwhelm all resistance to their measures. Were this strongest, and almost only remaining, bulwark of the constitution to be demolished, all opposition must fall with it, both within, as well as without, the house; as the commons, when no longer supported, by the concurring voice of the people, would quickly experience a diminution of their own consequence, which, they must be conscious, rested entirely on the consequence of the people. Were these to be silenced, how could their re-

presentatives consistently pretend to deliver the opinion of their constituents? The influence of the crown had, of late years, overweighed all the importance of the democratic part of the constitution, by depriving it of so alarming a proportion of its property, and annexing it to the aristocracy, through the creation of such a number of peers. If the remaining friends to the democracy valued its existence, and considered it as the only solid foundation of liberty, a truth not to be denied, they would rally around it, without delay, and exert their whole strength to preserve it from the ruin with which it was now menaced, more obviously, and more dangerously, than ever.

In the course of the memorable speech, which he made on this day, Mr. Curwen took occasion to bring to the recollection of the house an expression that had fallen, two days before, from Mr. Windham, in a debate on the bill for securing the king's person against popular insults. This gentleman, in answering a speech of Mr. Fox, had given him to understand, in explicit terms, that ministers were determined to exert a vigour *beyond the laws*. So singular an expression did not fail to strike the whole house with astonishment. By the enemies to ministry, it was construed into an inadvertent avowal, that they were resolved to pay no regard to the laws in the execution of their projects, and would destroy such as stood in their way; and it was, in fact, blamed by both sides of the house, as equally imprudent and intemperate.

Mr. Curwen's animadversions, on these words of Mr. Windham, were extremely spirited and severe. He rebuked him, forcibly, for presuming

ing, that the many men of intrepidity, with which the parliament and nation abounded, would tamely permit him, and his associates, to trample on their rights, and submit to become the passive instruments of their violation. Mr. Windham replied only by a smile. Mr. Curwen's motion was, nevertheless, outvoted by two hundred and sixty-nine against seventy.

On the twenty-seventh of November, the house went into a committee on the bill for preventing seditious meetings, when Mr. Fox, Mr. Grey, Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Lambton, and all the other members of the opposition, Mr. Sheridan excepted, left the house. Even Mr. Sheridan declared, that he did not remain for the end of proposing any alterations in the bill. To do justice to the public, it ought, he said, to be negatived in every part of its contents.

The secession of the minority underwent a variety of discussions on its propriety. Many were, indeed, of opinion, that well knowing their presence could be no impediment to the passing of the bill, a formal secession from an assembly, that was, in their judgment, resolved to destroy the liberty of the nation, would make a greater impression upon the public, than if they were to continue sitting in the house, and opposing the ministers, as usual, to no purpose. But many were of a different opinion, and thought, by their presence and resistance, notwithstanding that the bills would have past, they must have been divested of much of the severity with which they were accompanied, and that it became them, at all events, to dispute every inch of the ground, of which, by their retreat, the ministry would now become undisturbed possessors.

The bill was, of course, carried through the house without opposition, and without any other modifications than its supporters thought necessary to render it less odious to the public. It was proposed, by the solicitor-general; on reading the third clause against the meeting of more than fifty persons, that if twelve of them remained together, one hour after being ordered to disperse, it should be adjudged death, without benefit of clergy. But an amendment was moved, making it only punishable as a misdemeanour. This was seconded by Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Stanley, Mr. Banks, and Sir W. Dolben: but the severity of the solicitor-general prevailed, and his motion was carried by eighty votes against only thirteen; so completely was the house devoted to the inexorable disposition of the framers of this bill.

This was evinced no less glaringly, on discussing that clause which empowered the magistrate present at any popular meeting to dissolve it immediately, should he be of opinion, that any subject brought forward were unlawful, or of a seditious tendency. The clause was confirmed, and the magistrate also authorized to seize and commit the person whom he judged guilty of such offence.

The last clause respected the duration of the bill. The solicitor-general, consistently with the severe system he had embraced, moved that it should last three years. Mr. Stanley endeavoured to reduce it to one, or at most to no more than two, but the majority continued immoveable in its compliance with the solicitor, and the term of three years was voted by forty-six against only two.

The bill was read a third time, according to form, on the third of December, and carried up to the house of lords on the same day.

The bill for the security of the sovereign was, on the thirtieth of November, taken into consideration by a committee of the whole house of commons, when Mr. Erskine opposed it by a variety of reasonings. He observed, that the bill diminished the liberty of the subject, without adding to the safety of the king's person. It was a political maxim of long standing, that the best government was that which produced the greatest security with the fewest restraints, and that the worst was that which increased penalties without undisputed evidence of their propriety. Another maxim, of equal force, was to preserve ancient laws in their primitive simplicity, till experience had proved them inadequate to their intended purposes. The statute of Edward III. concerning treason, had not been proved, but merely asserted, to be unequal to the punishment of the outrages referred to in the two bills. In the opinion of one of the greatest luminaries of the law in this country, the lord-chief-justice Hale, that important statute had been enacted, as a remedy against former oppression, and to secure the subject against illegal prosecution. To compass, or even to imagine, the death of the king, was, by that statute, declared high treason: could words be found of stronger import, or of plainer meaning? To levy war against the king, or to grant comfort and protection to his enemies was, by that statute, made equally criminal: but it did not make the compassing to levy war against him high treason, because the legislators of that day did not consider a conspiracy to levy such

a war as more than a misdemeanour, which, like many others, might not deserve material notice, while no clear and overt act could be adduced to prove it, and without which act no treasonable intentions could lawfully be presumed. Mr. Erskine argued, from the decision of lord-chief-justice Holt, that overt acts alone, properly established, ought to be admitted as proofs of guilt in trials for high treason. The bill in contemplation would, he explicitly affirmed, extend the crime of high treason to such a multitude of trivial cases, that every petty misdemeanour might be brought within its construction. After a variety of other arguments had been used on both sides, the debate closed by two hundred and three votes, for the commitment of the bill, against forty.

On the third reading of this bill, the tenth of December, it was opposed in the same manner, and maintained with the same reasonings as antecedently, but it passed, with all its clauses, after some ineffectual objections to that in particular, which enacted its duration till the demise of the king.

The bill to prevent seditious meetings was read a first time on the third of December, and its second reading took place on the ninth, when lord Grenville urged a multiplicity of reasons in its favour. He declared it necessary for the preservation of the lives and property of individuals, and for the security of the constitution, and liberties of the people, for which he alleged that the laws in being had not sufficiently provided.

The marquis of Lansdowne, and the earls of Moria and Derby, strenuously opposed it. They particularly reprobated that clause which autho-

rized the magistrate to commit to immediate imprisonment whomever they thought proper to charge with seditious language, or behaviour, in any popular meeting. This they asserted was to constitute them, at once, judges and jury. The earl of Moira took pointed notice of an expression that had been used by the earl of Westmorland. The words of that nobleman were "send the people to the loom and to the anvil, and there let them earn bread instead of wasting their time in seditious meetings." This, said lord Moira, was degrading men below the condition assigned to them by the Almighty, who certainly could not have intended that any part of mankind should be doomed merely to work and eat like the beasts of the field. They too were endowed with the faculty of reasoning, and had certainly the right to use it.

Strong and cogent arguments were produced, by lord Thurlow, to prove that the government of England could not, in justice to the nation, fetter it with new laws, merely to prevent the possible consequences, in this country, of those principles, the importation of which, from France, was apprehended. After signifying his general disapprobation of the bill, he pointed out its variations from the provisions of the acts of Charles II. and George I. respecting seditious proceedings. By the latter, known by the name of the riot-act, people unlawfully assembled did not, however, expose themselves to capital punishment, unless they persisted in acting in a disorderly and tumultuous manner during a whole hour after the act had been read to them. But, by the present bill, if people were assembled, in order to take a subject relating to the public into consideration, and con-

tinued together, however peaceably, to the number of twelve persons, an hour after proclamation made, they were adjudged guilty of felony, without benefit of clergy; and the presiding magistrate was authorized to use violence, even to death, in apprehending them. This clause was so unjustifiable, that he thought himself bound to oppose the bill, were it solely from this motive.

The lord chancellor made a long and elaborate reply to lord Thurlow's objections, without advancing, however, any thing new in support of the bill. The question for its going into a committee was carried by one hundred and nine votes against twenty-one.

The house of lords went, accordingly, into a committee upon the bill, on the eleventh of December, when the duke of Norfolk opposed the clause extending the operation of the bill to three years, and moved that it should be limited to one. He was seconded by lords Scarborough, Darnley, Radnor, and Romney. But the term of three years was supported by lords Grenville, Spencer, and Mulgrave, and voted by forty-five to eight. On the fourteenth of December, 1795, the bill was read a third time and finally passed.

No law, enacted by the British legislature, was ever received by the nation with such evident and general marks of ill will and disapprobation as these two celebrated bills, on which the public bestowed the appellation of the Pitt and Grenville acts, in order to set a mark upon their authors, and hold them out to the odium of the people.

These two acts were considered the most restrictive of any that have been passed by an English parliament since the reigns of the Tudors; a family of which the remembrance

membrance is far from being agreeable to the people of England; notwithstanding that it produced an Elizabeth, whose tyrannical disposition and maxims tarnished the lustre of all her great qualities. The despotism of that house was indignantly recalled to notice on this occasion, and the severity of the two acts in question, compared to the most arbitrary and oppressive proceedings of the sovereigns of England, previous to the commencement of the seventeenth century.

It was owned, at the same time, by every candid mind, that if, on the one hand, there was danger to be apprehended, from measures tending to despotism, there was, on the other, danger in allowing an unrestrained freedom of haranguing the populace; a freedom that tended to anarchy and confusion. If, on the one hand, it be the nature of power to mount, with hasty steps, into the throne of despotism, it seems to be inseparable from liberty, on the other, to push its claims beyond a just and reasonable degree of freedom. Amidst a scarcity of grain; an accumulation of taxes; an unsuccessful, not to say unnecessary war; difficulties abroad; distresses at home:—when the elements were troubled, and a storm so greatly threatened, silence was imposed on the ship's crew, and each man was fixed to his particular station.

The danger to be apprehended from the operation of those laws did not consist so much in any immediate restraint they might impose on a reasonable freedom of discussion, and presentation of petitions to the legislature, whether for the redress or the prevention of grievances, as in the tendency they had to enervate the spirit of liberty. The consequences

of many, nay most, innovations are not perceived at first: otherwise they would, in many instances, be immediately resisted. By the time that pernicious innovations are perceived, custom and habit have rendered them less odious and intolerable. Precedents, growing into authorities, rise into absolute dominion, by slow degrees; by accessions and distant encroachments, each of which, singly considered, seemed of little importance. The vanity of resistance at last breaks the spirit of the people, and disposes them to unreserved submission. Their political importance being wholly gone, they are degraded, more and more, and subjected to greater and greater oppressions and insults.—It was observed by many, even of those who were disposed to admit the temporary expediency of the two unpopular and odious acts, that the greater part by far of our new laws have a reference, either to public revenue or to the security of the monarchical part of the constitution: and that few, of any extensive operation, are of the class that may be denominated popular and paternal.

The only alleviation that accompanied the two acts, was the time limited for their duration. This kept up the spirits and hopes of the people, that however their representatives might have been prevailed upon to suspend the exercise of those privileges, on which the national freedom depended, they were too wise, as well as too honest, to trust them in the hands of the executive power, any longer than they might be convinced was requisite for the fermentation of the times to subside, and for the people to revert to their former temper.

CHAP. III.

In the House of Commons, Regulations respecting the Sale of Flour, and the Making of Bread.—Motions by Mr. Lechmere and Mr. Whitbread, respecting the Causes of the Scarcity of Wheaten Flour, and the Hardships incident to the Labouring Poor.—Negatived.—Bill for Encouraging the Cultivation of Waste Lands.—Motions for the Support of the Land and Sea Service.—Strictures on the Conduct of Ministry in the War Department.—Replied to by Mr. Windham.—Debates on the Erektion of Barracks.—A Statement of the Expences of 1796, amounting from twenty-seven to twenty-eight Millions sterling.—Debates concerning the Terms of the Loan.—Vote approving the Conduct of the Minister on this Subject.—New Taxes.—Debates thereon.—Message from the King, intimating his Disposition to enter into a Negociation with the present Government of France.—An Address moved, expressing the Readiness of the House to concur in such a Measure.—Amendment thereon, moved by Mr. Sheridan.—This rejected, and the Address carried.—Motion for Peace, by Mr. Grey.—Negatived.

DURING these parliamentary and popular agitations, the houses were not unmindful of the critical state of the country, through the alarming scarcity of corn that had prevailed for some time. On the thirtieth of October, 1795, the second day of the session, Mr. Pitt moved, that the bill, allowing the importation of corn, duty free, should be extended to another year. He

proposed at the same time several regulations relating to the sale of flour, and the making of bread.

It was observed by Mr. Lechmere, that no remedy could be applied to the scarcity without investigating its causes; the principal of which he believed to be the monopoly of farms,* and the jobbing in corn. Public granaries ought, he said, to be erected, where every one

* It is one of the most pleasing as well as important tasks imposed on the journalist to record, with due approbation, and point out as much as possible, such public counsels and actions as originate in sound patriotism, and are eminently conducive to the public good. We wish that Mr. Lechmere's observation on the baneful effects of monopolization of land had met with more attention, and been made a subject of parliamentary inquiry and regulation. It is with great satisfaction that we notice the efforts of feeling and enlightened men, who, whether by speaking or writing, recommend attention to the labouring poor. Whoever peruses "Mr. Newte, of Tiverton's Tour in England and Scotland," and "An Essay on the Right of Property in Land," ascribed to professor Ogilvie, of Aberdeen, will be abundantly satisfied, that, by a due encouragement of agriculture and the fisheries, which may be considered as species of agriculture, sources of unfailing prosperity might be opened to this island, amidst

one might purchase without the therefore moved for an enquiry into intervention of corn-dealers. He the causes of the scarcity.

amidst all the possible veerings of commerce, and even under progressive taxes. But the best stimulant to agriculture, according to the just observation and reasonings of the very worthy, as well as ingenious and well-informed authors just mentioned, that could possibly be devised, would be to invent some means, whereby the actual labourer might be animated with the hope of rising to the situation of an actual cultivator of the soil; such as restraints on the excessive monopolization of land; long, and in some cases perpetual leases; a judicious distribution of waste lands, and various contingencies improveable by the legislature in favour of the peasantry of this country, without injuring the great proprietors of land, but even promoting their interest in particular. That this is practicable has been experimentally proved by the duke of Bedford, the earl of Winchelsea, the earl of Suffolk, and other real patriots and benefactors to their country. There is a strong temptation to throw different farms into one, in the circumstance, that by this means the landlord avoids the expence of keeping up different farm-steads. In order to counteract this inducement, to the excessive enlargement of farms, it was wisely enacted, in the reign of king Henry VIII. that the landlord should be at liberty to dispose of his lands as he pleased, but that he must nevertheless keep up in good repair all the ancient mansions and farm-steads. The preamble to this law, which has now unfortunately become obsolete, is worthy of serious attention at the present day.

It is a melancholy consideration, that the most prosperous career of arts, manufactures, and commerce, in any individual nation or empire, (not their migration into different countries) carries in itself the seeds of corruption. Mechanical arts and manufactures, bringing together great crowds of people into factories and great towns, confining their bodies to close and narrow spots, and their minds to a very few ideas, are prejudicial to the health, the morals, and even the intellectual powers of a people. There is more strength, self-command, natural affection, and general knowledge and contrivance among tillers of the ground, pastoral tribes, and even savage nations; all of which conditions of men are accustomed to employ their cares, and to turn their hand to a vast variety of occupations.

While the wants of men are increased by luxury, their natural resources are diminished: they become inactive and slothful, less and less fitted to bear up under hardships, and to adapt their labour to different exigencies and circumstances. They know but one art. The manufacture in which they are employed fluctuates with the artificial state of society, out of which it sprung. The enervated artisan is thrown on the mercy of the public. A similar ratio holds with regard to nations; each succeeding generation becomes more luxurious than the last; each becomes less capable of exertion. There is, for a long time, a curious struggle between the wants and exertions of men and of nations: but the exertions at last yield to the enervating influence of luxury, and hence we may say of the reign of the arts, what Sallust observes of political empire, "that it is in the course of things always transferred from the bad to the good." The immensity of our national debt, which imposes on the hand of industry the fetters of immoderate taxation, added to all these considerations, casts an air of melancholy over our political horizon.

This gloom, however, is not a little brightened up by three circumstances.

First, there is yet a very large scope in this island for the extension and improvement of agriculture, which breeds a race of men innocent, healthy, and hardy.

Secondly, there is still a greater scope for the extension and improvement of our fisheries and navigation, which nourish a hardy race of mortals, maintaining great activity and virtue, amidst occasional excesses.

While any land remains to be cultivated, cultivation is better than manufactures, not only in respect of the health, happiness, and morals of the people, but of public revenue. This reasoning is confirmed by the wise economy of America; by the economists of France, and the writings of their disciples in this and other countries. See particularly "The Essential Principles of the Wealth of Nations, illustrated in opposition to some False Doctrines of Dr. Adam Smith, and others."

After

After a long discussion of the causes of the scarcity, they were found to be of so complicated a nature, that it proved difficult to remove them. A bill was however brought in to prohibit the manufacture of starch from wheat and other grain; to lower the duties on its importation, to prevent the distilling from it, and all obstructions to its free transportation though every part of the kingdom.

It appeared, in the mean time, from the information laid before the committee of inquiry into the high price of corn, that, with an exception to wheat, the harvest had been very productive: thus by mixing flour of different grains good bread might be made; a measure the more indispensable, that from a variety of causes no sufficient supplies of corn could be expected from abroad; a bounty of twenty shillings was however agreed to for every quarter imported from the Mediterranean, until the importation amounted to three hundred thousand; a bounty of fifteen shillings a quarter upon that from America, till it amounted to five hundred thousand; and five shillings a quarter on Indian corn, till it amounted also to five hundred thousand.

The hardships incident to labourers, tradesmen, and manufacturers, were, on the twenty-seventh of November, brought before the consideration of the house by Mr. Whitbread, who observed, that the highest extent of wages to husbandmen was fixable by the magistrate, but not the lowest. On the ninth of December he brought in a bill to authorise justices of peace to regulate the price of labour at every quarter session. Herein he was supported by Mr. Fox, Mr. Jekyll, Mr. Honeywood, and other mem-

bers; and opposed by Mr. Burdon, Mr. Buxton, Mr. Vansittart, and Mr. Pitt. The latter was of opinion, that, in a matter of this kind, the operation of general principles ought to be attended to, preferably to uncertain and precarious remedies. It was dangerous to interfere, by regulations, in the intercourse between individuals, engaged in the various businesses of society. Many of the distresses complained of originated from the abuses that had crept into the execution of the laws relating to the poor, which required much amendment. They did not sufficiently discriminate between the unfortunate and the idle and dissipated. All application for relief should be founded upon unavoidable misfortune, and, if possible, the relief should consist of employment, which would not only benefit the individual applying, but the community itself, by an increase of labour and industry to the common stock. He recommended the institution of friendly societies, to relieve poor families proportionably to the number of their children, and the loan of small sums, payable in two or three years. After a laborious discussion of this subject Mr. Whitbread's motion was negatived, as well as that which had been made for the benefit of the actual labourers, or cultivators of the soil, by Mr. Lechmere.

The opinion of the public did not coincide with that of ministry. The wages of labourers and of workmen in all situations ought, it was universally affirmed, to bear a due proportion to the price of the necessities of Life. This alone would prevent distress, and ultimately diminish the number of poor to be provided for according to law. In order to alleviate the wants of the indigent

classes, numbers of the ministerial people agreed to diminish, by one-third, the use of wheaten bread in their families; a bill also was brought in, by sir John Sinclair, to encourage the cultivation of waste lands, pursuant to the recommendation of the board of agriculture, established for that purpose, and the more effectually to obviate the evil of scarcity in future.

After these consultations, in what manner to provide for the immediate exigences of the country, the next object that occurred in parliament was the maintenance of the fleets and armies, requisite for the continuance of the war. To this end, lord Arden moved, on the fourth of November, that one hundred and ten thousand seamen, including eighteen thousand marines, should be voted for the sea-service of the year 1796, and Mr. Wyndham moved also, that two hundred and seven thousand men should be employed for the service at land.

General Macleod took this occasion to censure heavily the conduct of administration, in passing by officers of experience, and promoting to rank and command youths and others who were not properly qualified for military employments. General Tarleton disapproved, at the same time, the statement of expences laid before the house, as highly exorbitant: from the year 1792 to the close of 1794, they had increased, he said, from one to eleven millions.

Ministers were particularly reprehended, by the former, for their inadvertence in not furnishing the troops, sent to the West Indies, with a sufficient quantity of medical stores, and for maintaining at present, without necessity, no less than a thousand staff-officers. The numbers to which

the fencible cavalry amounted, he attributed to the ministerial plan of keeping the people in subjection and dread; the regular cavalry, he said, was equal to every just and proper purpose, without loading the public with so much additional expence.

In answer to these, and other strictures, Mr. Wyndham stated, that men of distinction and opulence had been preferred to commands, in their respective counties, as more able to procure levies than others. The expences accompanying the fencible cavalry were considerably less than those of the regulars, as neither bounties nor half-pay were allowed them. An ample supply of medicines had been dispatched to the West Indies, but had unhappily fallen into the enemy's hands; an accident which was remedied with all possible diligence. The great expences of the war had necessarily been augmented, proportionably to the greatness of the national exertions; and the number of staff-officers did not exceed that which was wanted for the duly conducting of the business of army and military affairs. To an observation made by general Smith, that the quantity of subalterns had been out of all proportion in some regiments, Mr. Wyndham replied, that the men being raised in the heat of the campaign, it had been found impracticable to provide a timely supply "*in the place of those that had been killed off.*"

This particular expression was taken up with violent acrimony both in and out of parliament: it was represented as denoting no sense of feeling, in the speaker, for the calamities of war, and the loss of so many individuals fallen in battle. This and some other expressions,

uttered in the warmth of debate, and produced probably by hurry and inadvertence, and not from a defect of humanity, however, drew upon this gentleman a heavy load of censure, and rendered him extremely unpopular.

His statements, on this occasion, were warmly controverted by those in answer to whom he had made them. Members of parliament had, it was asserted, been placed at the head of the new raised regiments; this was creating a patronage of the most corrupt and unwarrantable kind, as many of the officers thus promoted were shamefully ignorant of their duty, and yet were allowed unconscionable profits. A variety of other objections was brought forward by the opposition, and replied to by ministry; after which, the resolutions relating to the fleet and army, moved by lord Arden and Mr. Windham, were put and carried.

Other strictures were then passed upon the conduct of ministry, in other particulars: that concerning the erection of barracks underwent the most remarkable censure. The expensive and unconstitutional nature of this measure was asserted by Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Courtenay, and others; and its propriety no less vehemently supported by Mr. Pitt, Mr. Windham, and Mr. Dundas. In the course of this discussion, Mr. Whitbread moved to omit, in the estimate of necessary expences, the sums appropriated to the construction of barracks: but the motion was negatived, by seventy-four to twenty-eight.

This business was not resumed till the eighth of April following, when general Smith moved for a

committee to inquire into the expence arising from the barracks, and upon what authority the erection was founded: he affirmed, that one million four hundred thousand pounds had been employed upon them, The patronage accruing from them to ministry was the appointment of no less than fifty-six officers for their management, with considerable salaries. The number of barracks already constructed were sufficient for the reception of thirty-four thousand men, which were more than a peace-establishment by fourteen thousand. Did not such a measure tend to impress the clearest and strongest conviction upon the public, that ministry were determined, in the words of one of their principal members, to exert a vigour *beyond the law*?

Mr. Windham admitted the expences of the barracks to be great; but the importance of the object in view required them: their intent was to exonerate publicans, and people of that description, from the heavy charges to which they had so long and so unreasonably been liable, and of which they had so often and so justly complained. The necessity of procuring public-houses for the reception of soldiers on their march occasioned sundry inconveniences, which these barracks were calculated to remove: they would afford shelter, and a temporary stay, when necessary, without producing trouble and expence to innkeepers and others, who kept places of accommodation on the roads. In the event of a peace, they need not contain any larger numbers than would be requisite for the usual establishment; but while the war lasted, the indispensable necessity of holding men in readiness, in such

critical times as the present, and the lesser expence at which they were kept together, with much more comfort and convenience to themselves, and utility to the public, than by the former method of quartering them; were, he presumed, sufficient arguments in favour of barracks; nor would he omit the propriety of removing soldiers from the danger of being contaminated by the seditious disposition of the lower classes.

It was observed, in answer, by Mr. Taylor, that a total separation of the soldiery from the commonalty, were it practicable, would obliterate that union of character which rendered military men citizens as well as soldiers, and endeared both classes to each other: when consciously united in one common interest, their reciprocal attachment would produce the most signal advantages, through the spirit and confidence they would act with, and the continual proofs of good will that would mutually arise between them.

Mr. Fox argued, with uncommon strength, against the system of barracks, as tending directly to inculcate the blindest and most abject obedience in the soldiery. He explicitly asserted, that unconditional obedience was neither the duty of an English citizen, or an English soldier: the constitution of England rested on the mixture of citizens and soldiers in all the habits and occurrences of life; to part them from each other, in the manner proposed, by lodging the troops in barracks, would be to divide them into distinct people, who, from various causes, would quickly become inimical to each other. True it was that barracks had been erected in England before this time, but they were few and inconsiderable; not

constructed, as now, with the manifest intention of secluding the whole army from the nation, and cutting off, as much as in ministers lay, all intercourse between soldiers and citizens. To dissolve a connection, so indispensable in a land of liberty for its preservation, was a deed wholly unjustifiable, and shewed, without the necessity of any farther argument, the real designs in agitation.

These assertions were, by Mr. Pitt, represented as totally unfounded. The system of barracks was neither new nor unconstitutional; it was of long standing, and only of late enlarged, on the mere principle of placing the troops upon a more convenient and useful footing. Parliament had given it a decided sanction; it had been carried on with all due diligence and economy, and could produce nothing that did not appear beneficial: soldiers would be better quartered, at a smaller expence, and kept in more order without confining them from society in any cases but those of confusion and tumult.

Mr. W. Smith, and Mr. Courtenay, spoke in very adverse terms of the case in question: the former reprobated the system of barracks, as incompatible with the genius and constitution of the people of this country, and fit only to prove that it was despotically governed. The latter, in a strain of humour and pleasantry, exposed all those circumstances relating to the business, which could render it odious under the appearance of ridicule.

Mr. Grey censured the system with great severity. He demanded whether an addition of thirty-four thousand men was to be made to the peace establishment in future, as the old barracks would contain

twenty thousand, and the new ones the preceding number. If the barracks were not to be filled in this manner, why had such an expence been incurred to construct so many?

He was answered by Mr. Steele, that, notwithstanding the exaggerations of those who affected such an apprehension of barracks, the whole of them, when completely finished, would not contain more than twenty-five thousand men; a number so little above the usual complement of the army, that no man could, with the least degree of ingenuousness, insinuate that ministers harboured sinister designs. The money, stated to have been laid out on the barracks, was alleged, by the opposition, to be unfairly accounted for: but Mr. Pitt replied, that no flaws would be found in the statement of the expence on due examination. The debate concluded with a division of ninety-eight for ministry, and twenty-four against it.

On the seventh of December, Mr. Pitt laid before the house an estimate of the expences of the approaching year. They amounted to twenty-seven millions five hundred thousand pounds, including a loan of eighteen millions. He gave a very favourable account of many branches of the revenue, particularly of the permanent taxes, which he stated to be adequately productive to the extent of the sums expected from them. The interest of the loan would amount to eleven hundred and twelve thousand pounds, for the payment of which, he would propose the following taxes; two per cent. on all legacies above a certain extent, to the first collaterals; three per cent. on first cousins; four per cent. on second cousins; and six

per cent. on the remoter relations, and strangers. Calculating the landed and personal property of the kingdom, as it stood at the commencement of the present century, previously to its union with Scotland, its value amounted to thirteen hundred millions, of which six hundred were in land, and seven hundred personal. From authentic documents it appeared, that about one-third of the latter was devised by will to collateral branches, and of the former about one-fifth. The probable estimate might be formed, by taking the fourth as a medium, which would give a tax of two hundred and ninety four thousand pounds. From this sum, by deducting the standing tax upon legacies; two hundred and fifty thousand pounds would remain. He next proposed ten per cent. on the already assessed taxes, which would produce one hundred and forty thousand pounds: one pound upon every horse kept for pleasure, which would yield one hundred and sixteen thousand pounds: and two shillings on every horse kept for the purposes of labour, which he computed at one hundred thousand pounds: an additional tax on tobacco would produce one hundred and seventy thousand: and another on printed linens would bring one hundred and thirty-five thousand: a duty upon salt thirty thousand: and a reduction of the drawback on sugar, one hundred and eighty thousand. The total of these various sums would amount to eleven hundred and twenty seven thousand pounds, which was more than sufficient for the proposed interest.

Mr. Pitt took particular notice, at the same time, that in the fourth year of a most expensive war, such

was the prosperity and opulence of this country, that it was able to command the immense loan in question, at no more than four and a half per cent. He also assigned the reason for his raising it without having recourse to his usual method of competition, which was, that the persons concerned in procuring the last loan, had not yet received the latter instalments due to them upon it. He had, however, so far consulted the good of the public, that the interests to them would not prove more than four pounds five shillings and three pence in the hundred.

This assertion gave birth to a long and tedious discussion, uninteresting to those who were unconcerned in the business itself, or who did not think themselves authorised to call him to a strict account for his proceedings in this matter.

In reply to the elaborate justification of his conduct, made by Mr. Pitt on this critical occasion, the principal speakers in the opposition exerted themselves to refute his arguments and calculations, with uncommon acuteness and fervour. They controverted his various positions and inferences, and laboured with the utmost industry to establish their own. The point, at which they chiefly aimed, was to prove that he had acted erroneously, and even disingenuously, in putting the business of the loan into the hands of Mr. Boyd, to whom it had been given the preceding year, and that no substantial and valid reason subsisted for such a conduct, which they branded with many odious epithets, and represented, in many of the circumstances attending it, as unwarrantable and corrupt.

In the course of the fatiguing and acrimonious debates upon this subject, severe animadversion was passed by Mr. Fox upon the affair of the Hamburgh bills. They had, it seems, been drawn not really in London, but fictitiously at the former place, by Mr. Boyd, to the amount of two millions five hundred thousand pounds, on treasury-bills, for the service of government. Mr. Fox established on this transaction, which he described as highly uncreditable, the preference and partiality, which he represented as having manifestly been exercised by the minister in favour of that gentleman.

After altercations, marked with much bitterness and animosity, the question was decided in favour of the minister, by a majority that passed a vote of entire approbation, relating to his conduct on the business of the loan; and, on the twenty-ninth of the ensuing February, the affair of the Hamburgh bills was also approved of, by putting a negative on the resolutions moved against them.

The motives alleged in his justification, by his friends and adherents, were, the very difficult circumstances that urged him to have recourse to the assistance of these bills, and the consequent propriety of acknowledging so important a service. The public in general was duly sensible of the ministerial embarrassments respecting both these cases, and was willing to suspend its severity on the transactions themselves, in consideration of the causes that produced them, and that left the minister a choice of difficulties, from which he found no readier a method to extricate himself.

While

While these matters were pending, the vote of credit for the sum of two millions and a half, brought in and already twice read, was stopped in its progress by Mr. Grey, who contended, from what had passed, that the house ought to be on its guard against the appropriation of money at the will of the minister. A vote of credit, he observed, was to enable the executive power to meet expences unforeseen, and unprovided for, but not to discharge debts already contracted, without the sanction of parliament.

Mr. Pitt replied, that the vote of credit having been specified in the estimate of ways and means, its application was subject to the investigation of parliament. It constituted a fund ready at hand for exigencies, without encumbering the expences of the ensuing year.

Mr. Fox observed, that the money voted by a bill of credit was not issuable till an exigency appeared, whereas the money voted upon estimate of the expence was immediately provided. Votes of credit were not intended to supply the deficiency of estimates, but merely to answer unforeseen occurrences in the absence of parliament. The bill, after some additional remarks of the same nature by Mr. Sheridan, went through a third reading, by a majority of seventy-seven.

It underwent a similar opposition in the house of lords, where the duke of Grafton and the earl of Lauderdale used much the same arguments against it as in the commons, and took occasion, at the same time, to express their disapprobation of the Hamburgh bills, but it passed in the affirmative.

Some of the new taxes were also opposed in the lower house. That upon tobacco was represented as bearing too heavily upon the lower classes. Through general Tarleton's interference, the soldiers on board were allowed to be supplied with it, duty free. The horse-tax was also taken off those employed in the yeomanry cavalry. Free-holders, from ten to fifteen pounds a year, and people holding farms of seventy, or freeholds of thirty-five pounds a year, were also exempted from it; and the tax on printed cottons was entirely given up.

The duty imposed on legacies met with a strong opposition. It was objected to by Mr. Newnham, as of too inquisitorial a tendency into the affairs of families, and particularly of commercial people; it would prejudice illegitimate children, faithful domestick, and old friends. He was ably seconded by Mr. Fox, who enlarged considerably on all his arguments.

They were replied to by the solicitor-general, who observed, that the principle of the bill was founded on a law of the same import already in force. The tax took nothing from actual possession, and its bringing private property to light was no valid objection, as private credit would thereby be confirmed.

The tax was strongly supported by the attorney-general. He particularly noticed the case of illegitimate children, who, instead of being injured by it, were, if acknowledged by the testator, intitled to the exception allowed by the act to lineal descent. The bill, after some farther discussion, passed by a majority of seventy-eight.

In the house of lords it was vehemently opposed by lord Lauderdale, as tending gradually to diminish the importance of that house, by lessening the opulence of its members, such numbers of whom came to their honours and fortunes through collateral succession. He instanced the duke of Norfolk, who must, if such an act had subsisted, have been a loser by six hundred thousand pounds, taken from the family which he represented. The bill, however, was carried.

The tax on collateral succession to real estates was more successfully opposed in the house of commons, where it evidently appeared so obnoxious, that Mr. Pitt found himself under the necessity of totally relinquishing it.

On the eight of December, a message was delivered from the king to the house of commons, informing them of his disposition to enter into a negociation for peace with the present government of France. Mr. Pitt thereon moved an address, expressive of their readiness to concur in such a measure.

Mr. Sheridan avowed himself of opinion, that the intention of the minister was to frustrate the motion for peace of which Mr. Grey had given notice. What other motives could induce the minister to this change of language respecting the French, whom he had so lately represented as unable to continue the war, and on the brink of destruction. The men who governed that country were the same who had put the king to death, and with whom, our ministry had declared, no settled order of things could ever take place. But, whoever were the governors of France, Mr. Sheridan insisted, that no reason of

that sort ought to prevent an accommodation, and he moved an amendment to the address, to signify the concern of the house, that any form of government in that country should induce the king to be averse to peace; and to request that, setting aside all considerations of that nature, he would direct his ministers to treat with the enemy on safe and honourable terms. He was seconded by Mr. Grey, who advanced a variety of facts and reasonings upon them to prove the propriety of treating.

Until the present opportunity, Mr. Pitt replied, none had offered to encourage ideas of peace, which, however, had not been prevented by the mere existence of a republic in France, but by a total absence of any species of regular government. The change now was manifest: the new constitution was contrary to the doctrine of universal equality; the French had now a mixed form of government, admitting of distinctions in society; and their legislature was not constructed on a pure democracy. This fully authorized ministry to consider them in quite another light than formerly; but did not furnish any pretence for depriving ministers of their right to act in the name of the executive power, without undue interference, which must certainly be the case, were the amendment to be adopted.

Mr. Fox severely reprehended ministry for pretending that, till now, the government of France was incapable of maintaining the relations of peace and amity with other nations. They had maintained them successively with every power they had treated with; nor was the character of the present rulers

rulers of that country more favourable to the preserving of such relations. Ministers ought, in the mean time, to be reminded with what powers they had not scrupled to enter into treaties of amity, and of what deeds they had, in consequence, been the abettors. Mr. Fox, reviewed the events of the war with great accuracy and precision, with a view of shewing the ill-management of those who had conducted it. He ridiculed the idea that the French were more deserving of confidence on account of their new constitution; their principles were still the same, though they had adopted another mode of ruling. But neither those principles, nor their antecedent government, ought to have been made the pretext for waging a war of extermination. It was time to end it on any conditions, not derogatory to the dignity of this country: and ministry ought no longer to be suffered to protract the war, on the pretence they had so continually, but falsely, alleged, of incapacity in the enemy to maintain a good understanding.

The sentiments of Mr. Dundas were, that to offer terms of peace to the enemy would be attended with no disgrace, but that ministers, in such case, should be left to act discretionally, and not to be compelled to make a peace of which they disapproved. The amendment, for that reason, was inequitable, as it fettered their operations against all experience and precedent. He denied the object of the war to be the restoration of despotism in France, or that this country could have indulged the hope of an advantageous peace till the present period. Less than a year before,

the successes of the French had rendered them untractable, and it was only since their late defeats that reasonable men had begun to hope for equitable conditions. Never before had they, during the whole of this war, condescended to express the least willingness to reconciliation. The king's message could not have been delivered at a fitter opportunity: the supplies for the continuance of the war had been granted, and the nation had proved itself able and willing to maintain the contest. This was exactly the situation in which we should appear to the enemy, upon whom it would doubtless make that impression which was intended. It would convince the French, that, however we might be desirous of peace, we were ready for war, and not disposed to treat on dishonourable terms. The debate closed by rejecting the amendment and carrying the address. A similar one to this was, on the next day, tenth of December, proposed and passed in the house of lords.

On the fifteenth of February, Mr. Grey introduced his motion for peace by a speech, wherein he observed, that, contrary to general expectation, the ministry, in lieu of a negociation for peace, were making preparations for a continuation of the war. But with what well-grounded hope of success could they persist in this unfortunate system? There was no confidence nor unity of views in the remaining parts of the coalition; and yet this country was to bear the weight of this pretended alliance in favour of the common interest of Europe. The public was exhorted to rely on the discretion of ministers: but were they worthy of any trust, after being

ing deceived in their allies in the most material points, and still expressing a forwardness to depend on promises so frequently reiterated and so repeatedly broken, whenever induced by the slightest interest to falsify their word. The French, it was now acknowledged, were in a situation to be treated with; we ought, therefore, no longer to stand aloof. He would consequently move for an address to the king, requesting him to communicate to the executive government in France his readiness to embrace any opportunity of coinciding with them in mutual endeavours for the re-establishment of peace.

The situation of affairs, it was replied by Mr. Pitt, was such, that it could be no humiliation to this country to be the first in profering peace; but the conducting of a negotiation, and when to time it, belonged solely to ministers. If they were deemed unworthy of such a trust, their opponents ought to petition for their removal; but while they continued in office, they alone could be the proper agents in such a transaction; they ought, on this principle, to act unitedly, not only among themselves, but with the allies of this country, to whom no cause should be given to suspect us of duplicity, and of not acting in the sincerest conjunction with them. If they remained entire, so powerful a confederacy could not, in the nature of things, fail, by perseverance and unanimity, to obtain, finally, an advantageous peace; but this desirable object depended on the moderation of the enemy. All had been done, consistently with honour and interest, to bring him to this issue; but neither of these would be sacrificed. Considering

the temper of our enemies, and how much they were inflamed by the pressure of circumstances, to give up their inordinate pretensions, peace would probably depend on the difficulty they would find to prosecute the war, and the prospect of it might not, of course, be so near as wished or expected.

Whatever success our arms might have in future, still we ought not, said Mr. Fox, to presume that a better season for treating than the present would occur. There was a time when the enemy could not stand before the confederacy, and was driven from every place he had occupied abroad, and forced to retire for shelter into his own country. What situation could be more prosperous for the coalition? But it did not think the French sufficiently humbled and depressed, and lost an opportunity that would never return. We complained of that decree of the convention, by which they threatened interference in the affairs of other countries; but as they had solemnly rescinded it as offensive to us, why did not we disclaim all interference in their own concerns? why had no steps been taken towards a pacification, as the public had been given to hope? they would certainly be popular in this country, and not displeasing to our allies, nor to all Europe, which looked anxiously for such an event. The great obstacle to peace was the animosity between the French and their enemies. This should be removed preferably to all other obstructions. This might be done by offering them reasonable conditions, which would disarm an enemy much sooner than violence and obstinacy. It was not surprising the French should be exasperated, when we spoke

spoke of them so contemptuously, and even sent an ambassador to the person who called himself their king. It was illusory, in the mean time, to buoy up the spirits of the people, by telling them to look at the distresses of the French, as if they were any mitigation of their own. These were no arguments to lay before men who had suffered so much for the profusion and ill success that had so usually accompanied ministerial measures. The

opponents to these were arrogantly admonished, that it was the royal prerogative only to decide of peace and when to conclude it : but ministers also should be reminded, that it was no less the prerogative of the commons of England to interpose their advice, both as to the time and the conditions that were seasonable. On closing the debate, fifty divided for the motion, and one hundred and ninety against it.

CHAP. IV.

Free Negroes in the Island of Jamaica.—Hunted by Blood-Hounds.—Motion, by Mr. Grey, in the House of Commons, for an Inquiry into the State of the Nation.—Negatived.—Farther Taxes.—For paying the Interest of an additional Loan.—Mortality among the Troops sent against the French West-India Islands.—Neglect and Distresses of the Troops.—Motion for Documents on these Subjects by Mr. Sheridan.—Debates thereon.—Mr. Sheridan's Motion agreed to.—Motion in the House of Peers, for the Production of Papers respecting a Vote of Parliament, in 1783, recognizing the Necessity of certain Public Reforms.—Debates thereon.—The Motion negatived.—Report of the Committee of Supply on the Resolution for granting a Subsidy to the King of Sardinia.—Conversation on that Subject.—Charges laid against Ministry by Mr. Grey, as Ground of Impeachment; and a Motion on that Subject.—Negatived.—Motions, in both Houses of Parliament, against the Continuation of the War.—Negatived.—Motion, by Mr. Wilberforce, for the Abolition of the Slave-Trade, on a certain Day.—Negatived.—The Session of Parliament closed by a Speech from the Throne.

THE hostilities against the free negroes, in the island of Jamaica, known by the denomination of maroons, had been carried on a long time without effect. The force employed against them amounted to five thousand men; but the difficulty of coming at their recesses, and frequently of discovering them, had frustrated the repeated attempts of this force, though it had omitted nothing that valour and perseverance could suggest: and yet, those maroons were but a handful of men, hardly consisting of six hundred bearing arms. The improbability of compelling them to submit, by the usual methods of fighting, induced the government of Jamaica, as stated in our last volume, to have recourse to the mode adopted by the Spaniards in similar cases. It applied to the Spanish inhabitants of the island of Cuba, and obtained

from them a hundred blood-hounds, with twenty men, expert in the training and conducting of them. With this supply, the military penetrated into the interior parts of the mountains and woody country, occupied by the maroons, and compelled them to surrender. They were transported to the British provinces in North America.

Though, as afterwards fully appeared in the subsequent session of parliament, the government of Jamaica had not incurred the guilt of either barbarity or breach of faith, yet an erroneous conviction, that the blood-hounds had been employed, not only to track out the maroons, but to tear and mangle them, excited a pretty general outcry. No degree of political expediency could justify the adoption of such a measure.

Spanish

Spanish cruelty, it was said, afforded no precedent or excuse for Englishmen.

General Macleod brought this subject into the house of commons, on the twenty-sixth of February, and complained of the disgrace attending such a measure. He was answered, that it was a matter of necessity, and not of choice; that the maroons massacring, without mercy, every one that fell into their hands, they could be considered in no other light than murderers, and deserved extermination by any means that could be employed to that purpose.

The general moved, however, on the twenty-first of March, for an address to the king, requesting he would direct the papers, concerning the maroon war, to be laid before the house. He grounded his motion on a letter from Jamaica, stating the facts above-mentioned: he described the maroons as a free people, proprietors of the country they inhabited. He mentioned it, as customary among the Spaniards, in Cuba, to feed their blood-hounds on human flesh, in order to render them ferocious: but could a British parliament, he said, connive at such atrocities, and encourage so inhuman a spirit in British officers and soldiers?

Mr. Dundas replied, that the maroons had commenced hostilities against our people, at Jamaica, without any reasonable provocation, and had exercised great barbarities in prosecuting them. It was their practice to sally forth from their fastnesses in the night, and to surprise the planters; multitudes of whom they massacred: after which, they retreated to the woods and mountains, the passes to which were

inaccessible. In such circumstances our people could not be blamed for employing the necessary means to secure themselves, and to annoy so ferocious an enemy. The motion, therefore, he said, was not sufficiently grounded, to comply with it, without an accurate enquiry into particulars. The mere rumour, however, he acknowledged, had induced ministry to signify its disapprobation of such a measure to the government at Jamaica.

On Mr. Dundas's assuring the general that dispatches of this tenor had been sent, he withdrew his motion: not however till Mr. Sheridan expatiated on the subject, in answer to Mr. Barham, who had represented the maroons as rebels; but whom the former justified, in their resentment of the punishment inflicted upon one of their people, who ought, according to treaty, to have been delivered up to his countrymen, to be tried and punished by them for the misdemeanour of which he had been guilty.

In the mean time, a report was daily gaining ground, that the plans of ministry embraced such a multiplicity of objects, that new demands would shortly be made of means to carry them into execution. Their opponents thought it expedient, for that reason, to call the attention of the public to the situation of the national finances, in order that a just idea might be formed of the conduct of ministers in this essential department. On the tenth of March, this subject was brought into the house of commons, by Mr. Grey: who observed, that, in whatever circumstances the country might be placed, whether of war or of peace, the strictest economy was become more indispensable,

sible than ever. France would indubitably aim at the formation of a respectable marine, and so would every power that could in any degree maintain its consideration at sea. Our incontestible superiority on the ocean rendered us an object of universal envy and dread; and these were cogent motives with all the Europeans to seek for our depression: but they were no less urgent to induce this country to preserve that superiority, without which our internal security was evidently precarious; but, had we been sufficiently attentive to the means of preserving it? Had we not lavished, with scandalous profusion, immense sums, for which no adequate services had been performed? Seventy-seven millions had, in the course of the last three years, been added to the public debts; to pay the interest of which, taxes had been laid, amounting to two millions six hundred thousand pounds. The expences of former wars, however great, did not equal those of the present; and yet those wars were more extensive and important in their object than the present. In the contest that lost us America, ministerial profusion was notorious; the debt contracted did not, however, exceed sixty-three millions, notwithstanding the duration of that fatal quarrel; was twice what this had now been; and we had all Europe to contend with. When the present war began, the minister engaged, in a solemn manner, to obviate, by every possible means, extraordinaries of all kinds; but how had he kept his word? notwithstanding the most liberal grants that ever minister had experienced, the extraordinaries of the navy amounted so thirteen millions seven

hundred thousand pounds, while the commerce of this country had suffered more from the enemy than in any preceding quarrel; the extraordinaries of the army were nine millions. These were unconscionable expences, as, notwithstanding the advance of price in all articles of public or private demand, they had not risen to such a height as to justify the difference between the cost of the present and of former wars. The extraordinaries of the nine years war, from the revolution to the peace of Ryswick, in 1697, were twelve hundred thousand pounds. Those of eleven years war, in the reign of queen Anne, were two millions. They did not together amount to one-half of the extraordinaries of the present year: the cause of this increase of expence, was not so much the difference of price in necessary articles, many of which continued the same in this respect as at that day, as the addition of unnecessary expences. The extraordinaries and the votes of credit, in 1778, 79, and 80, were less by three millions two hundred thousand pounds than the present: in the ordinance, the extraordinaries arose to near three millions. These augmentations in the national expences were obviously unconstitutional, as they were made without parliamentary sanction. The total of the money thus expended was upwards of thirty-one millions; and together with that voted by the parliament amounted to sixty-six millions eight hundred thousand pounds. This immense sum had been expended in three years of an inglorious and ruinous war. Another unconstitutional proceeding, of a most alarming nature, was the erection of barracks. These

were

were justly, by judge Blackstone, styled inland fortresses, and were undeniably intended to separate the military from the civil classes, and to keep the latter in awe by means of the former. They had been erected too without consulting parliament, and had cost, since the year 1790, eleven hundred thousand pounds, and more was now demanded for their completion. Ministerial demands of loans from the bank were also, become, of late, enormous, and entirely repugnant to the primitive motives of its institution, which were to assist the mercantile transactions of the kingdom, and to maintain its commercial credit: but it had, in many respects, degenerated into an engine of state: it was now near twelve millions in advance to government. Mr. Grey entered into other particulars, to shew their irregularity prevailing in the financial departments. He concluded by affirming, in consequence of farther details, that the national revenue fell short of the peace-establishment by two millions and a half, the latter being twenty-two millions, the former only nineteen millions five hundred thousand pounds. Thus we should be loaded with farther taxes to supply that deficiency, even were a peace to ensue. On these premises, he moved that the house should resolve itself into a committee, to enquire into the state of the nation.

The positions of Mr. Grey were controverted by Mr. Jenkinson, who maintained, that the commercial situation of Great Britain, notwithstanding the weight of so great a war, was more prosperous, than at any antecedent periods. The average of exports, during the three last years of peace, the most flourish-

ing ever known in this country, was twenty-two millions five hundred and eighty-five thousand pounds; and the same average for the last three years of war was twenty-four millions four hundred and fifty-three thousand. The advantage in the borrowing of money, at present, was one and a half per cent. greater than during the American war. At the close of the war in 1748 the national debt was eighty millions, in 1762 one hundred and forty: but had the present system of appropriating a million annually to the extinction of that debt, been fortunately adopted at the first of these periods, that heavy load would now have been totally thrown off the nation. The expenditure of this war was, doubtless, immense; but the exertions, to which it was applied, were of no less magnitude. Never was the energy of this country so astonishingly displayed, nor its resources so wonderfully proved: our fleets and armies were in a far superior condition, both as to numbers and equipment, to those maintained in the American war. It was unfair to complain of increasing expences. The augmentation of price in all the articles of life and social intercourse, added of consequence, the same proportion of increase in military expences; nor ought the subsidies to our allies to be reputed extravagant, considering their utility to the common cause, by enabling these to act much more effectually against the foe, than if they were left to their sole exertions. The pressures of the enemy shewed how wisely the treasures of this country had been employed in strengthening the power of his continental adversaries, while our successes at sea had reduced him to the lowest state

state of debility he had ever experienced on that element : it was, therefore, neither just nor prudent to represent this country as distressed, and its ministers as unworthy of confidence, and incapable of discharging their duty. They had shewn themselves adequate to the various tasks imposed on them by the arduous contingencies of the war, and had not merited the aspersions so repeatedly cast upon them. There had been a time when far greater stretches of ministerial power were beheld without complaint. In the reigns of George I. and II. such was the implicit trust of the times in their integrity, that millions had passed through their hands for secret services, of which an explanation was not required. Hence it appears, that the vigilance of parliament in former days, however exalted above that of the present, was, in truth, not to be compared with that anxious and groundless jealousy with which the opponents to ministry watched over all its proceedings, in order to discover how they could render them suspicious to the public. On these grounds, he considered the motion as ill-founded, and deserving no support from those who viewed the conduct of ministers impartially, and with a determination to listen without prejudice to what they allege in their defence, as well as to the imputations and surmises laid to their charge.

Mr. Curwen, Mr. Robinson, and Mr. Martin, supported the motion ; Mr. Steele opposed it, and stated the extraordinaries to be much lower than represented by Mr. Grey. The expence of the barracks had not, he affirmed, exceeded six hundred and ten thousand pounds, and one

hundred and fifty thousand would suffice to complete them : but Mr. Grey insisted on the accuracy of his own statements, and particularly reprobated the misapplication of the money appropriated by parliament to specific purposes ; a practice, he observed, so unconstitutional, that it had been condemned, in terms of the greatest severity, even so long ago as the reign of queen Anne, on so slight an occasion as the applying of six thousand pounds to the use of the army, instead of the navy, for which it had been intended. His motion, however, was negatived by another for the order of the day, which was carried by two hundred and seven votes, against forty-five.

The plans formed by ministry were so extensive, and the determination, to carry them into the speediest execution, founded upon so sanguine a hope of success, that the supplies already granted not appearing sufficient, parliament was again resorted to for the raising an additional supply, and the sanction of another loan. A circumstance so new and extraordinary excited universal astonishment : two budgets and two loans in the same session, to use the common phrase, were a novelty, in the political system of this country, of an alarming nature, and which the maxims of good economy did not appear to warrant in the difficult position in which it now stood.

Mr. Pitt was duly sensible of the repugnance to so unprecedented a measure. After apologising for the necessity that compelled him to adopt it, and expressing his confidence that the resources of the country would render it much lighter on trial than it seemed in the apprehension of many, he proceeded to

to inform the house, that it was, in some respects, rather a substitution of other taxes to those that had been relinquished, for the ease of the public, than the imposition of new ones; he also stated, that services unprovided for, and of which the propriety was evident, would demand the means of performance. Having withdrawn the tax on printed linens and calicoes, calculated to produce one hundred and thirty-five thousand pounds, he would now propose to replace that deficiency by a tax upon dogs, computed at one hundred thousand pounds, and by another on hats, estimated at forty thousand. To these two taxes he would now add one, of twenty pounds a ton upon wine, which would yield six hundred thousand pounds, with very little addition of expence to the consumers of this article.

The scarcity of money was, at the same time, he noticed, an object of essential attention to ministry, and every effort would be exerted to find a remedy. This scarcity proceeded, in some measure, from the necessary support of our foreign allies, and the extraordinaries for our numerous forces; but there were also other causes: the immensity of commercial speculations, the vast capital in constant employment, and the insufficiency of the pecuniary medium to answer mercantile demands. To remove this difficulty, he proposed to fund the public debts remaining unfunded, which would enable the bank to make larger advances on their bills to merchants than while it was so much applied to for discount, in consequence of the debt unfunded.

The total of the sums demanded, by Mr. Pitt, for the services unpro-

vided for, amounted to two millions and a half, and the annual charge of interest for the sums to be levied, in order to provide for those services, and for the funding of the unfunded debt, arose to five hundred and seventy-six thousand pounds. The loan, which was to furnish the means of carrying the above scheme into execution, would amount to seven millions and a half, at the moderate profit of three pounds six shillings and three-pence per cent. to the lenders. This, he observed, was an incontrovertible proof of the flourishing situation of this country, of its surprising resources, and of the confidence reposed in the ministry by people of property. It ought to silence the misrepresentations of those who took such pains to state this country as reduced to distress, and who had thereby encouraged the French to assume the arrogance of dictating the terms of a peace, when their own finances were wholly shattered, and the whole country and nation involved in every species of public and private embarrassments, from which nothing but a peace could possibly extricate them.

Mr. Grey replied with great fervour to Mr. Pitt. He charged him with coming to the house no less than three times in fourteen months, with three different budgets, as if he well knew that he had only to ask, in order to obtain: but the fact was, that the minister's address to the house, on this day, was, though an indirect, yet a clear acknowledgment of his errors and misconduct, and a plain, though vainly concealed, endeavour to rectify them. Parliament, however, was bound, in justice to its constituents, to submit to no fal-

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lacious and illusory accounts, and to investigate the ministerial statements with the severest strictness: this would shew, that in many circumstances, they were not to be relied on. Mr. Grey went into a variety of particulars, in proof of his own assertion. Notwithstanding the loan of twenty-five millions, interest had not, he said, been provided for the outstanding debts. He warned the house to beware of giving credit to the asseverations, so regularly brought before it, of French distress, and incapacity to maintain the contest. To such delusion the war was owing, together with its fatal protraction. He concluded, by asserting, that if a fair investigation was made, by a committee of inquiry, it would appear that provision had not been made, as stated, for the interest of the public debt.

After an answer from Mr. Pitt, justifying his assertions and statements, and controverting those of Mr. Grey in the most essential particulars, Mr. Fox took up the subject with great animation. He coincided with the assertions of Mr. Grey, and treated, with marked asperity, the idea, that a people plunged, as the French were described, in the gulph of bankruptcy, should compel the British ministry to demand such endless supplies of money, and call upon the people of this country for so enormous a sum as twenty-five millions within little more than a year. He noticed, with equal severity, the arrears due in a variety of departments, particularly the retention of the small allowance to the emigrants, who had shewn such confidence in our generosity, and who had no other means of subsistence.

Other members spoke on each side of the question. On putting the resolutions moved by the minister in favour of the new loan, and additional taxes, they were carried without a division of the house.

The mortality that had so fatally prevailed among the British troops in the West Indies, and the inadequateness of the successes obtained there, to the expectations formed from the sums expended on the expeditions against the French islands, were topics of general conversation and complaint. Opposition ascribed the disappointments that had happened in those parts to the incapacity, or ill conduct, of ministry, and demanded the production of the papers relating to those expeditions.

On the 21st of April, Mr. Sheridan, after many strictures on the conduct of ministry, moved for a return of the men carried off by disease and fatigue in those countries. So shameful, he asserted, was the neglect of the troops, that, on their arrival in that destructive climate, they were destitute of shoes and stockings. Had not diseases ravaged the enemy's forces, our own must have fallen an easy prey into their hands. The hospitals were crowded with the sick and wounded, for whom neither medicines nor bandages were provided. Such was the inhumanity they sometimes experienced, that ninety, or a hundred, of these unhappy men, were once left to pass a whole night on the beach, in consequence of which only seven or eight survived. With such motives for an inquiry, how could it be declined? Here required it, together with an account of the force employed under lord Moira in 1794 and 1795, and which ought to have been dispatched

patched to the relief of the troops in the islands, and not kept inactive at home. He would also require a list of the officers and soldiers lost, specifying the loss of each regiment. Such information would shew what a drain these expeditions had proved from the population of the British islands, and how much they tended to weaken them. Accounts ought, by the same reason, to be laid before the house, of the numbers carried off in the ports of Southampton, Portsmouth, and Plymouth, were it only to make known the iniquitous neglect of those who could leave troops confined seven months on board, exposed to the infallible effects of such a close imprisonment, notwithstanding the remonstrances made to government. He moved, at the same time, for the production of other documents of the same nature, by which he pledged himself to prove the misconduct of ministers; adding, that unless they felt a consciousness of the rectitude of his charges, they would gladly seize the occasion, now offered them, of vindicating themselves from the imputations so loudly and generally laid to them by the public.

The difficulty of the minister's situation, was strongly represented by Mr. Dundas. Papers and documents were demanded from them, of which official secrecy prohibited the communication to the public. The time would certainly come, when they would gladly meet the strictest scrutiny of their conduct, sure that it would stand the severest test. All had been done in the West Indies that circumstances would permit, and reinforcements and supplies of all kinds had been transmitted without delay, on the first notice of their being wanted.

In the course of this debate, the transactions, under sir C. Grey, came into discussion. Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Francis, and general Tarleton, inferred, from words spoken by Mr. Dundas, that he meant to inculcate the conduct of that officer; but both he and Mr. Pitt bestowed the highest encomiums upon him. Mr. Grey, the member, declared, however, that sir C. Grey was earnestly desirous to give every elucidation respecting the business with which he had been entrusted.

On the twenty-eighth of April, a violent debate took place on those subjects. Mr. Dundas entered into a minute and elaborate recapitulation of the conduct of government, respecting the West Indies. He carefully detailed the forces of the kingdom, and what had been detached from them, on expeditions to those parts. He gave a circumstantial account of all that had happened there, and exerted himself to shew that the disasters and disappointments, that had befallen us, arose from accidents that were wholly unavoidable: the conduct of our commanders had been judicious, and that of ministry irreproachable.

This apology did not prove satisfactory to the opposition. The imputation of having neglected the troops, in the West Indies, was reasserted, by Mr. Sheridan, with much positiveness, and the distribution of the forces assigned to the various services that took place at that time, improbated as ill-judged; and some of the services themselves represented as unseasonable, and interfering with the others. The troops destined for the West-India expedition were also described as unworthy the name of soldiers: they consisted

sisted of elderly men, and mere boys, with raw youths at their head. This certainly was no better than mockery and parade. Mr. Dundas having expressed, with much warmth on this occasion, his hope that the Cape of Good Hope would never be restored to the enemy, Mr. Sheridan took notice of the mortifying impression that such a declaration must necessarily make on the stadtholder, who could not fail, thereby, to perceive, that what we took from the Dutch we were determined to keep. The stadtholder, in his retreat at Hampton, had, indeed, the satisfaction of seeing his fleets, and foreign possessions, falling, not into the hands of his enemies, but those of his friends; yet, as these friends dragged him into the war, under the assurance of protection, he might well say, with the Roman poet,
*Pol me occidistis Amici, non servastis !**

HORAT.

The result of this debate was, that ministry acquiesced in the motions made by Mr. Sheridan, which were for accounts of the number of men destined for the expedition to the West Indies, under sir C. Grey, in 1793; for accounts of the number withdrawn from that service, to form an expedition against the coast of France under lord Moira, and of the numbers, who, after the conquest of Martinico, St. Lucia, and Guadalupe, were detached to St. Domingo. But the other motions, made by Mr. Sheridan, for a variety of official papers, relating to the circumstances of other armaments and intended expeditions, were negatived, on Mr. Dundas engaging to give explanatory answers to the questions upon those subjects.

The expedition to Quiberon, in the summer of 1795, and its unfortunate issue to numbers of the French emigrants embarked in it, had been a subject of universal discussion in this country ever since it had happened, and had given occasion to the severest censures of those to whom the management of it had been entrusted. The person whose fall was most lamented was the count de Sombreuil, a French gentleman of a most amiable character, and highly respected for his many excellent qualities. He had, with many others, fallen into the hands of the enemy, and, like them, was condemned to death as a rebel. On the eve of his execution he wrote a letter to Mr. Wyndham, wherein he alluded to two others; one written to sir J. B. Warren, the other to Mr. Wyndham; a copy of this last, was demanded by general Tarleton, as being of a public nature, and conformably to the desire of the count himself, who had, in the letter to sir J. B. Warren, expressed a wish that Mr. Wyndham would publish it: but this gentleman alleged it was more of a private than a public nature. In the mean time it was published in a daily paper, and Mr. Sheridan affirmed that he found it related to matters of public importance, and represented the expedition alluded to in a very unfavourable light to ministers. Mr. Wyndham, in reply, asserted that it concerned the count himself, who was dissatisfied with the part assigned to him in that expedition. He did not, however, force it upon the count, who acted merely from his excessive zeal in the cause he had embraced. This answer provoked

* By G—, my friends, ye have not served, but ruined me. HORAT.

another.

another from general Smith, in which he represented Mr. Puissaye, who had the charge of that expedition, as unworthy of it, and as an emigrant of little consideration among his countrymen. Other members spoke on this occasion : but the debate ended by Mr. Pitt's moving for the order of the day ; and Mr. Sheridan's motion for the latter was thereby negatived.

Years had now elapsed since the famous declaration, made by the house of commons, during the American war, " that the influence of the crown had increased, was still increasing, and ought to be diminished." At that period several resolutions had also passed for the reform of various abuses. But though this salutary work had been proceeded upon, it had gradually been laid aside, and the public had long ceased to hear of any progress in the alterations proposed and promised at that time. It was to recall these divers objects to notice, that the marquis of Lansdowne moved for the several papers relating to them. On the second of May he made a long and elaborate speech, in the house of lords, on the subject of their contents, urging, with great force, the propriety of taking them into consideration at a time when the purpose for which the regulations contained in them were framed, and which was the retrenchment of needless expences, demanded the attention of the legislature more than ever. The marquis entered into a number of particulars in order to corroborate his assertion, that a useless and expensive augmentation of places and offices had taken place. The patronage thence arising to ministry had proved enormous : but the most dangerous was that de-

rived from the influence they possessed over the bank, of which the management was now become entirely their own, contrary to the spirit of its institution, and the safety of the constitution itself, which was manifestly endangered by so vast an accession of power to the executive branch of government. Who could have the face to deny that these were glaring abuses, and that they called for immediate remedies ? He would, therefore, in this critical situation of affairs, endeavour to procure the realizing of those measures of reform, so long resolved upon, and which ought, from every motive of duty and honour, to be no longer delayed. For this purpose he would move, that an inquiry should be instituted into the causes that had prevented the prosecution of those reforms so solemnly sanctioned by the legislature, and so strongly recommended by those to whose wisdom and integrity it had formally committed the inspection of that department most essential in all states, the revenue and finances of the nation, and all that was connected with this important object. He made other motions tending to the same end ; and concluded, by renewing the disapprobation he had so often expressed of the war, as destructive of men, and wasteful of treasure, beyond all precedents.

The reforms alluded to were acknowledged by lord Grenville, in reply, to have been thought expedient by the commissioners who had been appointed to examine the public accounts ; but it should not be thence inferred, that they were applicable to all times and emergencies. The proposal, for instance, to throw some of the revenue-offices into one was

impracticable, from the prodigious increase of business in each. The same objection lay to others. Never had the public service required more labour, and never indeed had more been exerted by the respective incumbents in every office. The abolition of patent places, another subject of complaint, could not be always effected with equity; but still they were in a gradual course of being abolished. Respecting the system of barracks, so much reprobated; the old plan allowed them for twenty thousand men, to which the new one had, for considerations well founded, added others for fifteen thousand more. The difficulty of a speedy adjustment of accounts, in time of war, was too well known to enlarge upon; but the ascertainment of all public expences occupied the attention of ministers to the fullest extent which their magnitude would permit, and they had not the least apprehension of being found defective in their accounts. With regard to the bank, the power vested in it was clearly independent of ministers, and the assistance it afforded to government was entirely optional. To the other observations of the marquis he made such replies as he thought justificatory of ministerial measures, and concluded by asserting, that when impartially reviewed, they would meet with certain approbation.

These answers, to the marquis of Lansdowne, were, by the earl of Lauderdale, represented as fallacious and unfounded. The immense amount of the debts, which ministry left unfunded, shewed their ill-management and want of economy: the discount given occasionally on exchequer-bills was equally dis-

creditable and alarming: the accounts relating to the barracks were confused and erroneous; and the reasons assigned for other measures were vague and unsatisfactory.

The difference between the pecuniary situation of this country, in 1783 and that in 1795, was circumstantially investigated by lord Auckland, in order to prove the superiority of our finances at the present day. The revenue was then two millions below the peace establishment, amounting to fifteen millions, but was now actually three millions four hundred thousand pounds above that establishment; and, by adding the two millions then deficient, was in reality five millions above it.

The lord chancellor, earl Spencer, and lord Hawkesbury, opposed the motion, and it was farther supported by lord Moira, and lord Guildford, who gave the house notice of his intention to move an inquiry into the state of the nation. The marquis of Lansdowne's motion was rejected by one hundred and four votes against twelve.

The report of the committee of supply upon the resolution for granting a subsidy of two hundred thousand pounds to the king of Sardinia, was presented to the house of commons on the third of May; when it was observed, by Mr. Fox, that circumstances were no longer the same respecting that prince, as when that subsidy was first voted. He was then to act against France with the coalition; but it was now understood that he was about to forsake it, and to make a peace with the enemy. If such were the case, it was proper to know whether he thought himself at liberty to act in this manner, or whether indeed he were able to act otherwise, and mi-

ministers had acceded to his desire for a separate peace.

Mr. Pitt asserted, that lately the king of Sardinia, in circumstances of great difficulty, had consented to a suspension of arms with the French, provided it were in conjunction with the emperor, but on no other terms: the emperor not consenting, the armistice did not take place. The French had, in the mean time, offered him peace, if he would make a cession of their acquisitions in his country, and an alliance with them; but he had refused their offers.

It was observed, by Mr. Francis, that the motives of action with that prince would originate in the pressures he was in. His situation required him to consult the necessity of his affairs, rather than the magnanimity of his disposition; exclusively of which, history had long shewn, that no dependance could be placed on the stability of the princes of the house of Savoy. Mr. Pitt however being farther pressed upon this subject, put an end to it by declining to reply.

Three days after this discussion Mr. Grey brought several heavy charges against ministers, and moved them to be sufficient grounds of impeachment. They had, he said, violated the act of appropriation, the main pillar of the pecuniary privileges of parliament, by diverting the grants of money to other purposes than those for which they were voted, and they had endeavoured to screen themselves by spurious accounts. He then detailed the particulars in proof of his accusation, adding, that if the necessities of the times had compelled them to have recourse to such methods for procuring money, they

ought, without disguising the fact, to have applied to parliament for indemnity. The house of commons had, he said, been notoriously faulty in not setting limits to the extraordinary during the American war; and the committee appointed to examine and digest the public accounts had particularly pointed out the ruinous consequences of such negligence. Mr. Pitt had censured it himself with peculiar severity, but had nevertheless been more guilty than any of his predecessors in the ministry. So determined was the house to put a stop to these infractions of its rights, that it passed, in 1784, a resolution that should parliament be dissolved before the act of appropriation had passed, to misapply the money granted should be reputed a high misdemeanour. An act had also been passed under the present minister, to obviate the bad consequences of balances remaining with the paymaster-general, and to provide for the constant pay of the army; but this act had been notoriously infringed; the paymaster having actually in his hands a balance of eighty-three thousand pounds. Mr. Grey, after mentioning other instances of misapplication, adverted to the disposition-paper, a species of voucher first used in the prodigal reign of Charles II. and established at the revolution, as an authentic document, to inform parliament in what manner the supplies they had granted had been expended. This paper he considered as a mere deception; its contents represented the sums voted by parliament, as issued and applied conformably to its intent, which was contrary to truth. This he might be told was only a form; but the practice was in fact directly opposite

to the regulations enacted by the legislature, in order to preserve to itself the power over the national purse, against the attempts of ministers to dispose of the nation's money at their own discretion. On these various premises Mr. Grey founded no less than fifteen resolutions, the last of which summing up the purport of the whole, stated, "that, in the instances mentioned, the king's ministers had been guilty of presenting false accounts, calculated to mislead the judgment of the house, of a flagrant violation of various acts of parliament, and of a gross misapplication of the public money."

The reply, made by Mr. Pitt, stated, that though ministers were bound faithfully to appropriate the public money to the purposes specified, yet there were a multiplicity of cases wherein that rule could not strictly be observed. Services of the most critical importance, and the most imperious necessity, often compelled them to deviate from the letter of the act of appropriation: but was that, or was any other act, to stand in the way of material services due to the nation by those who were entrusted with its safety and preservation? These deviations were founded on wise precedents, and sanctioned as just, by long and repeated experience. Extraordinaries were the inevitable attendants of war, especially such an one as the present, which requiring unprecedented exertions, justified unprecedented methods of conducting it. Mr. Pitt adduced a number of facts to prove that he had acted conformably to the practice authorised in former wars. The very act of appropriation, he said, evinced the propriety of extraordinaries, by

making good several millions expended under that head: and no objection was ever made to the principle itself. He vindicated, with great acuteness, the different parts of his conduct in the administration of the finances, and argued with great ability against the defects and misconduct imputed to him.

The speech of Mr. Pitt was answered by Mr. Fox, who enforced and enlarged upon the arguments that had been urged by Mr. Grey. Mr. Steele replied in justification of Mr. Pitt's maxims and measures and closed the debate by moving the previous question, which was carried by two hundred and nine to thirty-eight.

The tenth of May was remarkable for a motion made in each house against the continuation of the war, and for offering terms of peace. That in the house of lords was made by the earl of Guildford; that in the house of commons by Mr. Fox. The same arguments, with little variation, were used by both speakers, that had so often been urged in the preceding attempts of this nature, and met of course with much the same answers. The only matter of novelty was, the construction put on Mr. Wickham's commission, to inform Mr. Barthelemy, the French minister at Basle, of the disposition on the part of this country, to enter into a negotiation for peace, and that minister's reply to the British agent. Opposition treated the application of the former as far from calculated to conciliate the French, while ministry asserted that it was fully sufficient to induce them to treat, had they been sincerely disposed to meet us on equitable terms. This particular constituted the principal object

object of debate, and exercised the abilities of both ministry and opposition: but after a long and animated contest, the motion was negatived in the house of lords, by one hundred and ten against ten; and, in the house of commons, by two hundred and sixteen against forty-two.

A repetition took place on the same day in the house of lords, of the discussion upon the state of the revenue, the taxes, the imports and exports, and the other financial circumstances of the nation at the close of the American war, and at the present period. The earl of Moira combated the positions of lord Auckland in the preceding debate, and the latter exerted himself to maintain them. Numerous and intricate were the calculations on both sides. Lord Lauderdale zealously supported the earl of Moira, and entered into a great variety of particulars to prove the justness of his researches and computations: herein he was seconded by the marquis of Lansdowne, and opposed by lords Coventry and Hawkesbury, who took much pains to represent the statements of lord Moira as erroneous.

The same subject was resumed, on the thirteenth, by lord Lauderdale, who displayed great financial knowledge in his arrangement of the matter of debate. His supporters were the marquis of Lansdowne and the earl of Moira; and his opponents, lords Grenville, Hawkesbury, and Auckland. The inferences from the arguments and statements produced by the respective parties were contradictory in the extreme; the one representing the situation of this country as replete with the most arduous difficul-

ties, and almost verging to ruin: and the other describing it as full of opulence and resources of every denomination, and able, with proper management, to encounter and surmount every obstacle, and to flourish with more lustre than ever.

Such were the most material transactions of parliament during this session. An attempt was made, by Mr. Wilberforce, to enforce the decision of the house, that the abolition of the slave-trade should take place on the first day of the year 1796, but his motion was negatived by a majority of four, and his subsequent endeavours to regulate the slave-carrying trade, by the proportion of tonnage, was lost for want of numbers to constitute a house.

A bill for the relief of indigent curates passed in their favour, after some opposition in the commons, on account of its originating in the house of lords. But a petition from the quakers to be relieved from imprisonment for non-payment of tythes, and for allowing their affirmation to be evidence in criminal as well as civil cases, was rejected by the lords, after passing the commons. The humane effort made by lord Moira, in favour of persons confined for debt, met with no better success.

The session closed, on the nineteenth of May, with the customary speech from the throne. It informed the house of the intention to dissolve the present, and to call a new parliament. The happiest effects, it said, had been experienced from the provisions made for repressing sedition and civil tumult, and for restraining the progress of principles subversive of all established government.

The commons were thanked, in a more particular manner, for the liberal supplies they had granted, to meet the exigencies of the war. Peculiar notice was taken of the increasing resources, by which the country was enabled to support the great expences it required. The nature of the system introduced into France had, the speech said, afforded to that country, in the midst of its calamities, the means of exertion, beyond the exertion of any former time; but, under the pressure of the new and unprecedented difficulties, arising from such a contest, the British constitution had, by the councils and conduct of parliament,

been preserved inviolate against the designs of foreign and domestic enemies; the honour of the British name asserted; the rank and station held hitherto by this country in Europe, maintained; and the decided superiority of its naval power, established in every quarter of the world.

Such were the principal passages in the speech. It concluded with strong recommendations of unanimity and mutual confidence between the king and parliament, as best promoting the true dignity of the crown, and the happiness of the subject.

CHAP. V.

First Cares and Employment of the French Directory.—Determination to keep alive the Martial Spirit of the French Nation.—And to extend their Victories as far as possible.—But, at the same Time, to make a Shew of Pacific Inclinations.—Preparations for War on the Part of the Allies—Attempt towards Negotiation between the French and the Allies at Basle, in Switzerland.—Rupture threatened between the French and Swiss Cantons.—Prevented.—Plan of Directory for Military Operations.—Manifesto of Charrette.—Revival of the War in La Vendée.—New Complexion of this.—Total Defeat of the Insurgents.—Capture and Execution of Charrette and Stoflet.—Manifesto of the Directory for restraining the Cruelties of their Soldiers.—Lenient Measures.—Good Effects of these.

DURING the first months that followed the constitution settled in France towards the conclusion of 1795, the chief care of the government was to render it respectable, and to impress the minds of men with a persuasion, that this great change was calculated for the benefit of the nation. It was not difficult, indeed, to persuade the public that any system was preferable to that uncertainty which had occasioned so many confusions. From this consideration, people at large willingly acquiesced in the new arrangements, especially as they promised to restore internal peace, by arming government with such extensive power, to prevent the breaking out of disturbances. But the means to which chiefly the directory trusted for the stability of their power was, to keep alive that martial spirit which had pervaded, with so amazing an efficacy, the whole mass of the French nation, and enabled it to perform feats of arms, of which

no records afforded any precedent in their history. As these successes were attributed to that enthusiasm which animated them in the cause of their country, and to the hatred which they professed for monarchy, it was the business of their rulers to perpetuate such a disposition, by affording it support and aliment; and this they saw would most effectually be done, by representing the enmity borne to France as unextinguished, and that notwithstanding several of its enemies had openly laid down their arms, and agreed to conditions of peace, their rancour was still the same. They had desisted from hostilities, it was said, only from compulsion; after repeated defeats, and from the dread which they felt, that unless they complied with the requisitions prescribed by a victorious and invincible enemy, justly exasperated at their unprovoked aggression, he might give the fuller loose to a revenge, which they were not able to resist.

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In order therefore to imprint the deeper in the minds of those adversaries, whom they had already so much humbled, the terror with which they were already inspired, the heads of the republic judged it expedient to extend the influence of their victorious arms, as far as fortune seemed inclined to favour them; and to compel their remaining foes to accept of the humiliating terms they had imposed upon the others, by reducing them to the like distress.

From ideas of this kind flowed the lofty language spoken upon all occasions, both by the directory and the two councils. As two-thirds of these were precisely the same men who had governed France under the name of a convention, during the three preceding years, it was not to be expected that their dispositions would alter with their new appellation; and the other third, though not altogether so violent in their conduct, were influenced by those republican principles, without which no man could be reputed a true Frenchman, and which, in truth, were indispensable to procure an individual either esteem or advancement in any post, civil or military.

Another view, it may be presumed, that stimulated the members of the directory, who were all men of tried parts and courage, was the desire of proving to their countrymen the superiority of individuals placed at the head of the state, purely on account of their abilities, to persons promoted through favour, or the adventitious circumstances of birth and family.

But a motive still more cogent, both with them and the nation at large, was the earnest desire to re-

pair the losses sustained, towards the close of the preceding campaign, on the borders of the Rhine. These losses happening so shortly after their prodigious successes in the low countries, and in Holland, had shewn that their enemies, however frequently defeated, had not decreased in valour; and that, when well commanded, they were still a match for all the enthusiasms of the French.

It was chiefly to recover this superiority of military prowess, that the directory was solicitous to place the numerous armies of the republic on the most formidable footing. They had maintained, in the campaign of 1794, a contest with the bravest veterans in Europe, and had proved more than equal to them. By the same reason it might be expected, that, the same spirit animating them, they would renew their victorious career, which appeared suspended, through unforeseen causes, rather than terminated by a turn of fortune in favour of their enemies.

It was however necessary to make a shew of pacific inclinations, without which both their own people and foreign states would be justly authorised to accuse them of a wanton and lawless ambition, and more intent to gratify their private thirst of false glory, at the expence of their country, than studious to restore the blessings of peace, now become the earnest wish of all parties.

While the rulers of the republic were thus employed, the allied powers were no less occupied in preparing for the renewal of hostilities, little hoping that any sincere efforts for the obtaining of peace were likely to proceed from the French;

French; and convinced, that until they should experience farther reverses, they would still continue inflexible in the determination they had solemnly formed, to annex their acquisitions in the low countries, and on the left-side of the Rhine, irrevocably to the dominions of the republic.

A resolution of this nature precluded at once all ideas of peace. The retention of those fertile and spacious provinces could not be submitted to without an evident alteration of the political system of Europe, of which France would possess a controul, that would perpetually disturb the peace, if not endanger the safety of all its neighbours.

The possession of Belgium by the various branches of the Austrian family, during more than three centuries, had so far habituated the inhabitants to their domination, that, notwithstanding the oppressions they had occasionally exercised over them, they still retained a willingness to return to their obedience, provided they could have been secured in the enjoyment of their ancient customs and liberties.

The Austrian ministry was duly sensible of this disposition, and preserved, of course, the hope of recovering, by some fortunate casualty, this richest portion of its inheritance. The British ministry was no less bent on the restoration of the Austrian Netherlands to their former owner. The accession of such immense and valuable territories to France, in so close a proximity, and almost in sight of the shores of this island, was an object of serious alarm, and called up the attention of all men who reflected on the restless character of the French,

their inveteracy to this country, and their readiness to engage in any attempt to its detriment; especially at the present period, when they were stimulated by the most violent resentment at the interference of the British ministry in the affairs of their country, and its endeavours to restore the monarchy they had solemnly proscribed.

In this conflict of adverse projects, both the republic and its enemies were equally anxious however to appear inclined to peace, conformably to the loudly-expressed wishes of their respective people, and, in truth, of all the people in Europe, who, either directly or indirectly, felt themselves involved in the ruinous consequences of this fatal contest.

The French, in the mean time, having, by the dint of negotiations, as well as of their arms, brought some of the principal members of the coalition into their own terms, flattered themselves with the expectation of becoming equally successful with the others, and held out language promissory of equitable conditions, in order to allure them to treat.

Basle, a city of note, in Switzerland, was now become the centre of political transactions between the different powers, whose diplomatic agents had fixed upon it as the most convenient place of residence, on account of its situation between the Belligerent parties, in a country allowed to be neutral. The principal negociator, on the part of the French, was the celebrated citizen Barthelemy, at that time in high credit with the directory, for the services he had rendered the government of France, in the treaties that had been confided to his management,

nagement, and the issue of which had been so advantageous to the republic.

To this gentleman application was made, on the eighth of March, by Mr. Wickham, the British envoy to the Swiss Cantons, in order to sound the real dispositions of the French government. The object in communicating the propositions directed to the French agent, was, to ascertain, by his answer, whether the directory were desirous to negotiate with Great Britain, and its allies, on moderate and honourable conditions, and would agree to the meeting of a congress for this purpose, and whether, at the same time, it would specify the conditions on which it would treat, or point out any other method of treating.

The answer received from M. Barthelemy, in the name of the directory, was, that it felt the sincerest desire to terminate the war on such conditions as France could reasonably accept, and which were specified in the answer; but one of these positively insisted on the retention of the Austrian dominions in the low countries; assigning, as a reason, their formal annexation to the republic, by a constitutional decree that could not be revoked.

A reply, founded upon an argument, which proved no more than a decided resolution never to part with these acquisitions, without alleging in fact any other motive than their will, displayed an arrogance in the directory, in the opinion of their enemies, that instantly put a stop to all farther attempts to negotiate. No alternative, it was now said, remained to these but to yield unconditionally to their demands, or to try the fortune of arms. Were this to prove adverse,

they could hardly insist upon more mortifying terms, nor the allies be more disgraced.

The directory seemed at this period resolutely determined to act with a high hand, and to set all the enemies of the republic at defiance. It intimated to the magistracy of Basle, that a rumour was spread, purporting a design in that city and canton to favour the irruption of the imperialists through its territories, and that a great part of the helvetic body concurred in this design; which was a manifest infraction of the neutrality they had engaged to observe between France and its aggressors. An explanation was demanded in so haughty and peremptory a style, that the regency of Basle felt itself highly offended, and returned so spirited an answer to the directory, that they dispatched another message much more severe than the first, requiring an immediate explanation of the rumour in question, and accompanied with menacing insinuations in case all hostile intentions were not disavowed. The cantons were so deeply involved in this business, that being unwilling to come to a formal rupture with so formidable an antagonist as the French republic, they judged it prudent to give them the completest assurance of their determination to preserve the strictest neutrality. A minister of an acceptable character was deputed to Paris: this was Mr. Ochs, a gentleman of principles favourable to the revolution. He settled all differences to the satisfaction of both parties; and Switzerland was delivered from apprehensions of hostility.

This transaction took place towards the end of March and beginning

ginning of April, when the French were preparing for the ensuing campaign, and seemed resolved to pursue the most active and vigorous measures against the remaining members of the coalition.

The directory had three objects in contemplation; an invasion of Germany, another of Italy, and the complete reduction of domestic insurgents. Of these last it entertained the greatest apprehension, from the desperate resolution they had hitherto displayed, and the unyielding perseverance with which they continued to oppose the repeated attempts to reduce them. The severity exercised towards all who were suspected of favouring them, instead of relaxing the attachment of their adherents, served, on the contrary, to increase it; and the unshaken fidelity they observed in concealing those designs and plans of the insurgents to which they were privy, and in which they co-operated with unabated zeal, assisted and animated their resistance to a degree that seldom failed to enable them to recover from their defeats and losses, and to take the field with fresh courage and resources.

Previously then to the great enterprises meditated against Italy and Germany, the directory thought it indispensable to clear France of its internal enemies. Their connections with the most formidable and dangerous rivals of France, the English, made it evident, that while the royal party subsisted unsubdued, it would probably, as it had done in the preceding year, throw such embarrassments in the military operations, intended against foreign enemies, as would clog and impede the plans proposed; and, aided by the fleets and forces of England, tie up the

hands of government from those exertions, without which the war on the frontiers of France could not be carried on with any decisive success, and must probably be protracted in such a manner as might afford time and opportunities to the foe of recovering from his past disasters, and regaining the ground he had lost.

Fully determined to remain chiefly, if not entirely, on the defensive, until the interior of France should be wholly pacified, or the opponents of the republic effectually disabled, the directory pitched upon one of the ablest men in the commonwealth to carry this resolve into execution. This was the celebrated general Hoche, whose military talents and successes were at that time inferior to those of no officer in the French service. He was invested with the chief command in the departments that were in a state of insurrection; and, happily for his employers, acquitted himself, in a short space of time, to their highest satisfaction.

The resistance of the insurgents was not conducted on their former plan: they had, as it were, consumed that stock of zeal and devotion to the royal cause, which had produced such amazing effects, and rendered them so long the terror of the republican armies. The pacification concluded with the government of France by Charette, and the other chiefs of the insurgents, had deprived him in a great measure of the influence which he, with a number of resolute leaders, had exercised over them: and when they determined to excite another insurrection, they found an alteration in the disposition of the commonalty, that soon made it apparent how feeble

feeble and ill-supported their exertions would prove, in comparison of what they had been on the first breaking out of the resistance to government. They had at that period introduced order and regularity among their people, and had exercised hostilities according to the rules of discipline. But those, on whom they now prevailed to join them, were no longer guided by the same spirit. The generality indeed did not seem inclined to embark in a cause for which they had so greatly suffered, and so vainly displayed the most surprising courage and efforts. The majority of those, who now followed their fortunes, were individuals long determined never to submit to the republic, and to seize the first opportunity of acting openly against it. They consisted chiefly of the ruined noblesse, clergymen expelled from their livings, and other persons deprived of their employments, either for adhering, or being suspected of adherence to the royal cause. The mass of their followers was made up of deserters, peasants, and others of the lower classes, impelled, by the ill-treatment of the ruling party for their difference of opinion in matters of church and state, to fly from their homes, and betake themselves to the protection of those who were in arms against government, and whose numbers were thus increased and constantly recruited by fresh accessions of the discontented and ill-used.

Those who now presided over them were Charette and Stoflet, who appeared still determined to encounter new hazards, after having escaped so many dangers. The former of these had, in the course of the preceding year, renounced

the engagements he had contracted with the republic, and published a manifesto, wherein he publicly charged its agents with having, under false pretences, inveigled him to lay down his arms, and submit to government. They had, he said, given him to understand, that the rulers of the nation had come to a fixed resolution of restoring royalty, and of replacing the family of Bourbon upon the throne, as soon as such an event could take place with security; but the temper of the French, they insinuated, was to be consulted, and a due concurrence of circumstances waited for, before an attempt of such importance could be made. He enumerated a variety of particulars tending to delude him, and concluded by accusing government of having violated its faith with his associates; and, as a consummation of its iniquity, of having taken off, by poison, the innocent child of their murdered sovereign. It was, he said, in consequence of these perjuries and enormities, that he had come to a determination to take up arms again, and never to lay them down till the heir to the crown was restored, and the Catholic religion re-established.

Such were the contents of this extraordinary manifesto, which appeared so strange and unaccountable to numbers, that they were led to doubt its authenticity.

In the mean time, the forces, dispatched by government to suppress this insurrection, met with various difficulties, from the nature of the warfare they were engaged in. The insurgents, conscious of their inferiority in the field, avoided all regular action; and, dividing themselves into a multitude of small
bodies,

bodies, occupied all the narrow passes and defiles throughout the country, and harassed the republican troops in their marches and motions. The inhabitants in those parts, being generally in the interest of the insurgents, informed them of the most convenient places where to lie in ambuscade, and surprise their enemies. By these means they intercepted the communication between the republican troops, and often seized their convoys of provisions and stores, and reduced them to the extremest want of ammunition and necessaries. Whenever they found an opportunity of attacking them to advantage, they never missed it; and occasionally defeated them with considerable slaughter. When these were too well situated, or too strong in numbers, as well as position, to venture an engagement with them, the others kept within forests or fastnesses that were almost inaccessible; and where, on that account, they succeeded in defending themselves. Their general mode of attack was with musketry, never coming to close fight, and always placing hedges, palés, ditches, and other impediments between themselves and the foe, whom, as numbers of them were excellent marksmen, they contrived by these methods greatly to annoy, in spite of their courage and discipline, and their eagerness to rush upon them through all obstacles, and to fight them under all disadvantages.

The chiefs of the insurgents were so conscious of the impracticability of encountering the republican troops in any other manner, that their own people, losing all hope of renewing those brilliant successes they had formerly obtained, gradually abandoned all attempts of that

kind, and gave themselves up to a predatory system of hostilities, accompanied with as many sanguinary executions of their enemies, as they thought requisite for the support of their own cause, and the intimidation of their enemies.

Such had been their plan of acting since the second insurrection, which had broken out in the commencement of the foregoing summer, and had continued with various success till the approach of winter. The disappointment that had befallen the expedition to the coast of France from England, and the loss of so many emigrants, that had either fallen in battle, or been taken prisoners and put to death, had so effectually terrified their adherents, that, from that day, they had manifested little inclination to venture into new dangers, without better grounds of hope, than promises of assistance wherein they had been so much deceived, and exhortations to loyalty, that only led them to ruin.

Disheartened by the severe and atrocious vengeance executed upon their country, and the dreadful slaughter and chastisement of its inhabitants, the Vendéans had not, as before, crowded to the royal standards erected among them. The amnesty published after the former pacification, and the lenient treatment they had experienced in consequence of their submission to the republic, had produced the effects that had been expected. The remaining majority of that unfortunate people had returned to their country, and resumed their former occupations, with the intent of never leaving them again for the rash enterprises to which they had been prompted, by the vain prospect of

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being able to overturn the republic, and restore the monarchy.

But those, who had led them forth to this desperate attempt, did not despair to excite them to a second undertaking of the same nature. They held out every motive that had formerly been prevalent; attachment to their religion, love of their kings, hatred to the present innovations. Multitudes were induced accordingly to list again under their banners: but the greater part remained quiet in their habitations, and the flower of the insurgents was not, as antecedently, composed of the Vendéans, but of the mixed and numerous mass of the inhabitants of the several provinces of Brittany, Poitou, Maine, Anjou, and others lying on the banks of the Loire.

Those who chiefly figured among them, were that body of men known by the appellation of Chouans, and whose origin and primitive transactions and character have already been noticed. From these, the whole insurrection now borrowed that denomination; and, as many of their actions had been marked with blood-thirstiness, as well as rapacity, those who were united with them, incurred the like imputation; whence they became equally dreaded and abhorred, and acquired the general name of plunderers and murderers among the adherents to the republican party, of which their detestation was no less notorious, as well as their zeal and readiness to doom its partisans to extermination.

This reciprocal disposition was of course productive of many atrocious deeds. The republican soldiery shewed them little mercy, considering them in hardly any other light than that of highway robbers. It became at last a war of reciprocal

destruction, not only of men, but of whatever they possessed. Slaughter and conflagration went hand in hand, and the country round presented a picture of death and desolation. No man nor family were safe in their houses: the republican soldiers broke into them, and massacred all they found. The opposite parties waylaid each other on the roads, and gave no quarter. Their whole attention was employed in framing and perpetrating those horrors, and executing every scheme of public and private vengeance.

The pretext, for the commission of all those enormities, was the same on both sides: the royalists charged the republicans with having violated the late treaty, and these retorted the accusation. The truth was, that neither party much approved of it, and had acceded to it, rather as a suspension of hostilities, than as an absolute pacification, intending to abide by the conditions agreed to, no longer than they found it convenient. Hence no confidence was established on either side, and they both watched each others motions with equal suspicion of their malevolence.

After a long fluctuation of fortune between the contending parties, the principal commander of the royalists, the famous Charette, encountered a strong body of the republicans near Roche Survan, on the twenty-eighth of December, 1795, and was totally defeated. His men were so completely routed, that he was unable to rally them. They fled from the field in various directions, and were so closely pursued, that they dispersed on every side, and he was never able again to embody them. He was compelled, for his own safety, to disguise himself like a pea-

a peasant. In this dress he wandered about the country without a companion, in hope of escaping his pursuers, and gaining the sea side, where he might find an opportunity of flying to England. But the search made after him was so strict and incessant, that he fell into the hands of a patrolle that was in quest of him. He was tried and sentenced to be shot. His execution took place at Nantes on the twenty-eighth of April. His associate, the well known Stoffet, who had also been made a prisoner, suffered death in the same manner, about two months before him.

The fall of these two principal chiefs of the insurrection, especially the former, gave it a blow from which it did not recover. Neither the Vendéans, nor the Chouans who had joined them, seemed to have been overcome by despondency on this occasion, and they still continued to maintain their ground with as much obstinacy as ever: but whether none of their remaining leaders were of equal ability, or that their people did not repose the same confidence in them, their defeats became continual, and such numbers were slaughtered, that the generality of the insurgents began to lose courage, particularly after the losses of those who commanded them. No less than thirteen of their principal chiefs fell in battle, and ten others were taken and condemned to be shot.

The death of these officers proved an irreparable loss: they were men of conspicuous resolution, and had long conducted the affairs of their party with remarkable skill and perseverance in the arduous trials they had so frequently experienced.—None at this period seemed capable of supplying their place; but what

chiefly accelerated the submission of the insurgents, was the lenity with which the government came to the resolution of treating all those who laid down their arms. A proclamation had already been issued, during the heat of hostilities, inviting the insurgents to return to obedience, under a solemn promise of burying their revolt in oblivion, and of granting them every just concession they could require: the directory availed itself of the advantages it had obtained, to convince those who had been concerned in the insurrection, that the only use the government would make of the situation to which they were now reduced, would be to deprive them of the means of exciting disturbances; and that, provided they acquiesced in the injunctions laid upon them, they would be placed on the same footing with their fellow citizens, and enjoy similar rights.

So anxious was the directory to impress them with this persuasion, that it published a circular address to the commanders of the troops employed in suppressing the insurrection, strictly enjoining them to keep the intentions of the government in constant view, and not to exceed them by needless acts of severity.

But the animosity of the republicans against the insurgents was such that they occasionally exercised great rigour over them, to the serious concern of the directory; which reprehended, with marked severity, those who had been guilty of these excesses. It anxiously reiterated its orders to abstain from all harshness, and to receive all who submitted with a generous forgiveness of the past; considering them as deluded brethren, whose attachment it was the duty of their conquerors to win

through mildness and conciliation, which were the only effectual means of restoring them to the bosom of their country, and converting them into good citizens.

In pursuance of these maxims, every district that surrendered its arms, and punctually conformed to the conditions prescribed, was immediately placed under the completest protection of the laws, and no infraction of these suffered to their detriment.

The measures thus taken, by the directory, availed them more than military coercion would have done. The dread of punishment had kept several bodies of the insurgents together: but the moment they found that a pardon would be granted to them, on acceding to the terms of the proclamation that had so long been circulated, and to which government was yet willing to adhere, they repaired in crowds to the head quarters of the republican generals, declaring their readiness to accept of the conditions proffered to them.

These submissions gradually took place in the course of March and April. By the close of this month, the insurrection was so far quelled, that no apprehensions were entertained from the few straggling parties that remained, and which were looked upon as people determined to lead a predatory life, rather than in arms for the cause they had embraced, and of which no hopes any longer existed.

After subduing this dangerous insurrection by force of arms, the next measure was to pacify the minds of those who had so obstinately persisted in it, and yielded at length only from the impracticability of any farther resistance. To this end, in addition to the punctual observance

of the promises made to the insurgents, to induce them to lay down their arms, a number of publications, suited to the capacity of those for whom they were designed, were distributed in the districts where the insurrection had taken place: and those individuals on whose fidelity and attachment to republican principles the government could depend, were encouraged to take all possible pains to inculcate the propriety of uniting with the majority of their countrymen, and of unfeignedly abjuring those sentiments that had cost them so many lives, and plunged their families into so much misery.

The necessity of acting conformably to this advice, became so apparent, that even the royalist generals thought themselves bound no longer to obstruct the submission of the insurgents, convinced that it was the only means left them to escape destruction. A proclamation to this purpose was issued and signed by viscount Scepeaux, the principal in command in the western department. After lamenting the fruitless efforts to restore monarchy and the Catholic religion, it acknowledged that to persist in this attempt would only be conducting the insurgents to the slaughter. It exhorted them, therefore, to desist, and yield to superior force, in order to secure their lives, and be permitted to dwell in safety at their homes.

An exhortation of this kind did not fail to convince them of the inutility of any farther opposition: and, by the latter end of July, the country of the insurgents was so thoroughly pacified, that martial law was repealed, and civil government restored.

CHAP. VI.

Address of the Directory to the French Armies.—Determination to carry the War into Italy.—Difficulties to be encountered in carrying this Plan into Execution.—Buonaparte.—The French Army, under his Command, makes rapid Progress in Italy.—The Austrians, under General Beaulieu, constantly repulsed, yet not dispirited.—Various Actions.—Suspension of Arms agreed on between the French and Piedmontese Armies.—General Beaulieu re-crosses the Po, for covering the Countries to the North of that River.—At Paris, Negotiation for Peace between the King of Sardinia and the French Republic.—Treaty of Peace between France and Sardinia ratified by the Legislative Bodies of France.—Exultation and Confidence of the French.—Improved by Buonaparte, for the Purpose of leading on the Army to farther Exploits.—Address to the Army.—General Object and Tendency of Buonaparte's private Conversation.—Homage paid to the Merit of Buonaparte, and the Army, by the Directory.—Buonaparte puts his Army in Motion.—Crosses the Po, and leaves General Beaulieu to break up his Camp.—Armistice between the French Army and the Duke of Parma.—The French advance toward the Capital of Lombardy.—Battle of Lodi.—The Austrians retreat to Mantua.—The French proceed to Milan, where the French General allows his People some Days of Repose.

WHILE the armies of the republic were successfully employed in suppressing those internal commotions, the directory was anxiously taken up with the plans that were to be prosecuted, as soon as domestic difficulties were overcome. In the end of April, they thought themselves so completely delivered from all apprehensions at home, that they began immediately to turn their attention to those two undertakings, on the fortunate termination of which the future security of the republic would be established beyond the possibility of being shaken by any external force.

The events of the last campaign had been so different from those of

the preceding, that many people in France, as well as in other parts of Europe, began to consider the enthusiasm of the French as considerably abated. But the sanguine disposition of the generality of the French attributed their defeats on the Rhine solely to the unskilful management of their generals; and still remained convinced, that, had they been judiciously commanded, they would have been victorious as before.

In order to encourage this persuasion, the directory published an address to the different armies, previously to their taking the field. It was conceived in very animated terms, and recalled to their notice

the various exploits they had performed in the two foregoing years, the patience with which they had borne not only the hardships of the field, but the pressures of want, and the privation of every convenience and comfort, and the invincible fortitude with which they had persisted, amidst all these difficulties, to discharge the duties of brave soldiers. It exhorted them to persevere as they had done: fresh toils and victories were expected from them by their country, before its enemies would consent to reasonable terms of peace. It held out the most flattering hopes of success; and that they were at the eve of terminating their patriotic labours, the issue of which would procure safety to their country, and glory to themselves; who then would return to its bosom, to enjoy the love and gratitude so justly due to them from their fellow-citizens, and so nobly earned by their services.

This address was sent to all the military bodies of the republic, and read to them with great solemnity. It was received with much respect and satisfaction. The officers and soldiers formally renewed their assurances of fidelity to the republic, and their readiness to lay down their lives in its defence.

The object which the directory had now chiefly in contemplation was to carry the war into Italy. The Austrians were prepared to pass the Rhine in great force: the attachment of the Belgians to their French conquerors might waver; the fate of another campaign was uncertain; much was to be lost, nothing gained, in the Netherlands, by an appeal to arms, on a question, which, if the authority of the republic should be confirmed by the

lapse of even a few years, they might consider as already decided. In this situation of affairs they determined to divert the energy and attention of the emperor from his Belgian territories, where his authority had been so often disputed, to his Italian dominions, where his will was a law, and from whence he drew still greater supplies. While they cut off the emperor's resources in Italy, they would add to their own. They did not doubt of reaping immense benefit from the possession of that country, the inhabitants of which were known generally to have little affection for their present sovereigns. The people of the duchies of Milan, Parma, and Modena, were peculiarly disaffected, and, the nobility and clergy excepted, seemed rather to desire, than to dread, a change of masters. The commonalty, in the republics of Venice and Genoa, professed no attachment to their rulers. In Tuscany, and the papal dominions, there were numbers of discontented; and in the kingdom of Naples the number was still greater.

Among these multitudes there were some individuals resolute enough to declare their dissatisfaction at their respective governments, notwithstanding the personal dangers to which they exposed themselves by so daring a conduct. But what was more, some had the courage to entertain a private correspondence with France, and explicitly to solicit some of the principal persons in the republic to invade Italy, where, they assured them, they would find more friends than foes among the natives, and meet with no opposition but from the Austrians, and their few adherents, among the possessors of places

places and employments in their service.

Induced by these various motives, the directory resolved to begin military operations abroad, with the attack of a country, where the princes, one excepted, the king of Sardinia, could place little reliance on the loyalty of their subjects; and where this prince had already lost such a portion of his territories, as greatly endangered the remainder.

Nevertheless, obstacles of a serious nature presented themselves. The undertaking was, indeed, arduous; Italy, proverbially the grave of the French, was viewed by the generality of people as unconquerable on the side of France. Environed by mountains, the passes of which were fortified with the utmost art, and guarded with numerous well-disciplined troops, it seemed calculated for an invincible resistance. The French, after reducing many forts and fortresses in the heart of the Alps, had not been able to make an effectual impression on Piedmont, without which an entrance into Italy appeared impracticable. The powers interested in the preservation of Italy, aware of the hostile intentions of France, had made ample preparations for defence. The emperor's forces amounted to eighty thousand well-disciplined men, commanded by excellent officers and generals, and provided with every species of warlike necessaries. The king of Sardinia's army was sixty thousand strong, exclusive of militia. The pope and the king of Naples were occupied in embodying as many troops as their circumstances would permit; and the latter had dispatched two or three

thousand horse to serve in the Imperial army.

Though the strength with which the French proposed to attack their enemies in Italy was much inferior in number to theirs, and far from being so well supplied, it was composed of hardy and resolute soldiers, filled with enthusiasm, and impatient to enter into action, and to indemnify themselves for the sufferings they had undergone upon the rocky and barren coast, to which they had long been confined, through want of reinforcements to enable them to move forward against the enemy.

The supplies of men and ammunition did not arrive till the beginning of April, when the French determined immediately to commence their operations. They were cantoned along the coast of that sea, called the river of Genoa, within three leagues of that city; and the Austrians and Piedmontese were posted on the mountains opposite to them.

The French were commanded by general Buonaparte, already noticed in the action between the conventional troops and the sections of Paris,* in October, 1795, a native of Corsica, born, as it were, a commander, and uniting the intrepidity of an ancient Roman, with the subtilty and contrivance of a modern Italian; and both these fortified and improved by a liberal, as well as military education. Hardly thirty years of age, he had signalized his military abilities, not only on that but some other very decisive occasions, and acquired a reputation that had raised him to the highest degree of esteem in his profession.

* See Vol. XXXVII. Page 106.

The troops under his command were little more than fifty thousand men : but he possessed their entire confidence, and was reputed equal to the arduous task he had ventured to undertake.

The Austrians were under general Beaulieu, an officer of great experience and talents, though he had been unfortunate in several actions with the French in the Netherlands. On the ninth of April he attacked a French post and forced it : on the tenth he advanced upon them, and carried all their entrenchments but one. Here he was arrested by the obstinate bravery of the officer who commanded it. Rampon, chief of brigade, who conceived that the fate of the day depended on the preservation of this post, made his officers and soldiers swear never to abandon it. They defended it accordingly during the whole night with such invincible firmness, that the Austrians were constantly repulsed. In the morning of the eleventh, Buonaparte, by a circuitous movement, fell upon the rear and flank of the enemy, who were completely routed, with the loss of fifteen hundred killed, and more than two thousand taken. This battle was fought at a place called Montenotta.

Eager to improve this victory, Buonaparte pursued the Austrians, who had retreated to a strong position at a place called Millesimo : but general Augereau forcing the passages leading to it, the Austrians retired to the ruins of an old castle, which general Provara, who commanded them, hastened to surround with an intrenchment, where he stood several attacks, and defended himself resolutely for five days. This afforded time to the Austrians to

rally from the disorder into which they had been thrown. They advanced in considerable force, and charged the French with great vigour. The dispute was long and bloody : the Austrians and Piedmontese made repeated efforts to liberate the troops in the castle, and directed their attacks on the centre of the French : but these stood their ground immoveably, while their two wings turned the right and left of the adverse army, the rear of which was assailed at the same time by another division. Surrounded in this unexpected manner, they sustained a dreadful defeat ; two thousand were slain in the action, and upwards of eight thousand made prisoners, including the corps under general Provara, which had so much distinguished itself by the defence of the castle. This great victory was obtained on the fourteenth of April. Among the killed were some officers of high distinction ; and of the taken one was a general, and near thirty colonels, beside inferior officers. Between twenty and thirty cannon fell into the hands of the French, with fifteen standards, and an immense quantity of stores and field-equipage. Two French generals, Banal and Quanin, fell in this battle, which cost the victors a number of their bravest men.

Though twice defeated in so decisive a manner, general Beaulieu was by no means dispirited : collecting as many of his scattered troops, as formed a body of seven thousand men, he again attacked the French with great impetuosity ; the next morning, and drove them from their incampment at a village called Dego, where they had expected to repose themselves after the fatigues of the preceding day. This unex-

unexpected attack, so far discomposed them, that they were thrown into disorder, and compelled to abandon their post, after having thrice endeavoured to retake it.

More than half of the day had been spent in these fruitless attempts, when Buonaparte, anxious to recover a post, without which, the advantages gained by his two victories would have been frustrated, immediately gave orders for a large body to form in front of the enemy, and occupy their attention, while another charged them on their left, posted at Dego. The intrepidity with which the French generals and officers headed their men, decided the fate of the day. After a vigorous defence, the Austrians were in their turn obliged to give ground, and leave the field to the French, with the loss of near two thousand men, of whom, about fifteen hundred were made prisoners: on the side of the French, numbers also fell, and among these general Caussa, one of their best officers.

Thus, in the space of five days, no less than three battles were fought, in every one of which the French were victorious. The Austrian and Piedmontese armies had, in the course of these engagements, been separated from each other: which enabled Buonaparte to effect a junction with a considerable body of his army, before which the Piedmontese division had retired, not daring to oppose it in combination with the corps under general Augereau who had joined it. After dislodging the Piedmontese from their redoubts, at Montezimo, this officer followed them to their camp before the town of Cava. It was strongly fortified, but Augereau attacked it with such vigour, that, after defending it the whole day

with great courage, the Piedmontese withdrew in the night of the sixteenth, abandoning Cava, which surrendered to the French. After some retrograde motions, wherein they were closely pressed by the French, who met however with some checks, a general engagement took place near Mondovi on the twenty-second. General Colli, who commanded the Piedmontese, had drawn up his army to great advantage; his centre being covered by a strong redoubt, which was resolutely defended for a long time against all the efforts of the French, who lost numbers in its attack. It was carried at length after repeated assaults: upon which general Colli thought it prudent to retreat. His loss amounted to about twelve hundred men, of whom a thousand were taken. Of these, three were generals, and four colonels. One general was slain, and eleven standards fell into the hands of the French, who lost also one of their generals, and a considerable number of men.

The Piedmontese army, after its defeat, crossed the river Stura, and took a strong position between Coni and Cherasco. Here it was attacked, on the 25th, by the French, who compelled general Colli to retire from the post he occupied at Fossano. They made themselves masters of Cherasco, where they took a quantity of cannon and large magazines, and the Piedmontese withdrew to Carignano, in order to be nearer to Turin, for its protection against the French army, which was now advanced to within nine leagues of that city.

The defeat of his army, at Mondovi, had already determined the king of Sardinia to make overtures of peace to Buonaparte. General Colli

Colli was directed to apply to him for that purpose, and proposed a suspension of arms, while the peace was negotiating. But he refused to suspend his operations, unless the king delivered two strong towns into his hands, as pledges of the sincerity of his intentions, and immediately dispatched commissioners to Paris.

The king's situation was so critical, that he was obliged to comply with this requisition, and the French were put in possession of Cava, Coni, and Tortona. The Austrians, thus deprived of their ally, were obliged to fall back on the Milanese. In their march they attempted to sieze the town of Alessandria, belonging to the king of Sardinia, but the commandant prevented the execution of this design, and Beau-lieu hastened to cross the Po, in order to cover himself and the country to the north of that river.

In the mean time, negociations for peace were carried on at Paris, between the king of Sardinia and the French republic, which imposed severe conditions on this unfortunate prince. He was constrained to yield up Savoy, the patrimony of his ancestors for many ages, together with the city and territory of Nice, and a tract of land, which the conquerors entitled the Department of the Maritime Alps. A new arrangement was made of the frontiers on each side, highly advantageous to France. He consented to stop and put an end to all prosecutions against any of his subjects for their political opinions, to withdraw himself from the coalition, and to apologise for his conduct towards the republic. Such were the principal terms of the treaty.

In this manner was the prince

completely humbled, who had long been considered as the most secure of any, by his position, against the inroads of the French: his predecessors, though frequently hard pressed by them, had never been reduced to such extremities, and never experienced such disgrace. By this treaty he was despoiled of all power and consequence; and though he retained the title of the king, he remained no more than the nominal sovereign of his dominions.

The reduction of the king of Sardinia was an event that changed at once the whole face of Italy. That prince was no longer master of the barriers that nature has fixed between that country and France, and from which he derived his principal importance. They were now in the hands of the French, and the Italian powers, deprived of this rampart of their dominions, saw themselves at the mercy of a people, who had, for many centuries, endeavoured to obtain a footing among them, with the manifest design of subjecting them to their influence.

These astonishing successes could not fail to inspire the French armies, that had obtained them, with the highest degree of exultation: nor did their commander forget to improve the sentiments of self applause and confidence, manifested by them, into that disposition of mind, which would lead them on to those farther exploits he had in contemplation. He issued an address to them on the twenty-sixth of April, three days after the application for peace from the Sardinian monarch, wherein he recapitulated, in a truly classical and energetic style, the glory they had acquired, and represented that which lay still before them.

"You

“You have precipitated yourselves, like a torrent, from the heights of the Apennines. You have routed and dispersed all who have opposed your progress. Piedmont, delivered from Austrian tyranny, displays its natural sentiments of peace and friendship for France. Milan is ours, and the republican flag flies over all Lombardy. The dukes of Parma and Modena owe their political existence to your generosity. The army, which with so much pride threatened you, has no barrier of protection against your courage; the Po, the Tessin, and the Adda, have been unable to stop you a single day; those boasted bulwarks of Italy have been insufficient to delay your progress; you have surmounted them as rapidly as you passed the Apennines. So much success has carried you to the bosom of your country: your representatives have ordained a fête, dedicated to your victories, which will be celebrated in all the communes of the republic. Your fathers, your mothers, your wives, your sisters, your lovers, will enjoy your success, and boast with pride that they belong to you. Yes, soldiers, you have done much; but does there remain nothing more to be done? Though we have known how to vanquish, we have not known how to profit of our victories. Posterity will reproach us with having terminated our course in Lombardy: but already I see you run to arms; a slothful repose fatigues you. Let us depart! we have yet forced marches to make, enemies to subdue, laurels to gather, injuries to revenge. Let those tremble who have whetted the poignards of civil war in France, who have basely assassinated our ministers, and burned

our ships at Toulon: the hour of vengeance and retribution is now at hand. But let the people remain tranquil; we are friends to all the people, and more particularly the descendants of Brutus, of Scipio, and the great men whom we have taken for our models. Re-establish the capitol, and place there with honour the statues of the heroes that rendered it celebrated; awaken the Roman people, debased by many centuries of slavery. Such will be the fruit of your victories; they will form an epoch for posterity; you will have the immortal glory of changing the face of the first country in Europe. The free French people, respected by the whole world, will give to Europe a glorious peace, which will indemnify them for the sacrifices they have made during six years; you will then return to your homes, and your fellow citizens will say, shewing you, this man was of the army of Italy.”

Such were the ideas which the French general exerted himself to impress upon the public, as well as on his own people. His private conversations were of the same tendency, and he omitted no opportunity of representing the expedition of the French into Italy as intended to lay the foundation of a total deliverance of the inhabitants from the government of strangers, and the tyranny of domestic rulers.

Sentiments of this description were not unacceptable to multitudes in every part of Italy. The majority of the natives could not but perceive the humiliation of being subject to princes born and bred in foreign countries: they could not, from that circumstance alone, feel that attachment for them which they

they might have done for native princes.

To the praises bestowed by Buonaparte on his army, the directory added its acknowledgments to him, and those of his officers who had signalized themselves in the late actions. It wrote to them separately, specifying, in the most gracious and satisfactory manner, the particular motives for which the thanks of the public were due to them.

This homage paid to their merit, in the name of the nation, by those who were invested with its supreme authority, was received, by the French officers, as the highest honour that could be conferred upon them, to be considered as deserving of it was now become the summit of their wishes; so effectually had the republican notions of patriotism taken possession of their minds.

The moment after the suspension of arms between the French and the king of Sardinia had been signed, Buonaparte lost no time in availing himself of it to the utmost. He instantly put his army in motion from all quarters, in order to cross the Po, and to render it doubtful to the enemy, by his various movements, at what place he would attempt the passage over that river. The Austrian general did not doubt but the French would endeavour to pass it at the town of Valenza, which they had stipulated with the Sardinian ministry should be ceded to them for that purpose. For this reason, he made every disposition necessary to obstruct their passage at this place: but Buonaparte deceived him; and, by rapid marches, reached the banks of the Po, opposite to the city of Placenza. A body of horse prepared to oppose him; but a chosen corps of French infantry,

having seized a number of boats, rowed to the other side, protected by so heavy a discharge of musketry, that the enemy was obliged to retire, and leave them to land, which they did in the compactest order. This was effected on the seventh of May. As soon as Beaulieu was apprised of it, equally astonished at an event he had so little expected, and anxious to repair the mistake he had committed, he selected the best of his troops, with whom he advanced on the French, in hope of coming upon them before a sufficient number could have crossed to secure the passage of the rest; but they were not only on his side of the river, but marching towards him. On receiving this intelligence, he intrenched himself at Fombio, a village advantageously situated, expecting the arrival of reinforcements; but he was immediately attacked on every side by the French, who forced him to break up his camp in the utmost disorder, and with the loss of a large quantity of horses and baggage, as well as of men.

Another body of Austrians was, in the mean time, hastening to his aid, and came up with the French early the next morning: but general Laharpe, an officer of great merit and intrepidity, charged them with such vigour, that they were instantly defeated, and put to flight. The loss of this officer, who fell on this occasion, was more than a counterpoise to the success of the French. He was a Swiss by birth; and, being driven from his country, on account of his republican principles, he took refuge in France, and entered into the service of the republic, where his military talents raised him to the rank of a general.

Ho

He was high in the esteem of Buonaparte, who had formed the greatest expectations from him, and grievously lamented his fall.

The duke of Parma, in whose sight, as it were, the French had crossed the Po, and defeated the Austrians twice in one day, did not dare to prolong the contest on his part, with so irresistible a foe. He requested an armistice from Buonaparte, and obtained it on condition of paying a large contribution in money, horses, and provisions; of delivering into the possession of the French twenty capital paintings to be chosen by them, and of sending without delay commissaries to Paris, to conclude a peace with the republic: on these terms the duke procured a neutrality for his dominions, which was concluded on the ninth of May.

The uninterrupted successes of the French had now struck their enemies with universal consternation. Beaulieu himself, though an expert and intrepid warrior, thought it more prudent to act on the defensive, than to attack them with troops continually defeated. The bravery of the Austrians, though undeniable, had not been proof against their impetuous valour and unyielding enthusiasm. They seemed to have reversed the character formerly attributed to them, of impatience and unsteadiness, and to have assumed that of firmness and constancy.

Their exploits had now opened to them the road to Milan, the capture of which would give them the possession of Lombardy, and effect the expulsion of the Austrians from Italy. This was the project of Buonaparte, whose glory would be completed by such an achievement;

and whose thirst of fame would thereby be gratified to the utmost extent of his wishes.

Between him and that capital of Austrian Italy lay the remains of the Imperial forces, determined to risk another battle for its preservation. They were posted on the other side of the Adda, over which stood a long bridge, which Beaulieu had intended to break down, but was prevented from doing by the quick approach of the French general. It was protected, however, by so numerous an artillery, that the Austrians did not imagine the French would be able to force a passage over it.

On the tenth of May, the French army arrived in sight of this bridge, before which stood the town of Lodi, filled with the Imperial troops which were also posted in every place around it in the most advantageous order of battle that the situation of the town and its environs would admit. Beaulieu had, on this occasion, displayed uncommon skill, conscious that, on the issue of this day, the fate of Austria in Italy wholly depended, and that, were he defeated, all future resistance would be vain.

The battle began at nine in the morning. The approaches to Lodi were vigorously attacked by the French, who, after an obstinate dispute, drove the Austrians into that town; where a resolute fight ensued: but the French had again the advantage, and forced them to retreat across the bridge to their main body, which was drawn up in order of battle, with formidable batteries on their right and left to guard the passage of the bridge. A battery was planted on the opposite side by the French, and a violent can-

nonade

nonade was kept up, on both sides, during great part of the day.

But the French general was convinced, that unless he succeeded in effecting a passage over the bridge, his failure would be construed into a defeat, and the reputation of the French arms would suffer in the opinion of the public. Full of this idea, which was certainly well founded, he determined to try every effort, and to encounter every personal risk, in order to carry a point on which so much appeared at issue. Forming together the selectest bodies of his army, he led them in person to the attack of the bridge, in the midst of a most tremendous fire. The intrepidity he displayed was necessary to confirm the courage of his men, whom the greatness of the danger seemed to stagger: but his presence, and that of all the chief officers in the French army, animated the soldiers to such a degree, that they rushed forward with an impetuosity which nothing was able to withstand. They crossed the bridge and assailed the whole line of the Austrian artillery, which was instantly broken. They fell with equal fury on the troops that advanced to charge them, who were thrown into disorder, and put to flight on every side. The victory was complete. Had it not been for the excessive fatigue undergone by the French, a great proportion of whom had marched ten leagues that day to join the army, the loss of the Imperialists, though great,

would have been much greater. It was owing to the approach of night that the French desisted from the pursuit. Favoured by darkness, Beaulieu withdrew from the field of battle, after losing upwards of two thousand men, killed, wounded, and taken, and twenty pieces of cannon. The loss of the French was considerable: the crossing of the bridge alone cost them near a thousand of their boldest men, who were destroyed by the batteries pointed on it from the Austrian side of the river.

This defeat of the Imperial army appeared so decisive to marshal Beaulieu that he durst not venture to stop the progress of the victors towards Milan. Collecting the wrecks of his army, he made a speedy retreat towards Mantua, pursued by a large body of the French, who, in their way, seized on Pizzighitona and Cremona, two places of note. The main body under Buonaparte proceeded to Milan, after taking Pavia, where all the Austrian magazines fell into the hands of the French.

Buonaparte entered Milan the fifteenth of May, five days after the battle of Lodi, which, conformably to his opinion and that of his rival, Beaulieu, proved wholly decisive of the fate of Lombardy. Here the French general thought it necessary to allow his people some days of repose, after the unceasing toils of a whole month, marked by uninterrupted victories.

CHAP. VII.

Exultation of the French at the Successes of their Armies.—Their Army in Italy animated by the Praises of their Countrymen, and the Conversation as well as the Proclamations of Buonaparte to a high Passion for Glory.—Enters the Duchy of Modena.—Spoliation of Monuments of Antiquity and Art.—Abhorrence of the Italian Nobility and Clergy towards the French greater than that of the inferior Classes.—A general Insurrection, ready to break out, quashed by the Vigilance and Promptitude of Buonaparte.—The Austrians, under General Beaulieu, with the Connivance of the Venetians, take Possession of Peschiera.—Buonaparte advances against Beaulieu, who retreats to the Tyrolese.—The Venetians tremble before the French.—Dismiss from their Territories the Brother of the late King and Claimant of the Crown of France.—Buonaparte takes Possession of Verona.—Blockades Mantua.—Prepares to march into the Tyrolese.—Detained by Insurrections in the Districts, known under the Name of Imperial Fiefs.—These being suppressed, he carries his Arms to the Southward.—Reduces Tortona, Bologna, and Urbino.—Menaces Rome.—Armistice between the Pope and Buonaparte.—Suspension of Hostilities with Naples.—Buonaparte the Friend and Patron of Men of Learning and Science.—Ambitious Views of the French Republic.—Insurrection in Lugo. Quelled, and the City reduced by the French.—The Blockade of Mantua converted into a close Siege.—Raised by Marshal Wurmser.—Actions between the French Army and that of the Austrians, reinforced by Detachments from Mantua.—Remarkable Instance of Presence of Mind in Buonaparte.—The Austrians driven back beyond the Adige.

THE news of these astonishing successes had, in the mean time, filled all France with exultation. A splendid festival was appointed, at Paris, by the Directory, in order to celebrate them with suitable magnificence. To render it more solemn, it was accompanied with speeches to the citizens, and eulogiums of the victorious army, pronounced by Carnot, the president of the day, and calculated to animate the public against the ene-

mies of France, particularly the English; and to encourage the nation to bear up cheerfully against the pressures of the war, by the prospect of terminating it finally to the advantage and glory of France.

During an interval of five days rest, allowed by Buonaparte to his soldiers, he did not forget to address them in his usual manner, and to excite their ardour, by a recital of their exploits, and a representation of the honours and applause bestowed

stowed upon them by their country, and by a prospect of the future triumphs awaiting them.

He was now meditating expeditions into the territories of those princes of whose enmity to France sufficient proofs had been given. A detachment of his army had already entered the duchy of Modena, the sovereign of which had fled to Venice with his treasures. From this city he deputed a minister to the French general, with whom he concluded a suspension of arms, on much the same conditions as those granted to the duke of Parma.

The spoliation of the repositories of art, which was now annexed to the conditions of treaties with the Italian princes, proved one of the most vexatious as well as mortifying circumstances of the French invasion. The monuments of painting and of statuary, which adorned their palaces, cities, and churches, were viewed by the natives with a mixture of delight and veneration. They entertained a species of affection for them; and, in the presence of some of them, they placed not a little confidence. They had become a kind of tutelary deities and household gods. The Italians were sensible of emotions not altogether dissimilar to those of the Israelite Micah, into whose house armed men from Dan entered; and took away "the graven image, and the ephod, and the seraphim, and the molten image."* In one respect, the oppressions of the French in Italy were greater than those of the northern hordes under Attila and Odoacer; for those chiefs did not trouble the Romans with de-

mands of pictures, statues, and sculptures. It seems to be the fate of the great models of the arts, like the arts themselves, to travel from the east, by the west, to the north. Perhaps their tour in this direction is not yet terminated. To deprive the poor Italians of objects so long endeared to them, by habit and possession, seemed an act of tyranny exercised upon the vanquished in the wantonness of power. Those objects had been respected by all parties, in the vicissitude of those events that had so frequently subjected the places that contained them to different masters. The French were the first who had conceived the idea of seizing them as a matter of mere property. Herein they were accused of consulting their vanity rather than their taste for the fine arts. The Romans, in their triumphant periods, had plundered the Greeks of all the master-pieces they could find in their country. This appeared to the French a precedent fit for their imitation, and a sanction for robbing the Italians of what they esteemed the most valuable part of their property, and the most honourable proof they still retained of their former superiority in those departments of genius. The conduct of the French, in tearing the monuments of antiquity and art from Italy, and carrying them to Paris, was universally condemned and execrated by all civilized nations. It was, in truth, in some measure, plucking the rose from the tree.

Motives of this nature, conspiring with the dissatisfaction experienced by multitudes, at the irreverence

* "Ye have taken away the gods which I made, and what have I more?"—Judges xviii. 24.

which the French testified for the religious practices of the natives, enabled those who hated them, on this account, to instil their hatred into others, and to inflame their indignation against men who presumed to more sense in those matters than other nations.

The two classes whose inveteracy to the French was most notorious, were the nobility and the clergy; as the French did not scruple to avow their enmity and contempt for both, it was natural that these should hold them in abhorrence. In their speeches and conversations, public and private, the former seldom failed to represent the nobles as tyrants, and the priests as impostors. The depression which both these orders of men had suffered in France, shewed what was intended for them in other parts of Europe, were the French to succeed in the vast design imputed to them, of entirely subverting the political and religious system of this quarter of the globe.

Actuated by these apprehensions, several of the most resolute of the nobility, and most zealous of the clergy, resolved, it was said, to incite the commonalty to rise against the French, on the first opportunity that should seem favourable to such a design. The day fixed upon for its execution, was the twenty-fourth of May. Early in the morning, Buonaparte set out for Lodi, at the head of a strong detachment. He had hardly reached that place, when he was informed, by an express, that an almost general insurrection was spreading through Lombardy. The alarm bells were ringing every where, and the peasantry and lower classes throughout the country, instigated by the nobles and the clergy, were up in arms, and intent on the

massacre of all the French they could meet with. Rumours were circulated, that Beaulieu, strongly reinforced, was on his march to Milan, and that a number of French detachments had been surprised and put to the sword. Incensed at the ideas of equality upheld by the French, the nobles had dismissed their domestics, telling them, that, being their equals, they could no longer employ them as servants. The partisans of Austria were, in short, exerting all their activity to raise commotions, and no place was free from them.

On the receipt of this intelligence, Buonaparte hasted back to Milan with a large body of horse and foot. He arrested a number of suspected persons, and ordered those to be shot who had been taken in arms. He intimated to the archbishop, and to the clergy and nobles of the city, that they should be responsible for its tranquillity. A fine was imposed for every servant discharged, and every precaution taken to prevent the conspiracy from gaining ground.

It was principally at Pavia, that the conspirators were the most numerous. They had seized on the citadel, guarded by a small party of French, whom they made prisoners. Being joined by some thousands of peasants, they resolved to defend the town, and refused admittance to Buonaparte, on his summoning them to surrender. But a body of French grenadiers burst open the gates, on which those who had the custody of the French, who had been compelled to surrender in the citadel, set them at liberty. None of them were missing: had violent hands been laid upon them, the determination was taken to destroy Pavia,

and to erect on its site a pillar with this inscription, "Here stood the city of Pavia."

In order to deter the inhabitants of this, and the other towns inclined to stir up insurrections, the promoters of that at Pavia were sentenced to be shot, and two hundred hostages, for their peaceable behaviour, were delivered to Buonaparte, who sent them to France. He next issued a proclamation, declaring, that those who did not lay down their arms within twenty-four hours, and take an oath of obedience to the French republic, should be treated as rebels, and their houses committed to the flames.

The nobles and priests in the insurgent districts were to be arrested and sent to France. The places within the precincts of which a Frenchman was assassinated, were condemned to pay triple taxes till the assassin was given up. The same fine was laid on places where concealed arms and ammunition were found. Persons of rank and fortune who excited the people to revolt, either by dismissing their servants, or by holding inimical discourses against the French, were to be sent to France, and to forfeit part of their estates.

Injunctions and declarations of this nature were posted up in every place of note throughout the Milanese. Particular precautions were taken for the security of the city of Milan, the castle of which still remained in possession of the Austrians, who might, in case of any formidable insurrection, have given it effectual assistance.

Freed from the perplexity occasioned by these disturbances, Buonaparte prepared to prosecute the plans he had been forming. The

broken forces of the Austrians had in their retreat taken refuge on the Venetian territory. Hither they were closely pursued by the French. But previously to the commencement of operations in the Venetian state, Buonaparte was careful to give formal notice of his intentions to the senate.

The disposition of the Venetian government, towards France, was justly suspected to be inimical. Had it been friendly before the entrance of the French into Italy; their successes, and the powerful footing they had now obtained, would have rendered them too dangerous to be viewed with a favourable eye. Situated between two such powers as France and Austria, Venice had no inclination to befriend the one more than the other, and would gladly have been delivered from the proximity of both. Unwilling to offend a state between which, and the French republic, an amicable intercourse subsisted, the French general published an address to that government and people, wherein he assured them, that in following the enemies of France into the Venetian territories, he would observe the strictest discipline, and treat the inhabitants with all the amity and consideration due to the ancient friendship existing between the two nations.

In the mean time, the Austrians had taken possession of Peschiera, by the connivance of the Venetians, to whom that town belonged. Here Beaulieu hoped to be able to make a stand, till succours arrived to him from Germany. Buonaparte, desirous to expel him from Italy, or to compel him to surrender, advanced to that town, intending to cut off his retreat to the Tyrol, by the eastern side of the lake of Garda. Early in

in the morning of the thirteenth of May, several divisions of the French approached the bridge of Borghetto, by which Buonaparte proposed to effect a passage over the Mincio, and surround Beaulieu's army. The Austrians made the utmost efforts to defend the bridge; but the French crossed it after a warm action: the Austrian general perceiving their intent, withdrew in haste from his position at Peschiera, and retired with the utmost expedition to the river Adige, which, having passed, he broke down all the bridges, to prevent the French from pursuing him. By these means he secured his retreat to the Tyrol, the only place of safety now remaining to him.

Buonaparte might now consider himself as the undisputed master of Italy. He was so much viewed in that light by the senate of Venice, even previously to his passage of the Mincio, and the defeat of Beaulieu, that, foreseeing the danger of appearing too well inclined to the house of Bourbon, they had warned out of their territories the unfortunate brother of the late king of France, who had, on the death of his nephew, son to that monarch, assumed the name of Lewis the eighteenth, together with the royal title.

The circumstances of his dismissal did the Venetians no credit: on that prince's demanding the sword, formerly presented to the senate by his ancestor, the celebrated Henry the fourth of France, as a token of his regard, they refused to restore it, on pretext that a large sum of money, due from him to the state, had never been discharged.

Buonaparte took possession, on the third of June, of the city of

Verona, the late residence of the French prince. He now determined to lay siege to Mantua, the only place of strength and importance left to the emperor in Italy. The reduction of this fortress would effectually put an end to the influence of the court of Vienna, and transfer to France the power and credit exercised by the emperor in all the affairs of Italy.

This was a deprivation to which the head of the house of Austria could not bear the idea of submitting, and every effort was resolved upon to prevent it. The ill success of Beaulieu had been such, that it was determined, at Vienna, to substitute another commander in his room. Marshal Wurmser, a veteran general in high esteem, was appointed to succeed him, though he had himself experienced several defeats by the French.

In hope of reducing Mantua before succours could arrive, Buonaparte determined to lay immediate siege to it. On the fourth of June it was invested by the French, who drove the out-posts into the town, which was now closely surrounded on every side.

But the want of artillery prevented him from doing any more than blockading it. He had formed hopes of reducing that city by other means than a formal siege; which were to cut off all succours from Germany, and all provisions from its neighbourhood.

In order to effect the first of these purposes, he resolved to carry the war into the imperial dominions in Germany, and to invade the Tyrol itself. This was doubtless a very bold and hazardous attempt: the natives of that difficult and mountainous country being not only a

résolute and hardy race of men, but extremely attached to the family of Austria: of whom they had for centuries continued the faithful and affectionate subjects.

Buonaparte did not, however, despair to make an impression upon them in his favour, through the medium of those addresses, of which he had experienced the efficacy on other occasions. On the fourteenth of June he published a manifesto, wherein he informed them, that he intended to march through their country, in order to force the emperor to come into terms of peace with the French, who desired a termination of the war; not only for themselves, but for the benefit of all Europe, so long harassed and desolated through the ambition of the Imperial family; for which alone the people of its dominions were involved in the horrors of war, as well as the people of France. The French, he told them, bore no hatred to the inhabitants of Germany, but solely to their ambitious sovereigns, and felt the sincerest sentiments of good will and fraternity for their oppressed subjects. He invited them, therefore, in the name of the French, to receive their army with hospitality and abstain from all hostilities; promising the strictest honour and punctuality, in all dealings and transactions with them, but admonishing them, at the same time, that if compelled to have recourse to their arms, the French would, however unwillingly, prove as terrible to them, as they had invariably done to all their other enemies.

But while he was preparing to follow up this manifesto, by marching his army into the Tyrol, he was called away by the indispensable necessity of providing for the security

of his conquests; menaced by a variety of unfavourable circumstances, against which vigorous exertions were required without delay.

The distance at which the forces of the French were at this time, from several districts, known by the name of Imperial Fiefs, and situated on the borders of Piedmont, Genoa, and Tuscany, had emboldened the people there, who were in the interest of the emperor, to act a very hostile part against the French; they attacked their convoys, intercepted the communication with Buonaparte's army, and killed his couriers. Such were the complaints and representations of the French. In order to put a stop to those proceedings, which were secretly countenanced by those numerous enemies of the French, who did not dare to avow themselves, Buonaparte was obliged to dispatch large detachments from the main body of his forces, to repress them. This was the very end proposed by those insurrections, but the celerity with which he acted, quickly effected their suppression: the insurgents were compelled to submit, and deliver up their arms and hostages for their obedience. Heavy fines were imposed upon them, and ordinances issued; a refusal to comply with which, was made punishable with military execution.

The motive that led to this severity, was the determination to proceed, without the danger of being recalled by new commotions, in the plan of extending, through the most distant parts of Italy, an unresisting subjugation to the dictates of France. Rome and Naples were the two states against which Buonaparte was intending to act. The enmity of both to the French was undeniable.

undeniable. The inability of the Pope to resist them was an additional motive to invade his territories. Ferrara, Bologna, and Urbino, all cities of importance, were taken possession of, and Rome itself was threatened.

The partisans of the French in Italy, and elsewhere, expressed open satisfaction at their conduct towards the Roman see. The disreputable means by which it had risen to power, and acquired the territories composing its sovereignty, were not forgotten. The arrogance of its pretensions, and the daily diminution of the reverence and veneration which it formerly commanded, jointly induced people to view its humiliation with pleasure. Conscious of these sentiments in the generality, Buonaparte felt the less scruple in the severity of his transactions with the court of Rome, with which it seems he had determined to keep no measures; commissioned doubtless by the government of France to act in this rigorous manner.

Terrified at this invasion of his dominions, and totally unable to resist it, the pope was reduced to the necessity of suing for an armistice, which was granted to him, on conditions similar to those on which the dukes of Parma and Modena had obtained it: to which was added, the surrender of the cities of Bologna, Ferrara, and the citadel of Ancona, with the territories of the two former, and a larger proportion of pictures and statues, and some hundreds of the most curious manuscripts from the Vatican library. The pope, with a resignation more becoming the head of the church, than so many of the ambitious and daring actions of his predecessors, yielded to ne-

cessity with the best grace in the world. He discharged his subjects from molesting, and even from reviling the French. He exhorted them to use them well, and even to pray for them. In former ages, the popes were wont most bitterly to curse even their own spiritual sons, when they shewed any degree of a refractory spirit. The piety of the church, smothered by wealth and power, appeared to be revived with persecution. The Christians seemed to return to the principles of "loving their enemies, blessing those that cursed them, doing good to those that hated them, and praying for those who despitefully used and persecuted them." Had the pope with the Romish clergy been sincere in such professions of humility and benevolence, and credit been given to such professions, the church might have sprung, like a phoenix, from its own ashes, and the tide of affairs been turned: but without inquiring too minutely into the piety of the pope, we must commend his prudence, in advising the Romans to give up a part of their wealth, rather than the whole. His holiness was a more prudent man than the Roman knight Nonius, who was put to death by Tiberius, for refusing to part with a very exquisite and precious piece of sculpture. All persons imprisoned for their opinions were now to be set at liberty; the ports of the ecclesiastical state to be open to the French, and shut to their enemies, and a free passage allowed to the French troops through the papal territories. This armistice was signed on the twenty-third of June: but the directory, though willing to negotiate a peace with the pontiff, refused to receive the ministers he had sent to Paris for
that

that purpose, on account of their being ecclesiastics, a profession of which they had declared to admit no members in the quality of negotiators.

A suspension of arms had already been concluded with the king of Naples, on terms of more equality. The multiplicity of operations, undertaken by the French, did not permit them to exert the like severity with a prince who was so much more able to oppose them.

In the mean time, the resolution taken by the directory, to exclude the English from an access to any port to which it could barr their entrance, prompted them to direct their general to seize on the port of Leghorn, on pretence of the flag of France having been insulted there, and the French merchants ill-treated, in violation of the rights of neutrality. On the twenty-eight of June, a detachment of Buonaparte's army took possession of this place. The English merchants, however, being apprised of his intentions, had sufficient time to remove their property on board their ships in the harbour, and very little was seized by the French.

The seizure of Leghorn was accompanied by the reduction of the castle of Milan: this celebrated fortress, surrendered to them on the last day of June. The garrison, consisting of more than two thousand men, convinced of the impossibility of making any effectual resistance, yielded themselves prisoners of war. One hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, with an immense quantity of ammunition and stores, were taken here by the French.

During these various transactions, while Buonaparte was occupied in extending through Italy the empire

of the French, and the terror of his arms, he was equally careful to impress the Italians with favourable opinions of his inclination to promote their general welfare, and equally of his respect for learning and literary men. This, he knew, would exhibit an advantageous contrast of the respective dispositions of the French and the Austrians, in matters of this nature. The neglect and indifference of these latter, for the polite arts and sciences, and their professors had long been well known, and it was a part of Buonaparte's policy, by displaying his partiality to characters of this description, to conciliate their esteem, and secure their prepossession in his favour.

To this intent he had taken with him, to Italy, several eminent literati from France. They were the companions of his private hours, and were looked upon as a credit to his expedition: with them he consulted in what manner he could make it redound to the benefit of letters and philosophical knowledge.

The cultivators of learning in Italy, to whom he was represented in this advantageous light, could not fail to conceive amicable ideas of him, and he was particularly solicitous to improve them. An opportunity offered, on the reduction of Milan, where he requested an interview with the celebrated astronomer Oriane, in order to testify his respect, and that of the French nation, for his extraordinary merit. In a letter, written to him on this occasion, and addressed, through him, to all the Italian literati, Buonaparte exerted his persuasive talents to convince him and them of the predilection with which the rulers of France regarded all individuals of his character, and how zealous they

they were in the protection and encouragement of polite knowledge and the liberal arts, and desirous to afford them the most generous and honourable countenance and support. "All men of genius," said the letter, "all those who have obtained a distinguished rank in the republic of letters, are Frenchmen, in whatever country they may have been born. The learned in Italy, esteemed themselves happy, if left unmolested by princes and priests: but henceforth, opinions shall be free, and the inquisition, intolerance, and despotism be no more. I invite," he continued, "the learned to assemble, and propose their sentiments on the means necessary to be taken, and the assistance they may require, to give new life and existence to the sciences and the fine arts."

He addressed the university of Pavia in the same style, and took peculiar pains to impress on the minds of the public, that the French were solicitous to place the people of Italy on the same footing with themselves, in whatever related to the liberty of thinking, and would feel more satisfaction in acquiring their esteem and their approbation of the proceedings of the French government, and of the political maxims on which it acted, than in the submission enforced by their victorious arms. The conquests obtained over the human mind, being of far greater importance to men who knew the difficulty of obtaining them, and the utility which they produced, than victories won by the sword, and empire maintained through terror.

Language of this kind, which was incessantly in the mouth of the French general, and of those in

his confidence and intimacy, did more in conciliating the people, who had submitted to him, than the dread of his power; the clergy and the nobility excepted: to the very existence of which orders the French system was immediately inimical: the other classes beheld in the French a nation of warriors, who seemed to have taken up arms for the purpose of reducing all other nations to a level of opinion and government with themselves, and to harbour no enmity but to hereditary sovereigns; and the adherents to implicit obedience in matters of church and state.

To disseminate such a disposition in the generality was the chief aim of the French general, well knowing that, on such a ground, he would be able to erect a more durable fabric of that republicanism he had in view, than on the military power he had established, and which, without those concomitances that he held out to the natives, would have been odious to them, and have presented no other picture than that of conquest and tyranny.

In this court, that was paid by the French general to men of letters and genius, we contemplate a policy, not less solid than sublime. It is from the opinions and spirit of the truly learned and intelligent, that public spirit in all nations sooner or later derives its complexion with their origin. The class too that would be flattered by this address was more numerous by far, than it will be very easy to imagine: so great a portion of mankind being so highly satisfied with their own talents and accomplishments. The professions of Buonaparte, however, but ill accorded with his actions. The whole of his conduct indicated

that his main design was to establish the power and influence of the French in Italy. At Milan he formed the plan of a republic on the model of that of France, and to be under her protection, in the same manner as the victorious and ambitious Romans admitted the conquered states to the alliances and friendship of the senate and people of Rome: thus endeavouring to subvert the authority of the emperor, and to erect that of France on its ruins, by abolishing feudal rights, and giving the great mass of the people a share and an interest in the new government. He fortified Verona, notwithstanding the reclamations of the Venetians; and placed general officers, in whom he could confide, over the Tuscan troops, as well as over those of Piedmont and Milan. The intentions of the French were still less concealed at Paris; where those who bore sway, at the same time that they professed a desire to fraternize with all nations, talking of nothing but the extension of their arms, and of Paris becoming the capital of Europe. They boasted of the generous design of giving peace and tranquillity to all nations *under the* protection of the French republic.

In the mean time, Buonaparte was preparing to meet the new general appointed to take the command of the Imperial forces that were marching to the protection of the Tyrol. The situation of the French at this period was extremely critical: they had subdued an extensive range of country; to preserve which they had been obliged to detach considerable numbers from their main body. The remains of Beaulieu's army, and the reinforcements arriving with marshal Wurmser, com-

posed a much more formidable strength than that under Buonaparte. But the confidence he placed in the valour of his men, and that which they reposed in his superior genius and skill, seemed, in the opinion of the public, to stand him in the stead of numbers.

The passes into the Tyrol were guarded by works extending from the Lake of Garda to the river Adige. Here the Imperial commander, newly arrived, posted himself: but the French generals Massena, and Joubert, at the head of a select body, broke into his lines, by turning his right and left: they seized his baggage and standing camp, and forced him to retreat with the utmost precipitation. This happened towards the close of June.

The first engagement, between Wurmser and the French, would probably have been followed with worse consequences to him, had not an insurrection taken place in a city of the ecclesiastical state, which obstructed for a while their intended operations. The inhabitants of the city and district of Lugo, incited by the complaints of their clergy, and others who bore heavily the French yoke, took up arms, as they expressed themselves, in defence of their saints, and their lawful sovereign, the pope. A small detachment was sent to quell them, but they forced it to retire, after killing some men, the heads of two of whom, according to the French accounts, they exposed at the town house of Lugo. The French general, who was sent with a sufficient force to reduce them, employed admonitions and threats to that purpose: but they set him at defiance, and made a desperate resistance: upwards of a thousand of them were killed and wounded,

wounded, and the city taken and delivered up to the troops for pillage during three hours. A proclamation was then issued, ordering all arms to be surrendered, on pain of death to those who retained them; and threatening to set fire to places where Frenchmen should be murdered. The reduction of Lugo took place on the sixth of July.

Mantua was, in the mean time, closely besieged, and hard pressed. The garrison made several vigorous sallies, but Buonaparte, who had by this time collected, from the many strong towns he had taken, a numerous and formidable artillery, gave no respite to the besieged, and constantly repelled them. He erected batteries for the firing red hot balls, and several parts of the city were in flames: but the governor was resolved to hold out to the last extremity, and refused to listen to the summons to surrender.

Powerful reinforcements having joined marshal Wurmser, since the check he had received in the mountains of the Tyrol, he resolved to repair this by raising the siege to Mantua; by effecting which he would at once undo all that had been done by Buonaparte. Animated with this hope, he assailed the French at Salo, on the western side of the Lake of Garda, and at Corona on the east. He had the good fortune to dislodge them on the twenty-ninth of July, from both of these positions: those at Salo retired to Peschiera, and those at Corona to the city of Verona.

Buonaparte, who perceived the criticalness of his situation, assembled all his forces to oppose the Austrian general, who, after seizing Brescia, in consequence of the capture of Salo, on the one side of the lake,

and Verona on the other, which the French were compelled to abandon, was moving with the division under his command towards Buonaparte, while the other was advancing with all expedition to place the French between two fires.

Conscious that his strength was not equal to an encounter with the Austrian general's united divisions, Buonaparte came to the determination to attack them singly before they could form a junction. This, indeed, seemed the only expedient left to extricate him from his present danger. It was not, however, without the deepest concern, that he saw himself reduced to the necessity of abandoning the siege of Mantua, now almost destitute of provisions, and on the point of surrendering.

He raised it on the thirtieth of July, and, in pursuit of his plan, marched with all expedition to Brescia, where he joined the divisions of his army. They had gained several advantages over the Austrians, particularly at Lonado, a town which these had seized, but from which they were expelled, after being completely defeated in an engagement, the last of July, wherein they lost great numbers.

From Brescia, where the Austrians were again totally routed, on the first of August, they withdrew in disorder towards the Tyrol, where they took refuge in the mountains. On the third, marshal Wurmser, who, apprised of the ill fortune that had attended his other division, had advanced with all speed to its assistance came up with Buonaparte, who, expecting him, was prepared for battle. The Austrians had some advantage at first, through the rash impetuosity of an advanced corps of French,

which

which was surrounded and taken; but the centre, forming into a compact body, charged them with such vigour, that they soon gave way, and were broken on every side. A division of them endeavoured to make good its retreat to Salò: but that place was already occupied by the left wing of the French; and this division, in attempting to gain the mountains, towards the Tyrol, fell mostly into the hands of the French. General Augereau, who commanded the right wing, assailed the left of the Austrians, posted at Castiglione. Here a furious fight was maintained the whole day between both parties. The French at length prevailed, and the Austrians sustained an entire defeat. Between two and three thousand fell in the field, and about four thousand were made prisoners, among whom were three generals. The French also lost a considerable number, and some officers of great note.

On the fourth, a division of the French attacked a large body of Austrians, who were posted at Gavardo, towards the western side of the lake. The conflict was warm, but the Austrians were again worsted, with the loss of near two thousand men.

Notwithstanding the successes of the third and fourth, Buonaparte was not yet assured of a fortunate termination of this obstinate dispute. Marshal Wurmser had drawn together all the troops that could be rallied, to which he added a part of the garrison of Mantua, now relieved from the siege, and every other corps within reach. When assembled, they formed an army formidable enough to renew the contest with Buonaparte, who was fully convinced that the most dan-

generous and difficult part of the business still remained to be decided.

He collected the whole of his force, and made the most advantageous arrangements to meet the enemy, whose attack he hourly expected. He visited every post, in order to ascertain the numbers that could be spared to reinforce his main body. Repairing for this purpose to Lonado, he found it occupied by no more than twelve hundred of his troops, while a division of the Austrians, consisting of four thousand men, had encompassed it, and sent an officer to summon the French to surrender. Buonaparte concluding, from certain circumstances, that this body of Austrians belonging to the defeated part of their army, and was endeavouring to make good its retreat, with remarkable presence of mind, told the officer, that he was mistaken in thinking that he had met only with a detachment of the French army, the main body of which was there with Buonaparte himself, who now spoke to him, and required him immediately to return to his general, and require that he should surrender instantly. The commander of the Austrians, struck with astonishment, requested a parley to settle conditions. But Buonaparte, aware of the danger attending the least delay, insisted that they should directly surrender themselves prisoners of war. On their still demanding time to consider, Buonaparte gave orders for a body of chosen grenadiers and artillery to advance against them. This decided the matter, and they all laid down their arms, without attempting to make the least resistance.

Escaped from this imminent peril, in so extraordinary a manner, the French

French general determined to lose no time in bringing the contest to a final issue. Feigning to be desirous of avoiding an engagement with Wurmser, he ordered a retrograde motion to be made by his army, in order to induce him the more readily to advance. This order was executed on the morning of the fifth, with such dexterity, that while the Austrian general, deceived by appearances, was approaching the French army to attack it, the right wing of the French, under general Serranier, an officer of great ability, turned the left of the Austrians, and assailed its rear, while another division attacked a redoubt in its front. The left of the French, in like manner, moved with unexpected rapidity against the right of the Austrians, and their centre was charged at the same time with such impetuosity and vigour, that, surprised at movements so contrary to their expectation, they were, in a manner, taken unawares. They made, however, a resolute defence, but fortune declared for the French. The Austrians were thrown into confusion; and, notwithstanding the skilful dispositions of Wurmser, were not able to stand their ground. They retired with all expedition, after losing two thousand men, and would certainly have lost many more, had not the French, from the excessive fatigue of so many successive conflicts, been disabled from a pursuit.

This victory was completely decisive of the contest between these two rival generals. The battle might be said to have lasted five days, as there was no intermission of fighting during that time. The losses of the Austrians precluded all hopes of keeping the field. They

amounted to seventy pieces of cannon, all the carriages belonging to his army, more than twelve thousand prisoners, and six thousand slain.

But the principal loss was that of reputation. The troops thus beaten were chiefly veterans. Those who came with Wurmser were deemed the flower of the Austrian army, that had so obstinately contended with the best troops of France upon the Rhine. Wurmser himself was reputed an officer second to no one in the Imperial service, nor indeed in Europe, for valour, skill, and experience, and was, in a manner, the last hope of Austria, for the recovery of Italy.

All these were circumstances deeply mortifying to the court of Vienna, and proportionably productive of triumph and exultation to the French republicans, and their well-wishers.

The first intelligence of marshal Wurmser's marching against Buonaparte, at the head of so selected an army, had revived the expectations of all the enemies to France, and not a little alarmed the directory itself. But those who were able judges of the military talents of Buonaparte, never felt a moment's despondency, and it is but justice to acknowledge that he fully answered their utmost expectations. Throughout the whole course of this arduous trial, his abilities astonished both friends and foes. Surrounded by difficulties of every sort, he acted with a clearness of penetration that foresaw and obviated them all. He removed impediments as fast as they arose, and took his measures with so much prudence and sagacity, that he could not be charged with having committed one false step. His body

and his mind appeared reciprocally calculated for the support of each other. Both were incessantly employed, the one in planning, the other in personally forwarding every design that was conceived. Such were the indefatigable qualities with which nature had endowed him, that while his thoughts were uninterruptedly on the stretch, he allowed himself no kind of repose; and, during the last seven days and nights of this dreadful contest, he was never known to have laid himself down to rest.

Notwithstanding this terrible defeat, the Austrian general, though unable to keep the open field, still

occupied the strong line along the Mincio, and a fortified camp before Peschiera. But the French attacked them on the sixth, forced their camp and lines, and compelled them to withdraw to the other side of the Mincio, with a great loss of men and cannon. They pursued them to Verona, where the Austrians, through the connivance of the Venetians, endeavoured to make a stand: but they were driven from this city, and fled in disorder towards the Tyrol. This action completed their route, and the garrison of Mantua excepted, no Austrian troops remained in Italy on the southern side of the Adige.

CHAP. VIII:

Italian Mobs excited against the French.—Suppressed by a Terror of the victorious French.—Marshal Wurmser, pursued by Buonaparte, retreats into the Tyrolese.—The Siege of Mantua resumed.—Marshal Wurmser, powerfully reinforced, makes Head against the French in the Venetian Territories.—But is defeated.—The French take Possession of Trent.—Continued Success of Buonaparte.—Marshal Wurmser, with the Remains of his Army, makes good his Retreat, and takes Shelter within the Walls of Mantua.—Corsica, evacuated by the English, returns under the Government of France.—Pacification between France and Naples—including the Batavian Republic.—Religious Zeal of the Romans.—Awakened by the Court of Rome into Rage, and avowed Preparations for War against the French.—A new Republic, composed of several small States—Prevalence of the Republican Spirit in Italy.—The Austrians reinforced with Troops from Germany, advance against the French.—Retake Trent.—But are defeated with prodigious Loss at Arcola.—The Austrians, though frequently defeated, return to the Charge.—High Spirit and Courage of the Tyrolians.—Devotion of the Army in Italy to the French Republic.—Patience of the French Soldiers under manifold Privations.

WHILE the fate of the Imperial and the French armies remained in suspense, the partisans of Austria, presuming that they would recover all their losses, began to act in the most hostile manner to all who were friendly to the French. False intelligence was every where circulated, and the republican army represented as vanquished and flying before the Austrians. The intervention of heaven was called in, and its aid held out as certain, in the expulsion of the iniquitous invaders, as they were styled, sent by France to destroy

lawful governments and to destroy religion.

The superstitious imbecility, for which the Italian commonalty is noted, was easily worked upon by instigations of this nature. Mobs rose in some places, and maltreated the French and their adherents. But the more prudent opposed this rash behaviour, and the generality of people did not participate in these demonstrations of enmity. Numbers, at the same time, who were decidedly in their favour, had the courage openly to espouse their cause, even when the Austrians had obtained

obtained some successes, and it began to be apprehended that Buonaparte's army was in great danger. This spirit manifested itself principally at Ferrara and Bologna, but more than any where at Milan. Here the majority of the inhabitants expressed the most avowed concern at the retreat of the French before the Imperial army, and at the raising of the siege of Mantua: on the report of the total rout of the French, and the approach of the Austrians, the streets and public places were filled by crowds, demanding arms, and offering to march instantly to the assistance of the French.

But of all those Italian states and princes that shewed unequivocal signs of satisfaction at the temporary successes of the Austrians, none equalled the temerity with which the court of Rome acted upon this occasion. As soon as intelligence arrived that the French had retreated from Mantua, a vice legate was dispatched to retake possession of Ferrara, notwithstanding the noted aversion of the citizens to the Roman government. This was evidently a breach of the armistice between the French and the pope, but the vice legate remained in the city even in opposition to the inclination of the inhabitants, nor quitted it, until news arrived of the entire defeat of the Austrian army.

At Rome itself the detestation of the French broke out in the most outrageous treatment of the few that were in that city. Those who shewed themselves most forward to abuse them, were the priests and monks. Incited by their example and discourses, the populace were, with difficulty restrained, by the government, from exercising their ut-

most fury on the natives of France, known to be republicans.

The news of the victories obtained over the Austrians, put a stop to these proceedings, by the consternation they spread in Rome, where the general expectation was, that the French would shortly be expelled from Italy: but the cooler part of the public highly censured the readiness with which the pope had been induced to violate the treaty concluded with the French general, and expressed a full persuasion that he would require such a satisfaction as would produce a deep repentance for its infraction.

In the mean time, marshal Wurmsers was occupied in securing his retreat towards the mountainous country on the north of the Venetian dominions; but he was followed so closely by Buonaparte, that he was overtaken and defeated in two engagements, on the 11th and 12th, with a severe loss of men, artillery, and baggage. It was with difficulty that he pursued his march to the other side of the city of Trent, where he reassembled the remains of his forces.

The flight of the Austrians enabled the French to resume the siege of Mantua. The garrison had, on its being raised, totally destroyed the works of the besiegers, carried all their cannon, amounting to one hundred and forty pieces, into the town, and supplied it with large quantities of stores and provisions. From the thirtieth of July, when the siege was raised, to the nineteenth of August, when the French re-commenced their operations against that city, it had been put into the completest state of defence, and was now reputed more capable than ever to withstand all the

the efforts of the French, till a more auspicious opportunity of relieving it effectually.

France, in the mean while, was resounding with the exploits and praises of Buonaparte and his victorious army. The standards taken from the Austrians, and sent by him to the directory, were presented to it with great pomp and ceremony on the twenty-seventh of August. The officer commissioned to deliver them, addressed the directory in a soldierly and spirited speech, which was received with great satisfaction and applause. It was entirely descriptive of the bravery and determination of the French soldiers, in Italy, to shed their blood for the service of the republic. It specified their intrepidity on divers occasions, and the great things it had done for the benefit of the state, and the glory of the nation.

La Revailliere Lepaux, then president of the directory, returned him a suitable answer. He loaded the French soldiery with all those praises that affect them possibly more than any other people of the same profession elsewhere. He compared them to the most renowned warriors of antiquity, and exhorted them to proceed in that career of triumph and fame, which would raise France above all its enemies, and eternize their own name. These encomiums were carefully transmitted to the army of Italy, where they produced their intended effect, in the satisfaction they afforded to both officers and men, and the ardour it filled them with, to be considered and treated as the heroes of their country.

These enthusiastic sentiments were, at this period, particularly

wanted. The victories gained in Italy had cost the French many of their best officers, and bravest soldiers; and their distance from France, together with other impediments, obstructed the recruiting of their forces. Their enemies, on the contrary, had many facilities in this respect: the country behind them was their own: it abounded with robust and hardy men, inured to a laborious life, and inclined to the military profession. Hence continual reinforcements were drawn, by means of which marshal Wurmser was enabled to repair his frequent losses, by incorporating the new levies with his veterans.

His head quarters were now at Bassano, a town in the Venetian territories. Here he had assembled a considerable force, which he distributed with great skill in all the advantageous positions in his neighbourhood. One of his divisions was stationed at Alla, on the Adige, in the road to the city of Trent, of which Buonaparte proposed to make himself master. This division occupied a strong post at Serravalle, on the right of the Adige, and another at Marco, on its left. By a series of skilful movements Buonaparte compelled a number of intermediate bodies of Austrians to fall back to these two posts, and crossing the Adige, on the fourth of September, he attacked the one at Marco, while the remainder of his forces fell upon the other at Serravalle. The engagement was obstinate on both sides, but the French prevailed, and the Austrians were defeated with great loss, and driven from both positions. They retreated to Roveredo, in order to recover themselves, and make a stand; but the French came

came up with them, and again put them to the rout, and took possession of that town.

The Austrians, having retreated to Trent, were making preparations to maintain themselves, by fortifying the avenues to it: but Buonaparte, who perceived their design, gave orders to attack them directly in the post they had taken. It was extremely strong, and it required vast efforts to make them abandon it; but they were completely routed, and fled in confusion towards Trent, within three miles of which they were pursued. Thus terminated this famous fourth of September; in the course of which the Austrians sustained three defeats, and lost upwards of seven thousand men, who were made prisoners, besides a number of slain, together with thirty pieces of cannon, and a large quantity of baggage and horses.

In the night that followed this memorable day, marshal Wurmser, losing all hope of making head at Trent, evacuated it, and, next morning, the French took possession of this celebrated city. At a small distance from it a large body of Austrians, posted themselves at a bridge, commanding the entrance into the town of Lavis. But hither they were immediately followed by Buonaparte, who forced the entrenchments they had thrown up, after making his way over the bridge, and put them to flight.

Master of Trent, an independent principality of the empire, Buonaparte resolved to organize the government of this city on a republican plan. He totally emancipated it from that Imperial jurisdiction, appointing an administra-

tive council, composed entirely of natives of the district, to whom alone every place of power and emolument was assigned, in absolute exclusion of all strangers. The laws and usages established were left untouched; but the sovereignty was vested in the French republic, to which an oath of obedience was required from all persons in authority.

By thus investing the natives of this place, with the exclusive enjoyment of all those employments and profits formerly diverted from them to aliens, he held out the prospect of a similar treatment to all that submitted to the French. He doubted not, by this exhibition of their justice and impartiality, to procure a general willingness to prefer subordination to France to the dominion exercised over them by their present masters.

After settling the government of the city of Trent, Buonaparte lost no time in the prosecution of his advantages over the Austrians. Marshal Wurmser had fixed himself at Bassano, the way to which town was rendered excessively difficult, by the river Brenta, and the defiles that bear its name. Here again the superior generalship of Buonaparte enabled him to effect a passage over this river. He directed a chosen body of men to attempt it at a place where it was not expected, and, by a circuitous march, to fall upon the rear of the Austrians. They succeeded completely; and, while the small fort of Cavela, that stood in the defile, was carried by storm, they gained the head of this narrow pass, through which the Austrians, after evacuating that fort, not being able to make their way,

way, were compelled to surrender themselves, to the number of four thousand men, besides their cannon and standards. This advantage was obtained on the seventh of September.

Buonaparte found no farther opposition in passing the other defiles on the road to Bassano. Near this place a strong division was posted, which, favoured by the ground, maintained, the next day, a vigorous dispute, but was finally routed. The French pushed forward to Bassano, from whence it was with difficulty that some chosen corps of Austrian grenadiers were able to protect the retreat of marshal Wurmser himself, who had hardly time to secure the military chest. This was truly a decisive action. Five thousand men were taken, with thirty-five cannon and upwards of two hundred large waggons loaded with the baggage of the army, and a vast quantity of military utensils and stores.

Notwithstanding this great defeat, marshal Wurmser steadily adhered to the resolution he had formed, that in case his retreat should be cut off to the Austrian territories, he would throw himself into Mantua, and defend it to the last extremity. This was now precisely his situation: he had luckily, with the remains of some battalions, rejoined a large division of his army at Montabello, a town in the proximity of Vienna, and on the road to Verona. As it was impracticable to retire across the Brenta, where the French army commanded all the passages, he marched to Porto Lagnago, where he passed the Adige, on the ninth of September, making all the expedition he was able to reach Mantua.

The French, in the mean time,
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were pursuing him, and came up to a place through which it was imagined he would pass; not finding him there, they took another route; but their guide misled them, and they again missed him. He had now reached Cerea, a village lying between Governolo and Castellarò, at which places large bodies of the French were posted to intercept him. Here too a division of their army met him, and an engagement ensued, but he defeated them, taking a number of prisoners, and advancing to Castellarò, encountered another division with like success. These two actions took place on the twelfth, and at night he arrived at Mantua.

A great number of Austrians had, during this escape of their general, fallen into the hands of the French. He had stationed the corps that came with him in the suburbs of Mantua, where the French attacked him on the fourteenth. The whole day was spent in very bloody skirmishes; and on the fifteenth a serious engagement followed. The Austrian general's object was to retain possession of the suburbs, from which he hoped, by means of his numerous cavalry, to forage the country round, and procure provisions for the garrison. The object of the French was to drive him from these posts, and confine him within the body of the place. The conflict was severe and obstinate on both sides, but the Austrians lost the day, and were compelled to seek shelter within the walls of Mantua. No less than two thousand fell in the action, and as many were taken, with twenty pieces of cannon, and a large quantity of ammunition. The loss of the French was also considerable, as the Austrians

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main-

maintained a long and desperate fight.

Various were the sallies and skirmishes that took place in the course of this famous siege, between the garrison and the besiegers. Every species of art and stratagem was employed by each party, and numbers fell in the encounters that continually happened. But the success was usually on the side of the French, who gradually diminished the strength of the garrison, by the frequent captures of those who sallied out, and who, notwithstanding the skill and valour they displayed on these occasions, seldom could make good their retreat into the town.

While the French army lay before Mantua, the standards taken from the Austrians in the several actions on the borders of Italy, towards the Tyrol, and lately before Mantua, were sent to the directory, and presented, on the first of October, with great form and solemnity, by Buonaparte's aid-de-camp, Marmont, who, in a set speech, detailed the recent triumphs of the French in Italy. They had, he observed, in the course of this campaign, destroyed three hostile armies, taken forty-seven thousand men, two hundred and eighty pieces of cannon, and forty-nine stand of colours. Two of these indeed, the French, he said, held in little value, as they were taken from the troops of his holiness, who had changed his late tone, as will presently appear; an enemy unworthy of their notice: but still they shewed the number of their enemies, and the extent of their own successes.

Shortly after the festivals and rejoicings, occasioned by the presentations of these trophies, the directory had another opportunity of ex-

ulting in the good fortune that seemed so invariably connected with the proceedings of the French in Italy. Since their occupation of Leghorn, it had been the resort of all those Corsicans who had fled from, or been expelled their country, when it became annexed to the British dominions. They received every encouragement from the French there, and came to the determination of forming a plan for the expulsion of the English from Corsica.

A circumstance that operated powerfully for the French in that island was, that Buonaparte was a native of it. The great actions he had performed had rendered him an object of universal respect among his countrymen, who gloried in him, as a man who reflected the highest honour on his country. The report of his continual victories emboldened the French party, in Corsica, to renew their endeavours to undermine the interest of the English, whose government they represented as domineering and oppressive, and contrary to those principles that were congenial to the natives of this island. They gradually succeeded in propagating discontent among a people noted for their fickleness and the inconsistency of their attachments. A communication was established between the exiles at Leghorn and elsewhere, and their partisans in Corsica. In a short time, the adherents to France became so numerous and active, that the English in the island clearly perceived that an insurrection was preparing against them, which, from the inconsiderableness of their force, they would not be able to withstand. The Corsicans held meetings and assembled numbers of men in arms, whose

whose intentions were evidently inimical. They openly at length refused to pay taxes, or to acknowledge the viceroy's authority; they seized his person in a progress he was making through the island, and released him only on condition he should recall the troops he had stationed in the interior parts. The malcontents continued their intrigues, and completely succeeded in filling the public with complaints and dissatisfaction. Apprised of their designs, the viceroy perceiving the impracticability of obviating them, intimated the intention of leaving the island, and embarking with the English garrison. In consequence of this intimation, a body of French and Corsicans sailed from Leghorn, and landed on the eighteenth of October in Corsica, where multitudes having joined them, they proceeded to Bastia, the capital, and summoned the English garrison to surrender; but it effected its embarkation on board the ships in the harbour with inconsiderable loss, and withdrew to Porto Ferrajo, in the island of Elbe, of which the English had taken possession at the time that Leghorn was seized by the French, in order to prevent them from making a seizure of this island in the same manner.

The evacuation of Corsica by the English, and its return to the government of France, was an event peculiarly acceptable to the directory, which did not fail to speak of it in terms of the greatest satisfaction, and to magnify it as of the highest importance to the republic, and detriment to the English interest in the Mediterranean. The fact was, that the retention of it would manifestly have cost much more than its worth. The disposi-

tion of the inhabitants was so little to be relied upon, and they had been so thoroughly prejudiced against the British government, that it appeared totally useless to endeavour to reclaim them by reasonings, which they would have disregarded, or to coerce them by severities, which would have produced civil contentions and bloodshed, that must have filled the island with wretchedness and calamity, without answering any other purpose than perpetuating mutual enmity, and rendering the possession of it a source of endless perplexity. In this light, the determination taken to abandon it, was a measure of timely prudence.

These various successes of the French, and of their partisans, accelerated the treaties of peace into which the princes of Italy had engaged to enter with the republic. The king of Naples and the duke of Parma had, conformably to the terms of the armistice granted to them, deputed commissioners to Paris, to settle the conditions. It was an auspicious circumstance for both, that Spain was at this time on friendly terms with France. Under the mediation of the Spanish minister at Paris, these two princes were treated by the directory with more moderation than they could have otherwise expected, considering the inveteracy they had manifested against the republic; much the same conditions were granted to them, as to the other powers with which France had already concluded pacifications. Naples however was required to pay the sum of eight millions, either in money or in naval stores. The Batavian republic was formally included in this treaty, which was

concluded in the middle of October.

The conduct of the court of Rome was marked, on this occasion, with a temerity that was by numbers attributed to imbecility, and the grossest degree of bigotry. Notwithstanding the repeated defeats of the Imperialists, such was the confidence in the prowess of the Germans, after Buonaparte had been forced to raise the siege of Mantua; and in that fatality which had formerly attended the French in their invasions of Italy, that it was firmly believed at Rome they would be expelled, as they had been before, with equal loss and ignominy; and that the fortune of the house of Austria would certainly preponderate.

Full of these ideas, those who influenced the papal councils were constantly averse to the concessions demanded by the directory, as repugnant to the long established maxims of the Roman see, and inimical to the Catholic religion. It was explicitly required of the pope, that he should revoke all those publications that had been issued in virtue of his spiritual authority, and that related to the affairs of France.

This was a blow so directly striking at his religious principles, that no surprise was excited at the abhorrence he expressed of such a requisition. Herein he was seconded by all the zealous adherents to his tenets. Had no other means been used to combat the demands of the French, than reasoning and argument, no blame could have been imputed to their antagonists: but the spirit of bigotry and superstition rose up against them in a manner that reminded the world of

the most despicable scenes of superstition that were recorded of former ages.

The immediate intervention of heaven was resorted to, and miracles positively asserted to have been performed in many of the churches of Rome, in vindication, as it was construed, of the truth and dignity of the catholic religion, outraged by the iniquitous conduct of the French, and their wicked attempts to establish infidelity on the ruins of the Christian belief. The streets of Rome were filled with processions, and the credulity of the people converted into the means of inflaming them against the French, as the enemies of the Divinity, and of all that was sacred among men.

The court of Rome did not seem to reflect, that, by lending itself to such base and scandalous attempts to impose upon the multitude, they forfeited the consideration of all the reasonable part even of their own society. For though the propensity of the Roman catholics to give credit to miraculous events is well known, yet the more judicious and discerning among them are very far from giving countenance to the absurdities that pass current among the generality.

Such however was either the real or pretended belief in the impostures daily propagated, that the zeal of all classes and conditions was roused; the populace was kindled to the utmost rage against all who expressed a doubt of these wonders, and testified the most violent ardour to enlist in the service of the church and state. The phrenzy of the monks, and of the weaker ecclesiastics, came in aid of that which appeared in the commonality

monalty, and even some persons, not devoid of understanding, were induced to think, that the fury and indignation, excited by the persuasion of celestial assistance, being at hand, against the French, might supply the want of discipline, and animate the multitude to the most vigorous and effectual exertions.

The French resident, at Rome, endeavoured to make the administration sensible of the dangers to which it exposed the state, by these rash proceedings; but his advice was rejected, and preparations of war occupied the attention of all men: not however without moving the compassion of those who foresaw the calamities, or the humiliations, that would result from these senseless measures, and the derision of those who secretly ridiculed the idea of transforming a nation of bigots into an army of heroes. This, however, did not, perhaps, appear to the court of Rome, what indeed it was not, impossible; and, as to the number of those who derided fanatical and superstitious notions, was probably believed to be far less than it really was.

Whether the pope himself was prompted by his own credulity, or that of others, he completely threw off the mask of piety and resignation which he had formerly assumed, as above related, and acted, throughout the whole of this business, as if he considered the cause of the Roman see as entitled to supernatural interposition. So deep rooted was his attachment to the rules and prescriptions of former times, that he listened to no advice but that of ecclesiastics, and employed no other persons to negotiate with the French, though he well knew how odious such persons were to them, and how likely to mar all

negotiations on that very account. He behaved, in short, as if he had lived in those ages when the ignorance of mankind, and the implicit respect arising from it for the pontifical character, subdued the dictates of good sense in all transactions with the church of Rome; and enabled it to domineer over nations with an authority that silenced every argument, and commanded their obedience to him, on the despotic principle of his being the viceroy of heaven upon earth.

And yet had he turned his attention to what was passing around him, and even among his own people, he must have seen the fatal impropriety of trusting to the disposition of men in religious or political matters, at the present æra, as might have been done heretofore.

So impressive had been the example of the French in affairs of religion and politics, in every part of Italy, that avowed approvers of them had arisen in every province and sovereignty of that country. Republican principles especially, were maintained by those who still faithfully adhered to the tenets of Christianity, which, indeed, they explicitly asserted, was totally unconnected with any form of government, and inculcated no more than obedience to the established laws, and fidelity to the government itself, whatever its form might be. As these maxims, however sound and reasonable in themselves, militated against the systems prevailing in Italy, the ruling powers felt, of course, an invincible repugnance to them. Hence their abhorrence of the French, and their readiness, at the same time, to enter into agreements with them, before their principles had gained sufficient latitude among their own subjects to incite

them to throw off the yoke, and adopt the system of the French, who might easily be prevailed upon, in such case, to give them effectual countenance.

This was fully verified in the instance of the duchy of Modena: its sovereign, when he fled to Venice, had established a regency, which, contrarily to the intent of the armistice concluded with the French, as they complained, set about repairing the fortifications of the city of that name. This afforded them a plausible pretext to take it into their own possession; they dismissed the ducal regency, and substituted a government on their own plan, and which was to rule in their name. This change was effected on the eighth of October.

The city of Reggio, the next in importance in that duchy, had already cast off its obedience, and settled a republican government, in complete imitation of that in France. This happened towards the close of August. The cities of Bologna and Ferrara, which had submitted to the French about two months before, were now so completely revolutionized in their principles, that they sent a deputation to congratulate the people of Reggio upon what they had done, and to offer them assistance against all opposers.

After the French had seized Modena, an union of that city and those of Reggio, Bologna, Ferrara, and of their respective districts, into one commonwealth, under the protection of France, was immediately projected. The French forms and institutions were adopted in every respect; but care was taken, at the same time, to prevent, by the strictest regulations, all tumultuous proceedings, on account of differences in opinion, and to secure the property

of all those who behaved peaceably. Herein the conduct of Buonaparte was remarkably impartial: he threatened the severest punishment to those who violated the tranquillity of the public on pretext of avenging the state on the enemies to liberty.

The spirit that animated the people of this new republic, and which was generally diffused every where, was highly unacceptable to the aristocratical governments in Italy. At Genoa, the mass of the inhabitants was evidently inclined to the French system, but the nobles still continued inveterate to democratical principles.

In the districts situated along the mountainous country, bordering upon the territories of Genoa, numbers of banditti infested the roads, and were privately encouraged by the Austrian emissaries at Genoa; whose residence in that city was strongly suspected to be connived at by some principal persons in the Genoese government. These suspicions, and the repugnance of the nobles to favour popular notions, prevented a cordial correspondence from subsisting between this state and the French republic.

In the duchy of Milan, the republican spirit prevailed, with hardly any other opposition than of those interested for the Austrians, by the employments they had held in their service. The administration of affairs, in this country, was now vested in the representative assembly, chosen by the people, which exercised the powers of government under the protection of France.

The members of this administration were men of conspicuous firmness and determination in the cause they had embraced: they exerted all their abilities and influence over
their

their countrymen, in order to preserve that spirit of liberty among them, on which, they were conscious, depended the favour of the French, without which their condition would not be better than under the Austrian domination. This indeed was held in particular detestation by the persons eminent for their literary talents, for whom it expressed a marked aversion, on account of the freedom they frequently took in their writings and conversations, when treating of religious or political subjects.

The return of this odious domination was extremely dreaded by the Milanese. Those, in whom the change of affairs had placed the supreme authority, well knew, that, were the Austrians to regain possession of this country, its inhabitants would suffer severely, on account of the preference they had manifested for the French; and that they themselves had no other prospect than of capital punishment for the part they had acted.

Swayed by these motives, they used every means, and employed every argument, to inspire their countrymen with the resolution to oppose, to the last extremity, the re-establishment of the Austrian power. They published admonitions and addresses to the public, several of which were strikingly eloquent and pathetic: they warmly exhorted their countrymen, and, through them, the people of all Italy, to improve the opportunity, arisen from the entrance of the French, and their readiness to emancipate the subjects of the despotic princes, who had so long oppressed the country, to throw off the yoke, and to establish free constitutions. They enforced this advice with every reason that could be adduced,

but especially the facility they would find, in conjunction with the French, to bring about every alteration necessary for their welfare. Never might so auspicious an occasion recur, to substitute the governments, founded on liberty, to the tyrannical systems from which every man among them, that dared to speak his mind, openly expressed his wish to be delivered.

In pursuance of these sentiments, which were almost universally diffused through all classes, the administration publicly offered a prize for the best treatise that should be produced on the important question, which was the free government best calculated to promote the happiness of Italy? The subject was handled, accordingly, with all the freedom it merited: the pens of some of the most eminent writers were employed on this occasion, and though, by venturing to utter their thoughts, they might eventually expose themselves to the greatest danger, their zeal and courage raised them above all apprehensions.

The publications of this kind, that frequently appeared at this period, made so effectual an impression upon those for whom they were intended, that a general inclination to take an active part against the Austrians was every where visible. They were, in fact, considered by most of the Italians as the common enemy of their country, long before the French expedition. The only difference between these and the Germans, was, that the latter had possession, and the former was striving to gain a footing. But then, the views of both were professedly opposite; the one meaning to retain his possessions, the other to set them free from their present holders, and to erect them into independent states.

Animated by the patriotic writings of their literati, the citizens of Milan, and of other towns, presented a petition to the administration, requesting it to procure permission, from Buonaparte, to form themselves into military corps, in order to serve against the Austrians. Their request was favourably received by the general, who was duly sensible of the impression such an example would have on their fellow-countrymen in other parts of Italy.

During these various transactions, the necessity of dividing his attention to a multiplicity of objects, of providing the means to carry on different enterprizes, and, above all, to continue the blockade of Mantua, had left the Austrians leisure to make new military arrangements. They recruited the shattered army of marshal Wurmser, and, by drawing reinforcements from the neighbouring provinces of the Austrian dominions, they formed a new one, with which they again indulged the hope of being able to take the field, and repair their losses.

They now moved their cantonments behind the Lavisio and the Piava, and advanced against the French, who, after ineffectually striving to oppose their passage of these rivers, yielded to their superior force, and fell back to the Adige.

General Davidovich, who commanded the Austrians in this quarter, was thereby enabled to recover Trent, and other towns in its vicinity; while marshal Alvinzi proceeded as far as Vicenza, in the Venetian territories, where he was sure of meeting with every clandestine aid which that state could afford.

From the beginning of November, a variety of actions took place between the Austrians and the French, who were generally successful and made a number of prisoners: not, however, without suffering on their side.

The plan of marshal Alvinzi, who had the chief command, was, to form a junction with the Austrian troops that were on their march from the Tyrol, and with those that had forced the French to retire from Trent. To this intent, he drew near to Verona, where, he hoped, they would have joined him. Buonaparte, apprised of this movement, crossed the Adige, on the fourteenth of November, and approached the Austrians posted at Caldaro. Alvinzi, judging that he would be vigorously attacked, and that the day would probably prove decisive, disposed his troops with great skill. The village of Arcola, through which the French were to pass, was situated in the middle of a marsh, and accessible only by a causeway. This post he occupied in great force, lining with troops every spot on each side, from whence the French could be annoyed in their march. They succeeded, however, by dint of intrepidity and perseverance, and penetrated to a bridge on a canal that flanked the village: here stood a numerous body of chosen men, who repulsed them in repeated attacks: they had also to encounter a tremendous fire from the houses near the bridge, which were filled with troops that kept up a continual discharge of musketry. The French generals, who saw the necessity of carrying this post, placed themselves at the head of their men, who seemed to lose courage at the numbers that

that fell, and to despair of success. Augereau, who had the chief command in this desperate attack, seeing most of those generals carried off wounded, advanced himself, with a standard in his hand, to the foot of the bridge. He had the good fortune to escape unwounded, but his men could gain no ground. Buonaparte, on receiving intelligence of this ill-success, came himself to the spot, and reminding his troops of their passage over the bridge of Lodi, dismounted, and, seizing a standard, rushed towards the bridge at the head of the grenadiers, crying out, "follow your general." The troops advanced again to the bridge, but were not able to stand the fire of the Austrians. Two other generals were wounded, and Buonaparte's aid-de-camp was killed at his side; he himself, who had again mounted to rally his men with the more speed, fell from his horse into marshy ground; after extricating himself he continued to press forward his men: but still they made no impression upon the Austrians, who, nevertheless, did not dare to move from their position, in order to improve their advantage.

Buonaparte had, in the mean time, dispatched general Guiaux, a remarkable bold officer, at the head of a strong body, with orders, by a circuitous march, to proceed to Arcola, and assail it upon the rear of the Austrians, where it was more accessible. This officer executed his orders with the completest success. He carried the villages, taking several pieces of cannon, and making a great number of prisoners. This he effected the more readily, that while he fell upon their rear, the Austrians were threatened by the troops in their front, who were again advanc-

ing upon them, and whom they now could not have withstood.

Thus terminated the action of the fifteenth, which, though it ended successfully for the French, was undecisive. On the sixteenth, at break of day, the Austrians made a general attack upon the French. They were vigorously repulsed every where but at Arcola, of which they had retaken possession on the seventeenth. It was again assailed, in the same manner as on the two preceding days, by general Augereau, who commanded the right wing, facing which stood this celebrated spot. The centre of the French army was, in the mean time, so furiously charged that it gave way; but Buonaparte, while it was retreating, placed a large body in a wood that flanked it, which, as soon as the Austrians, pressing on the centre, were preparing to turn it, sallied forth upon them unexpectedly, and routed them with vast slaughter. The left wing of the Austrians, covered with marshes, stood its ground a long time, through the advantage of its position, and the superiority of its numbers. In order to make an impression upon this, a party of horse was detached round the marshes that protected it, and directed to sound a large number of trumpets, as soon as they had reached its rear. This stratagem succeeded, and the left wing precipitately retired, imagining it was turned by a considerable force. Still, however, Arcola remained untaken, notwithstanding the skill and bravery employed in attacking it. The same manœuvre that prevailed against it in the first engagement was again practised with the like success. A strong column came round upon the rear of those who defended

defended it, while general Massena, with the left wing, after defeating the right of the Austrians, united with the centre, and both, with general Augereau on the right, advanced on the causeways leading to it, when it was carried. The Austrian army was closely followed till night put an end to the pursuit.

This was the most obstinate battle that had yet been fought between the French and the Austrians. Valour and skill were conspicuously displayed on each side, but the genius and good fortune of Buonaparte overcame all obstacles, and gave him a victory, of which, on the first onset, he had every reason to doubt. The losses of the Austrians, in this terrible battle, were truly ruinous. It was computed that eight thousand of them were killed and wounded, and near five thousand taken, besides an immense quantity of warlike stores. The loss of the French was also very considerable, especially in officers, who felt themselves obliged, on this critical occasion, to expose their lives in the brunt of the battle, the gain of which may be chiefly ascribed to the personal intrepidity displayed by the commander-in-chief and his other generals. In a letter to the directory, Buonaparte acknowledged, that, what with slain, or disabled, he had hardly a general left him fit for duty.

Early in the morning of the eighteenth, Buonaparte set his army in motion to prosecute the success of the foregoing day. It was foreseen that Alvinzi would retire either towards the Piava, on the frontiers of the Austrian dominions, or endeavour to strengthen himself by a junction with the forces under general Davidovich, who had been more for-

tunate than himself, and still kept the field in considerable force.

Celerity in his movements was now become more indispensable than ever to the French general. The continual supplies of recruits arriving from the Tyrol, and the parts contiguous to it, enabled the Austrians, however frequently defeated, to return, as it were, immediately to the charge; and such was their strength, that, had it been concentrated in the late actions, there was little doubt but the French must have yielded to its superiority.

Buonaparte had now been completely victorious over four hostile armies, composed of troops equal at least to any in Europe. The inference naturally was, that his own troops, and those who commanded them, were superior in military talents to those whom they had defeated; but the Austrians were not of this opinion; and such was the confidence they reposed in their own prowess, that they attributed the successes of the French to fortunate casualties, and neither to bravery nor better tactics. The subjects of the emperor, particularly those of the counties usually styled hereditary, were so fully of this persuasion, that they entertained no doubt of being able finally to chase the French out of all their Italian conquests. Hence they readily repaired to the Imperial standard, eager to recover the reputation they had, in some degree, lost, by the continual advantages of the French over them.

The inhabitants of the Tyrol were remarkably zealous in testifying their readiness on this occasion. They felt themselves greatly offended by the proclamation that Buonaparte

parte had issued to them; after he had defeated marshal Wurmser, and was preparing to invade the Tyrol. It was filled with the severest threats, to such of them as belonged to the districts of which he should take possession, if they did not forthwith leave the Imperial service and return to their homes. This they considered as a violation of their native right, to act in defence of their sovereign.

From motives of this nature they flocked to the different bodies that were assembling to reinforce the defeated army of Alvinzi, and that division under Davidovich, which, after forcing the French forces, under general Vaubois, to abandon their position, was advancing towards Mantua.

In order to oppose his progress, a large force was immediately dispatched against him, which effectually succeeded in putting him to the rout, with so considerable a loss, that his designs upon Mantua were totally frustrated.

The intelligence of these various advantages, but especially of the great victory at Arcola, was received, as usual, by the directory, with the highest satisfaction. The presentation of the standards, taken on that memorable day, and in the other engagements with Alvinzi's army, took place on the thirtieth of December. It was accompanied with a speech from the officer who presented them, remarkable for the devotion it expressed in the army of Italy, to the republican constitution of France, and its determination to support it against every attempt, either from foreign or domestic enemies.

A declaration of this kind was the more acceptable to the republican

party, that its enemies in France were, at this time, extremely active in their endeavours to render it odious to the nation, and to excite a disapprobation of the measures of government, particularly of the prolongation of the war. They represented it as wholly unnecessary for the honour or the interest of France, and continued merely to indulge the ambition of persons in power. By such an arrangement of their conduct they hoped to bring the nature of the power they exercised into disgust, and to prove it inconsistent, both with peace abroad and tranquillity at home.

These adversaries to the ruling system, were the friends to the ancient monarchy, and the adherents to the first constitution, by which the power of the crown was limited. These latter were incomparably more in number than the former, and included a large proportion of the noblesse, and many of the clergy. But both these parties together, however numerous, were inferior in strength to the republican, which comprehended all the common classes, and dreaded a renovation of that oppressive authority which the upper ranks had exercised over the lower. But what principally weakened the two first parties was their disunion: they hated each other as much as they did the republicans. The non-juring clergy, in particular, would not divest itself of the least attachment to their primitive tenets, and anathematized all that differed from them. As these two parties agreed, however, in their detestation of republicanism, they exerted all their abilities and influence in undervaluing it, and all its supporters. Buonaparte's great actions protected him from

from those who might have been inclined to depreciate his merit, but he could not escape the insinuations against his fidelity to the commonwealth. These were industriously propagated by its enemies, in order to breed suspicions in the government, and to induce it to diminish its confidence in him, and thereby to set both at variance with each other.

But the intrigues and publications to this intent were ineffectual. It was to remove all jealousies of this nature that Buonaparte directed his aid-de-camp, Lemarois, on presenting the colours, taken at Arcola, to the directory, to assure them of the inviolable attachment of his army to the interest of the republic.

The mass of the nation, pleased with the glory accruing to it from so many victories, was strongly prepossessed in favour of a system under which its arms had so wonderfully prospered. The staunch asserters of a commonwealth were continually, reminding the public of the disproportion between the people at large and those who formerly possessed an exclusive authority over them. The noblesse did not exceed one hundred thousand individuals, nor the clergy, with the monastic orders, twice that number. Were they entitled, in justice and reason, to assume a sovereign authority over twenty-four millions of people, containing a far greater number of persons, possessing worth and capacity, equal at least, if not superior, to what they could boast? Was it not among the plebeians, as they insultingly styled all but themselves, that the nation counted the men of talents in all professions? Was it equitable that these should bow the neck to the others, and submit

to that feudal vassalage which had so long oppressed and disgraced the people of France? Having emancipated themselves from this slavery, was it to be expected that they should return to it, with their eyes open to the contemptible character of those who arrogated the right of again becoming their tyrants, and, after paying the price of so much blood, to secure themselves against their pretensions, and the iniquitous combination of those foreign despots, who abetted them, in hope of sharing the spoils of the French nation, after having again reduced it to servitude?

Reasonings of this kind were more acceptable to the generality than the arguments employed by the anti-republicans; who, though they widely differed in opinion among themselves, were considered as forming but one party, to which their enemies gave, in common, the name of royalists; meaning thereby to involve all the opponents of the commonwealth in the indiscriminate imputation of being foes to liberty, and asserters of arbitrary power.

The conflicts of opinion upon these various subjects were, at this period, increasing daily, and threatened to produce internal convulsions in various parts of France, through the invincible activity and courage of the party in opposition to government. But the vigilance of the directory repressed every movement that had the least tendency to insurrection, and the decided resolution of all the armies, to support the present measures, kept the discontented in awe.

No class of men had signalized their attachment to republican principles with such fervour and constancy as the French soldiery. It

was now the fifth campaign, during which their toils and sufferings were not less remarkable than their exploits. Hunger and nakedness had frequently been their portion, in the midst of their most splendid successes. Had not the incredibly hard living they were used to in their own country, under the severity of the old government, inured their bodies to go through much fatigue with a slender sustenance, and few comforts, they would not have proved adequate to the labours and scanty support to which they submitted, with such admirable patience, in the course of their warfare. This part of their character attracted the notice of foreign nations as much as of their own; and it was often a matter of surprise, how they could perform the duties of a military life with so stinted and wretched a fare, and under so many discouragements.

The army of Italy, in particular, had exhibited astonishing examples of fortitude in the most trying situations; that their enemies had concluded, from the reports of the difficulties to which they were reduced, in procuring the means of existence, that nothing else would be needed to compel them to abandon their position, and withdraw to France. It was previously, however, to the present campaign, and while they were stationed among the rocks, extending along the south

of Piedmont to the frontiers of France, that the French soldiers had occasion to exhibit their patience under hard fare. The coarse and disgusting food, on which they subsisted, was compared to the Lacedemonian broth of old, and none, it was said, but Frenchmen, Greenlanders, or Scotch Highlanders, could have fed on such messes.

It was by their perseverance, in these extremities, that they maintained the posts they occupied, and afforded time to Buonaparte to join them, at the head of those reinforcements, united with which they marched to the conquest of Italy.

This and their other achievements were incessantly held out to the French armies, as incentives to adhere faithfully to a cause which they had hitherto supported with so much glory. One more campaign would probably, put an end to their toils; and, by procuring a glorious peace, enable them to return to their country, and spend their future lives with honour and ease, in the enjoyment of those remunerations promised them for their services.

Such were the arguments and expectations that animated the armies of France at this period, especially that which had performed such great things in Italy, and now hoped to close the year by the capture of Mantua, and the total fall of the Austrian empire in Italy.

CHAP. IX:

Campaign in Germany.—Opposite Designs of the French and Austrians.—Successes of the French.—They invest Ehrenbritstein.—Driven back, by the Archduke Charles, to Dusseldorf.—The Division of the French Army under Moreau takes Post at Strasburg.—The Plan of Operations proposed by this General.—Crosses the Rhine.—Reduces the Fortress of Kehl.—Defeats the Austrians, under Marshal Wurmser, near Philipsburg.—And in various and successive Engagements.—The Austrians retire, in order to wait for Reinforcements, into the interior of Germany.—Junction of the French Troops under Jourdan and Kleber.—These united reduce Frankfort.—Successes of Moreau in Swabia.—Cessation of Hostilities between the French and the Princes of Wirtemberg and Baden.—Conduct of Prussia.—A Prussian Army takes Possession of Nuremberg.—Impolicy of the French in the Mode of raising Contributions.—Cause of this.—Depredations of the French in Germany.—Operations of the French Armies under Moreau and Jourdan.—Disasters of the Austrians.—The Emperor represents the Situation of Germany, and his own Situation, in an Appeal to his Bohemian and Hungarian Subjects.—Diet of the Empire.—Partakes of the general Consternation of Germany.—Determination to open a Negotiation for Peace with France.—The Tide of Success turned against the French, by the Germans, under the Archduke Charles.—Obstinate Engagements.—Masterly Retreat of the French Armies.—Particularly of that under Moreau.—Consequences.—The Austrians occupied in the Siege of Kehl.—Sally of the Garrison there. Various Actions.—Armistice between the French and Austrians.—The Diet of the Empire re-animated by the enterprising Spirit and Success of the Archduke Charles, solicitous to regain the Favour of the Imperial Court.

WHILE Buonaparte was employed in a contest with the Austrian arms and authority in Italy, Jourdan and Moreau were engaged in a conflict with the same formidable enemy on the Rhine; which the French had long proposed to make the boundary of the republic, on the side of Germany.

The object to which the Austrians were thought to direct their motions was Luxembourg; the recovery of

which important fortress, at the opening of the campaign, would have given great reputation to the Austrian arms, and opened, at the same time, a passage for the recovery of the Netherlands.

The French were no less desirous of obtaining possession of Mentz, in their attempts on which they had lost such numbers, and experienced so many disappointments; but the fortifications of this city had been

so considerably increased, and the garrison so much strengthened, that, unless the French could attack it on the German, as well as on their own, side of the Rhine, the communication with Germany would furnish it with continual supplies of men and provisions, and frustrate all their endeavours to reduce it.

The opening of the campaign was auspicious to the French. Moving from Dusseldorf, that division which had wintered there, marched, under general Kleber, on the right side of the Rhine, towards a body of Austrians, encamped at the river Sieg, to guard its passage against the French; but these defeated them on the first of June, and, following their successes, encountered and routed another body, commanded by the prince of Wirtemberg on the fourth; at Altenkirchen, a place lying on the road to Mentz, whither the French intended to force their way, in order to intercept its communication with Germany. In the first of these engagements, the Austrians lost about two thousand men; in the second, near three thousand.

They had now crossed the Sieg, and the Lahn, and were in pursuit of the troops they had defeated at the passage of these rivers; they had, at the same time, invested the celebrated fortress of Ehrenbritstein, the capture of which would have given them the command of all the neighbouring country.

Happily for the Austrians, this was a place of extraordinary strength, and not to be subdued but by the greatest efforts and perseverance: in order, however, to secure it effectually, together with the adjacent parts, it was judged adviseable by the Austrian commanders, to move,

with the greater part of their forces, to the defence of the German side of the Rhine.

The archduke Charles, who was at the head of the Imperial army, crossed that river accordingly, about the eight of June, in such force as rendered the Austrians considerably superior in strength to the French, who, by this motion, were arrested in their progress towards Mentz, which they had nearly approached: and general Lefebre, one of their best officers, was, after a most brave and skilful defence, defeated on the fifteenth, near Wetzlaar, and compelled to repass the Lahn, and retire towards the Sieg, in his way back to Dusseldorf.

General Jourdan, who commanded the French army, opposed to the archduke, after raising the siege of Ehrenbritstein, near Siegburg, took a position where he hoped to make a stand, until the reinforcements he expected had joined him: but the archduke, confiding in the goodness of his troops, as well as the superiority of their numbers, attacked the division under Kleber, on the twentieth, at Kirpen, and after a well-disputed action, compelled him to retire, and abandon all the country he had reduced in his march from Dusseldorf; to which place he found it necessary to make a retreat, with that part of the army under his command, while the other recrossed the Rhine at Neuwied with Jourdan, and repossessed their former positions, in order to prevent the Austrians from deriving any farther advantages from their success.

Manheim and Mentz seemed now to lie open to the attacks of the French; but as the protection they would receive from the Austrian armies,

armies, on the right side of the Rhine, would render such an attempt extremely hazardous, they determined to besiege neither, but to leave their future reduction to the consequence of a plan of operations, which, if it succeeded according to their expectations, would not fail to put them in possession of those two cities, without the necessity of a siege.

When the archduke crossed to the right of the Rhine, he left a strong division of his forces in the Hundsdruck, the country lying on the left of that river, between Mentz, on the north, and Manheim, on the south. This division, together with the garrisons of those two cities, was reputed sufficient to watch and repel the motions of general Moreau, who commanded the French forces in that quarter.

But this active general was intent on a very different plan from that of annoying the Austrian division, or of forming the siege of either of these places. In order, however, to deceive them, by such appearances as might facilitate his designs, he made a variety of motions, indicating an attack of several of their posts; and while they were making arrangements to oppose him, he drew off, unperceived, almost the whole of his army, and, by an expeditious march reached Strasburgh before the Austrians had discovered his motions.

He had now attained the spot from whence he was to enter upon the execution of his project, which was, to cross the Rhine opposite this city, into Swabia, and to take the fort of Kehl; by being master of which, he would gain the command of a large extent of country in its proximity, and secure an

entrance to the French into that circle.

He had proposed to attempt a passage in different places; and, in order the more easily to effect his design, to take possession of some of the islands in that river, but most of these happened to be overflowed, and the others were possessed by the Austrians, who were to be dislodged before he could make good his landing. To conceal his motions, he attacked them in the night of the twenty-fourth of June, in such force, and with so much resolution, that the Austrians were soon obliged to retire across the bridges communicating with the German side, and which they had not time to destroy. Over these the French passed to that side, but they had neither sufficient artillery nor cavalry to assist the infantry in case of an attack, which was every moment expected. In this critical situation, general Moreau determined to march forwards with the few pieces of cannon he had seized upon the islands. With these he resolutely assaulted the fortress of Kehl, and carried it. This sudden and unexpected success greatly alarmed the Austrian army, under the archduke; the rear of which was thereby put into danger, while the front was exposed to the force under Jourdan: who, collecting the divisions that had retreated, was preparing to join Kleber, again advancing towards the Austrians.

Marshal Wurmser, who commanded the Austrian troops in the Brisgaw, from which large detachments had been sent to Italy, was unable to maintain his ground against Moreau, and the archduke was himself compelled to hasten to his aid; but before he could arrive,

Moreau

Moreau fell upon the Austrians at Renchan, a village near Philipsburgh and totally defeated them, on the twenty-eighth of June, with a considerable loss of men and cannon. He pursued them to Radstadt, where, having received re-inforcements, they made a stand; but, after an obstinate conflict, were again routed on the sixth of July. General Laroche had, on the second, defeated a large body of them posted on Mount Kubis, the highest of those called the Black Mountains.

They now retreated to the village of Ettlingen, a strong position in the neighbourhood of Mannheim. Here they were joined by the major part of the archduke's army, and appeared resolved to make a vigorous resistance for the preservation of that part of Germany. The battle was fought, on the ninth of July, with great fury on both sides, but ended to the advantage of the French. They were repulsed in four charges, but succeeded in the fifth, which was made with the bayonet. The Austrians lost great numbers slain in the field, besides fifteen hundred who were taken.

This victory decided the superiority on the Rhine in favour of the French. The Austrians left totally uncovered the cities of Mentz and Mannheim, and the fortresses of Philipsburgh and Ehrenbreitstein, and retired farther into Germany, to wait for reinforcements, before they could venture to resume offensive operations.

In the mean time, general Kleber had again proceeded from Dusseldorf, and advanced along the right bank of the Rhine. He was joined on the second of July by general Jourdan, who had crossed the Rhine

near Coblenz. The Austrian general, Wartensleben, had not been able to oppose these various movements of the French, who had worsted his troops on several occasions, and taken or killed near two thousand of them. After dispersing all the various corps that attempted to impede their progress, they arrived, on the twelfth of July, within sight of Francfort on the Main.

This city, with several others in its proximity, surrendered to the French, on capitulations that left them in possession of their municipal laws and government. In order to quiet the minds of the Germans, and convince them that the views of the French did not extend to any permanent possession of the towns and territories they had seized, general Jourdan issued a proclamation, by which he formally engaged to protect the judicial chamber of the empire at Wetzlar, situated in the circle of the Upper Rhine, at some distance from Francfort. He granted a safeguard to all its members, and strictly forbade its proceedings to be disturbed under any pretence.

Among the cities that surrendered to Jourdan was that of Wurzburg, one of the most considerable bishopricks and ecclesiastical principalities in Germany. Here he found immense magazines and two hundred pieces of cannon. It fell into his hands on the twenty-sixth of July; and shortly after, having forced Wartensleben to retire beyond the Rednitz, near Bamberg, on the first of August, he took possession of that capital of Franconia, on the same day: like Wurzburg, it was also a bishopric and principality, and possessed a considerable territory.

By these conquests Jourdan was now stationed in the heart of Germany, whence he threatened to invade, at his pleasure, the dominions of all the neighbouring princes. Saxony and Bohemia lay open to him; and such was the consternation universally occasioned by these victorious irruptions of the French into the empire, that its numerous principalities and states seemed to have lost all courage, and to be prepared for any conditions the victor should think it proper to impose upon them.

General Moreau, on the other hand, immediately after his victory at Ettlingen, took possession of Friburg, the capital of the Brisgaw, and of Stutgard, the capital of the duchy of Wirtemburgh; the archduke endeavoured to impede his operations; but was speedily constrained to retire across the Necker, where, taking advantageous positions, he resolutely strove again to resist him: but his efforts were ineffectual, and he was compelled to consult his safety, by passing to the other side of the Danube, while Moreau made himself master of the rich and extensive circle of Swabia.

The respective dominions of the duke of Wirtemburgh, and the margrave of Baden, being now in possession of the French, those princes were compelled to make application to the directory, for a cessation of hostilities against them. They easily obtained their request, and their dominions were restored to them, on condition of entirely detaching themselves from the enemies to the republic, and affording them no assistance of any kind. The possessions of the duke, on the left of the Rhine, were ceded to France.

The facility and moderation dis-

played by the directory, on this occasion, was, in the unanimous opinion of politicians, the soundest policy they could pursue in their present circumstances. As it could not be the design of the French government to retain any of the acquisitions made in Germany, the wisest measures they could embrace, were to restore them to their owners, on the simple condition of ceasing to act against the French. This alone would gradually establish an amicable correspondence with those sovereigns and states in Germany, whose friendship it behoved them to cultivate, and whom it was their business to detach from the interests of the house of Austria, by holding out the aid of the republic against its too extensive power and influence in all that related to the management and concerns of the Germanic body.

This period seemed appropriated, as it were, to the depression of this ambitious power. The policy of the French was indefatigably exercised in confirming the antipathy of its former enemies, and in raising up as many new ones as circumstances would enable them. Prussia, the hereditary rival of Austria, was encouraged to form as many new pretensions, and to revive as many old and obsolete claims, as it had strength to enforce.

The ambition of the house of Brandenburg had constantly been upon the increase, since its exaltation to the regal title, in the commencement of the present century. It had omitted no opportunity of adding to its territories, and the circumstances of Europe had, in general, been favourable to its pursuits.

The jealousy of the house of Austria did not view this aggrandisement

disement of an inveterate rival, without paying a constant, though fruitless attention to the means of preventing it. Hence the two ruinous wars, during the reign of Frederick, styled the great, that deprived Austria of such extensive territories. The court of Vienna had ample cause to rue its endeavours to reduce a power so strongly supported by others, and especially by the house of Bourbon, the sworn foe, during a long period, to the possessors of the Imperial crown, whose despotic aims, at the liberties of Germany, had more than once been frustrated by its interposition.

Though the French monarchy was no more, its politics still subsisted respecting the houses of Austria and Brandenburg. Of course, the court of Berlin, conscious of the utility to be derived from so powerful an ally, soon retracted its short-lived enmity to France, when it found that, whether a kingdom or a commonwealth, its aid might safely be relied upon in any future contest with the court of Vienna.

To these motives may be ascribed the passive acquiescence of the Prussian councils, in the enterprizes of the French in Germany. As Prussia expected, and was promised, a share in the spoils of Austria, it connived at all the proceedings of these dangerous invaders, secure of a like connivance on their part.

The necessity of coinciding with many of the views of this ambitious court, induced the directory to give an indirect assent to the usurpations it had resolved on. While the French armies were employed in the seizure of so many towns and territories, the Prussian ministry revived claims upon the Imperial city of Nuremberg, that had lain

dormant upwards of two hundred years. They were of a most serious nature, and directed to no less than the sovereignty of that large and flourishing city; the suburbs of which the king of Prussia challenged as his property, and took forcible possession of them, in contempt of the reclamation of the senate and regency.

So manifest a violation of the native and long acknowledged right of no inconsiderable state in Germany, countenanced in so glaring and unquestionable a manner by the French generals, was viewed, by the discerning part of the Germans, as the remuneration tacitly allowed to Prussia by France, for assenting to its invasion of the empire, and showed, at the same time, how readily the rulers of the republic would sacrifice the liberties and independence of others to their own ambitious pursuits.

The dissatisfaction universally produced, by this conduct of the French, did them essential disservice throughout all Germany, and indeed through all Europe. It now became certain, by the evidence of facts, that their pretences, to assume the protection of states and nations against tyranny, were a mere imposition upon the credulity of mankind. The connection of Prussia with the republic, exposed it to the suspicion of abetting the project of dissolving all the political ties that held together the Germanic body, and under the protection of which the immunities and liberties of the lesser princes and states were respected by the more powerful.

A surmise had prevailed for many years, that the house of Brandenburg had conceived the idea of placing itself at the head of the

empire, supported by the protestant interest, which stood on a parity of strength and importance with that of the Roman catholic; it also counted among its friends and well-wishers, those powers abroad, with which Austria was liable to be at variance. But the support of the most potent of these powers had vanished from its ideas, since the matrimonial alliance that took place between the houses of Bourbon and Austria, in the person of the late unhappy queen of France. It had revived however on the treaty that severed Prussia from the coalition, and it was secretly held out, by France, as the most efficacious temptation to a court, the aspiring views of which required no less motives at this period to secure its alliance.

Could the constitution of Germany have undergone such a change, as to place the Imperial diadem on the head of a protestant prince, and could the house of Brandenburg have secured its succession to this dignity, it was generally imagined that Prussia would have interested itself in the defence of the empire; but the little expectation it entertained, of being able to compass such a point, rendered it, in the general opinion, indifferent to the preservation of the Germanic constitution. Provided the dismemberment of this great body should be accompanied with these advantages, which the politics of Prussia kept in view, it was the public persuasion that no opposition would arise from the court of Berlin, to an alteration, from which it would derive such material benefit. The smaller states first, and then the greater in lower Germany, seemed likely to be swallowed up

piece-meal in a rising Prussian empire: if this empire itself should not be divided, by that partitioning policy, which has supplanted the law of nations, among the Russians, Swedes, and Austrians.

A conviction of the rapacious views of Prussia had greatly alienated the attachment of the Germans to that power. The willingness of the French, to permit the encroachments it had in contemplation, subjected them no less to a diminution of that partiality with which they had hitherto been favoured by the people of Germany. These had hoped, that the dread of this victorious nation would have so far operated in favour of the common classes every where, as to have induced the divers princes, engaged in the coalition, to have abated of the rigorous exactions from their respective subjects, and procured to these a milder treatment than if their arms had been successful. But when they began to feel the weight of the contributions demanded by the French in the countries of which they had taken possession, and found that the authority they exercised was no less grievous and severe, than that of their former rulers, their good wishes to the French diminished, and they began to mistrust those promises of equity and moderation, to those who submitted to them, which had induced such numbers to give them a friendly reception, and to welcome them as their deliverers from oppression.

The mass of the people in the numerous districts, where contributions were required by the French, had expected that no more would have been exacted from these than their just proportion; but, contrary

contrary to their hopes, and in contradiction to those principles of equality on which the French laid so much stress, these, with a degree of carelessness and improvidence, that belied the ideas, which had been so universally formed of their sagacity, left the repartition of the sums to be raised to the management of those very persons who had been objects of public discontent and complaint, for the injustice and partiality of which they had been the instruments, under their respective governments. These being, for the sake of expedition, entrusted with those levies, made no alteration in the manner, and adhered to established precedents. Thus the privileged classes still enjoyed their former exemptions, and the inferior part of the community was loaded, as antecedently, with almost the whole burden of the taxes, imposed for the raising of the contributions.

This was the most injudicious of all the measures adopted by the French in the management of their new acquisitions, and it operated more fatally to their interest than was perceptible to the generality. It excited the most violent resentment in the multitude, which had been taught to believe, that wherever the French became masters, all oppressions would be at an end, and no man would be treated worse than his neighbour. To be deceived in so barbarous and oppressive a manner : to behold their tyrannical rulers authorized to lord it over them as usual, and to find that the presence of the French, from which so much had been expected, produced no mitigation of their slavery. To be rendered, in short, no less

miserable by the successes of the French, than they could have been, had their boasted republic been destroyed, and the completest despotism established on its ruins, filled them with the keenest indignation at a people whom they now branded as deceivers and impostors; and wholly unworthy of the good fortune that had attended them. Had the French republic been true to the principles professed in their declarations and manifestoes to all nations, they would have been wholly irresistible. All thrones raised on despotic power would have fallen ; and, as was said of Alexander * the Great, the earth would have stood silent before them. It is to their weakness and vices, the inconsistency of their conduct in Italy, Germany, and wherever they went with their professions, the prevalence of their passions over their principles, that most of the European potentates owe their crowns at the present moment.

One of the causes of the readiness with which the French allowed the petty sovereigns of Germany to collect in their own manner the contributions imposed upon them, was, to conciliate their good will, and convince them that no interference was aimed at in their domestic affairs, by leaving to them the arrangement, of which their sovereignty and independence remained unviolated. Had the French pursued another system, and proclaimed an entire emancipation of their subjects from all farther allegiance to their native princes, it was far from clear that such a measure would have produced any other consequence than throwing the countries,

* First Book of the Maccabees, Ch. 1.

thus revolutionised; into confusion, and embroiling the French with several princes, the amity of whom they were desirous to obtain, and were at that time earnestly seeking. But a measure of this kind must at once have rendered these princes irreconcilably averse to any connections with a state evidently bent on the destruction of every species of sovereignty, but that of the people at large; and determined to abolish every where the rights of princes and reigning families, and every trace of hereditary government.

The real truth was, that the situation of France, at this period, was extremely critical. The pecuniary wants of the republic were such, that it could not provide the supplies required by the commanders of their numerous armies abroad, which, though victorious, were frequently reduced to the most deplorable need of the commonest necessities. It was therefore indispensibly requisite to procure them at any rate, and with the most effectual expedition, for men who neither would, nor indeed could, wait for them, and who thought themselves entitled to a comfortable maintenance, and some remuneration for the services they were continually performing for their country.

The German people, in consequence of the depredations exercised upon them by the French armies, became their most inveterate foes, and lost no opportunity of doing them every species of detriment. They joined in crowds the Imperial armies; they formed themselves into bodies under chiefs of their own choosing, and fell upon the French wherever they could do it with advantage. They proved, in short, the most useful auxiliaries

to the Austrian troops, through their local knowledge of the countries where the war was waged, and through the resentment that animated them against the French, for the losses they had sustained in the predatory incursions of the republican soldiery, and the avidity of booty for which these were peculiarly noted.

Such was the cause of the rapid decline of that partial disposition towards the French, expressed by the commonalty in so many countries in Germany, at their first entrance. As they viewed them in the light of friends and brethren, coming to their relief, they were the more exasperated, when they found them to be enemies and plunderers.

In the mean time, the army, commanded by Jourdan, having overrun Franconia, was advancing towards Ratisbon, levying contributions from all the districts in its way. The diet of the empire, sitting in that city, was struck with consternation; at the rapidity of its approach, notwithstanding that the Imperial army disputed every step with the utmost resolution.

The army, under general Moreau, was, at the same time, marching from Swabia, of which he had completed the reduction, by taking Ulm and Donawerth, places of great importance on the Danube. He was now master of both sides of that river, and proposed to pass the Lech, dividing Swabia from Bavaria, in order to penetrate into this circle. The Austrians, apprised of his intention, collected a strong force to oppose him; but he forced his passage over, on the twenty-fourth of August, near the city of Augsburgh, and compelled the Austrians

trians to retire into the country behind them.

These operations of the army, under Moreau, were designed to second those of that under Jourdan, who was successfully proceeding in every enterprize he formed, and driving before him the Imperialists, under Wartensleben, a brave and experienced officer, but at this period continually unfortunate. After a series of ill success, he sustained a heavy defeat, on the sixth of August, at Hochstadt, in the neighbourhood of Bamberg, where his own skill, and the valour of his troops, were obliged to yield to the superior exertions of the French.

He now retired to a strong position between Sultzbach and Amberg, two towns on the confines of the north of Bavaria, but here he was again attacked by general Jourdan, on the sixteenth of August, and his troops driven from the advantageous post they occupied here and at Neumark, a town in the vicinity.

These repeated disasters, in Germany, rendered more grievous by the intelligence daily arriving of the victorious progress of the French in Italy, caused an alarm at Vienna, almost equal to that which had been experienced in the commencement of the reign of the late empress, Mary Theresa, when she was compelled to quit her capital, to avoid the danger of falling into the hands of her numerous enemies.

The emperor Francis seemed on the eve of being in the like manner forced to abandon Vienna. His hereditary dominions, Bohemia particularly, were menaced with a speedy invasion by the French, unless an immediate stop were put to their career.

In this perilous emergency he made a solemn appeal to his subjects in Bohemia, who lay nearest the danger, exhorting them, by every motive of loyalty to their sovereign, and regard to the safety of their possessions and religion, to arm instantly in the defence of both. To this purpose he enjoined the establishment of a national militia, to which he held out every encouragement and remuneration enjoyed by the regular troops. By the plan proposed, the twentieth part of all the able-bodied men in that kingdom were to be drafted for the protection of its frontiers, from the expected irruption of the French.

The like appeal was made to the people of Hungary, and of all his other dominions. They were carefully reminded, on this occasion, of the immense exactions of the French, not only in money, but in every article of necessity, or of use, and with what severe punctuality the payment of them was required.

It was chiefly the dread of these heavy demands that influenced the determination of the Germans to contribute all in their power to prevent the farther progress of the French. Their levies of money, and their other requisitions, excited universal alarm. The duke of Wirtemberg had been assessed four millions; the circle of Swabia, twelve millions, besides to furnish eight thousand horses, five thousand oxen, one hundred and fifty thousand quintals of corn, one hundred thousand sacks of oats, a proportionable quantity of hay, and one hundred thousand pair of shoes. Eight millions were demanded from the circle of Franconia, with a very large supply of horses. Great sums

were also required from the cities of Francfort, Wurtsburg, Bamberg, and Nuremberg, together with an immense quantity of other articles, for the subsistence and clothing of the French armies.

But the terror which their arms had spread every where, superseded all considerations but that of deprecating their hostility upon any terms. After general Moreau's passage of the Lech, the elector of Bavaria, thinking himself no longer secure, made overtures to that officer for a pacification. This, indeed, had been done by every prince and city that had not been able to resist him.

The diet itself of the empire, convened as usual at Ratisbon, partook of the universal consternation. In a sitting, held on the 30th of July, for the purpose of consulting on the situation of affairs, the deputies of the princes and states of the empire came to the determination of opening a negociation for peace with France. All the members of the diet acceded to it, except the deputies from Austria and Bohemia, who ascribed the disasters of the war to want of union among the states of the empire, and their backwardness to second their chief, the emperor, in the common defence of their country.

But the dangers apprehended from the French, appeared greater than that of opposing the desire of the emperor. A decree was passed by the diet, seriously to remonstrate to him, that, in the present circumstances of the empire, it was necessary, conformably to the wish of its divers members, to put an end to a war that had been so calamitous, and no longer to defer the concluding of a peace upon reasonable conditions.

Not content with this address to the emperor, they looked upon the situation of the diet as so precarious, that they commissioned deputies to repair to the French armies, to stipulate with the generals for the security and protection of the diet, and of the public documents and archives in its custody, and for the neutrality of Ratisbon itself.

In this extremity, the archduke resolved to make a resolute attempt to extricate the diet and the empire at once, from the humiliating condition to which they were reduced. He was at this time so hard pressed by Moreau, that he hardly could judge which of the two difficulties required his attention the most: that of opposing this formidable adversary, or of hastening to the succour of Wartensleben.

Jourdan had invariably maintained his superiority over him: and pushing him, from post to post, was now advanced within a day's march of Ratisbon. No time was, therefore, to be lost in marching to his assistance. This was become the more indispensable, that a strong division of Jourdan's army, under general Bernadotte, an active and enterprising officer, had been detached, with orders to proceed immediately to Ratisbon.

This circumstance determined the archduke. Leaving a powerful body to observe the motions of Moreau, he speeded towards the Danube, which he crossed on the seventeenth of August, at Ingolstadt, with the intent of throwing himself between Ratisbon and the French division that was approaching it.

On that very day general Wartensleben's army was attacked in its encampment at Sultzback, by that
of

of Jourdan. The Austrians had been so much reinforced by continual detachments sent them by the archduke, that they were more than equal in number to the French. They defended themselves with such obstinacy, that the conflict lasted from the beginning of day till eleven at night, when the French had obtained possession of the ground on which the battle had been fought.

During this engagement, a large division of Jourdan's army marched towards Amberg, to prevent the Austrians, who were stationed there, from coming to the aid of those who were fighting at Sultzbach. General Championnet, who commanded this division, fell in with the Austrians while on their way to that town; and assailed them with so much vigour, that they were forced back to Amberg. The dispute was maintained with great courage and perseverance on each side, and lasted no less than twelve hours.

On the morning of the eighteenth, the French army moved forwards towards the Austrians, who were strongly posted in front of Amberg. General Jourdan proposed to attack them before they had been joined by the archduke; but their superiority was already such that, without waiting to be attacked, they advanced upon the French with such impetuosity and vigour, that these were several times forced from the position they had taken: they recovered it at last, after repeated efforts; and, pursuing their advantage, made themselves masters of the heights before Amberg. The Austrians were compelled to retreat across the Nab, and wait the arrival of the numerous troops which they hourly expected would come to their assistance.

They arrived at length, with the archduke at their head. Repeated expresses had been dispatched to him during the night of the eighteenth, to apprise him of the retreat of the Austrians before the French army, and of its taking possession of the country on the other side of the Nab. As soon as he had gained sufficient intelligence of the relative position of the contending armies, he resolved to avail himself, without delay, of the immense superiority which his junction with Wartensleben now gave him over the French.

After concerting their plan of operations, the archduke attacked the French division under general Bernadotte, on the twenty-second of August, and forced him to fall back to Neumark, whence he was, on the day following, compelled to retire towards Nuremberg; leaving the left wing and rear of Jourdan's army exposed to that of the archduke.

This proved a decisive day. General Jourdan was no longer able to contend with the united armies of the archduke and of Wartensleben. They moved in order of battle, on the twenty-fourth, with an intention to surround him. The latter was to assail him in front, and the former to take him in flank and rear. The vast disparity of his strength obliged the French general to make an immediate retreat. He conducted it with equal judgment and spirit. From the twenty-fourth of August, when it commenced, till his arrival at Wurzburg, on the second of September, it was a series of encounters, and skirmishes; wherein the superiority of the Austrians in numbers, aided by the great multitudes of the peasantry, that fell upon the French from all quarters, rendered all resistance

sistance, on their part, impracticable.

General Jourdan made a resolute stand upon that day. He defeated the Austrian general, Sizaray; and would have totally destroyed the troops under his command, notwithstanding his skill and their bravery, had not the whole of the archduke's army arrived in time to relieve both him and Wartensleben, who had not, conjointly, been able to make an effectual impression upon the French.

They again continued their retreat, harassed by the Austrians; who frequently experienced the severest checks, and were obliged to act with the utmost caution against an enemy, whose inferiority of strength alone procured them most of their advantages. From the sixth to the sixteenth, several obstinate engagements took place between the Austrians and the French, who routed two of their best generals, Kray and Hotze, with considerable loss. But on the archduke's concentrating his force for a general attack, they withdrew from their posts on the Lahn, on the seventeenth, and made good their retreat to the Sieg. It was performed with such order, and their countenance appeared so firm and resolute, that the Austrians, though they were so much more numerous, did not judge proper to give them much molestation, and suffered them to retire with a loss that was deemed inconsiderable when compared with the means they had of rendering it much greater.

Thus ended an expedition, from which, at its commencement, the most prosperous issue was expected, and would probably have been derived, had those irregularities and

depredations been duly restrained, which were so peculiarly unbecoming and impolitic in the republican and revolutionary army, and had those supplies of men and money been seasonably provided, on which the general entrusted with the expedition had confidently relied. The want of pecuniary remittances obliged him to have recourse to heavier exactions than were consistent with the plan of conciliation, on which the French must have been conscious the preservation of their popularity among the natives of Germany, and of that good will to their cause, through which they promised themselves, and actually met with during some time, a very friendly reception from the commonality chiefly depended. The want of reinforcements was a still more fatal injury to the enterprise. The extent of country, overrun rather than subdued by the French, required a far greater force than that commanded by Jourdan, whose operations were necessarily stunted, from the inadequacy of his strength to perform them, and whose activity was perpetually retarded by the defect of means to give it proper scope.

The losses of the French in this expedition were very considerable in soldiers and officers of the highest desert and reputation in their service. None, indeed, but such could have contended with the far superior numbers of excellent troops continually starting up against them from every quarter; nor could have made good their retreat through the vast tract of country they had to traverse; their march through which was no less dangerous from the hostility of the inhabitants, than from the indefatigable vigour of a pursuing enemy.

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The greatest loss that befel them; in this long and difficult retreat, was that of general Marceau, an officer of the highest character in his profession. In the retreat of the Sieg, on the nineteenth of September, while the French were cleaning the defiles of Altankircha, he was entrusted with the protection of their rear. He executed this task in a masterly and successful manner. But as he was reconnoitring a wood, occupied by the enemy, he was mortally wounded. So great was the esteem and respect he was held in by the Austrians, that the archduke himself sent his surgeon to attend him; and after he was dead, ordered his body to be delivered to the French, and military honours to be paid to his memory by his own army, in conjunction with the French military.

General Marceau fell in the flower of his age: he had just completed his twenty-seventh year. But his talents were extraordinary, and excited the firmest persuasion, that he would become one of the greatest commanders of the age. He was, by the generality of military people, reputed another Buonaparte. He had, like him, risen by performing arduous and essential services, and was the favourite of the soldiery, who lamented his loss as that of a friend and protector, as well as of a general in whom they placed the justest confidence.

Shortly after his retreat across the Rhine, general Jourdan became so seriously indisposed, through the incessant fatigue he had undergone during this laborious campaign, that he was obliged to resign the command of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, which was conferred upon general Bournonville, who

was at this time at the head of those forces denominated the army of the north. He had greatly distinguished himself in the campaigns of 1792, and 1793. He fully maintained the reputation he had acquired; and, during the remainder of the campaign, kept the Austrians continually in check, and defeated them in some very serious engagements.

In the mean time, the archduke having freed the empire from one of the invading armies, now saw himself at liberty to attack the other with a far superior force, flushed with victory, and desirous to complete the success and honour it had gained, by compelling that army in the same manner to abandon its conquests in Germany.

Leaving a sufficient strength to make head against the French forces he had driven across the Rhine, he set out at the head of a powerful army in quest of general Moreau, whom he doubted not to compel, as he had done Jourdan, to retire into France.

This resolute and skilful officer was still contending successfully with general Latour, who commanded the Austrian forces, and was extremely active in his endeavours to expel the French from Batavia; but Moreau was superior to him in every engagement. Finding it, however, impossible to maintain his ground, in the heart of Germany, after the expulsion of Jourdan's army, against the immense superiority of numbers that were on the point of assailing him, he came to the determination of moving back to the Rhine. He broke up his incampment before Ingolstadt on the 10th of September, and retired leisurely towards Neuburg, overcoming every obstacle in his way, and

and defeating every corps of the Austrians that attempted to oppose him. Elated with the advantage they had obtained over him at Ingolstadt, from whence he had not been able to move without considerable loss, they hoped, by means of that superiority and strength which had rendered them successful, to have it in their power to molest him as effectually, in his retrograde motions. But the judiciousness of his arrangements was such, that most of the encounters were to their disadvantage.

It was not, however, without the most extreme danger and difficulties, that he pursued his march. On reaching the Lech, Latour came up with him; an engagement ensued on the seventeenth, when the Austrians were totally defeated and pursued as far as Landsperg, in Bavaria. Moreau then crossed the Lech, and proceeded through Ulm, in Swabia, towards the Black Forest, on the confines of Switzerland. But he was so closely pressed by Latour, that he was obliged to make a stand at Steinhöfen, near that forest, and give him battle. It took place on the last of September, and was fought with uncommon fury on both sides, that of the French especially, who saw no alternative between victory and ruin. They defeated the Austrians, of whom they slew and took considerable numbers, with several pieces of cannon. The corps of emigrants, under the duke d'Enghien, son to the prince of Condé, suffered greatly in this action, as they had done some time before, in a conflict with the republican troops, that happened on the twelfth of September.

Notwithstanding this defeat, Latour remitted nothing of his efforts,

and still confiding in the number and goodness of his troops, harassed incessantly Moreau's rear. This officer now perceived that he must again risk a general action, and that unless he again defeated the Austrians who were nearest, they would speedily be joined by such numerous reinforcements, that all resistance would be vain. On the second of October, a select body attacked the right wing of the Austrian army, posted between Bibarach and the Danube. After routing this, they advanced upon the centre, which was at the same time vigorously assailed by the centre of Moreau's army. The contest lasted six hours, and was extremely bloody on both sides. At length the Austrians gave way, and were so completely defeated, that they retired with the utmost expedition to a great distance from the field of battle. Their loss amounted to near five thousand men, killed and taken, twenty pieces of cannon, with several standards, and a quantity of ammunition.

This victory did not, however, liberate the French from the dangers that still menaced their march to the Rhine. Between them and that river was posted a numerous army, and strong bodies infested their flanks and rear. They proceeded, however, with such firmness and judgment as to make their way, through every impediment, to the Danube, which they crossed on the sixth of October, pushing the Austrians before them. On the ninth, general Desaix, a very resolute and able officer, attacked the Austrian corps commanded by generals Navendorf and Petrasch, and fully succeeded in keeping both in check, while the centre of the French boldly entered the defile called

called the Valley of Hell, from the frightful appearance of the rocks and mountains that hang over it on each side, and in many places are hardly the space of thirty-feet asunder. This valley extended several leagues; and at the opening that led out of it, a formidable body of Austrians was stationed. Moreau was duly sensible of the peril he was about to encounter; but no other method remained to extricate him from the many difficulties that surrounded him. Latour, though repeatedly defeated, was still in great force. Anxious to regain his reputation, he exerted himself incessantly whenever the least advantage seemed attainable. While this indefatigable enemy pressed upon his rear, every inlet on each side of the valley was filled with troops, awaiting the moment of assailing the flanks of the French in their passage through it. To guard against this multiplicity of dangers, Moreau disposed of his right and left in such a manner, that the rear part of them protected his entrance into that valley, by facing the forces under Latour, and the van by advancing upon Navendorf and Petrasch on their respective wings, obliged them to divide their strength and attention. Having made these dispositions, the main body of the French proceeded in compact order along the valley, at the farther opening of which a desperate fight ensued with the Austrians that guarded it. But the French cleared their way; as did also the rear of their right and left, which marched through with little molestation; and, having joined their respective divisions, presented altogether so formidable a countenance, that the Austrians, already disheartened by

their inability to prevent the passage of the French, did not attempt to attack them in the position they had taken after leaving the defile, nor in their march to Friburgh, where they arrived the next day.

This celebrated action took place on the twelfth of October. It completed the security and success of one of the most memorable retreats recorded in the military annals of modern times. It covered with glory the troops that performed it, and the general that commanded them. Throughout the whole of his expedition, Moreau had displayed consummate abilities. He had surmounted obstacles of every kind, and penetrated into the very heart of the empire. He had taken possession of Augsburgh and of Munich, the capitals of Bavaria, and compelled the elector to sue for peace. Had not the ill-fortune attending Jourdan's army disconcerted his plan, it was highly probable that he would have marched into Austria, and forced the emperor to accept of any peace, that he could have obtained, discomfited as he then was in every quarter, and deprived of any other means to save himself from apparent destruction.

In the mean time, it cannot be denied, that the light in which the French directory perceived and represented the expeditions of its armies into Germany, was a true one. The princes of the empire were detached from the coalition; immense sums were levied, which defrayed the expences of the invasion; and a powerful diversion was formed in favour of the expedition into Italy.

But it ought equally to have been acknowledged, as above, that these expeditions contributed to remove the partiality entertained
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for the French, from the minds of all the people in Germany, when they saw with how little reason they had expected to be benefited by the successes of those licentious invaders! Nothing less than their infamous conduct to the people, who had long viewed them with benevolence, and had received them with cordiality, could have effaced the impression which had so universally taken place in their favour. The Germans now became convinced of their error, in expecting that a foreign nation would be sincerely solicitous to rid them of their grievances, and would not rather make use of the opportunity of rendering them subservient to their own purposes.

But that consequence of the forced retreat of the French from Germany, which politicians esteemed most deserving of consideration, was the immediate influence it had over the councils of the court of Berlin. While the French appeared irresistible, it harboured and undertook designs of a nature tending at once to revolutionize the whole empire, and to exact the dominion of Prussia equally on the fall of Austria and the ruin of the smaller states of Germany. The movements and successes of the French in Italy and on the Rhine, and the establishment on the part of Prussia of a great military force in Nuremberg, seemed to indicate a plan for surrounding the emperor, by a wide circle, at the same time that they laboured for his destruction, by interior attacks. The French armies contracted more and more the quarters of the Austrians on the Rhine; the position of the Prussians, at Nuremberg, precluded the army under the archduke from retreating

by the way of the Danube, otherwise than through their connivance, which, according to the usual policy of the court of Berlin, must be purchased by some important concession. In a word, according to human views, the abasement, if not the ruin, of the house of Austria seemed to be fast approaching; and the liberties of the inferior states already to have fallen. It was, therefore, with universal satisfaction that Germany beheld the Prussian monarch's associates in these iniquitous designs, disabled from giving him assistance or countenance. The world indignantly beheld the affected moderation he assumed, by pretending to relinquish his usurpations on the ground, that the inhabitants of the districts he had seized, would not consent to become his subjects, nor the empire itself be prevailed upon to authorize him to accept of their submission. His ambition appeared altogether of a mean and contemptible kind. It was evident he would have sacrificed his common country to strangers, for the sake of promoting some paltry interests, the compassing of which would never have indemnified him from the danger he must have incurred by introducing so formidable and restless a people into Germany as the French. Their interference in its internal affairs would, in all likelihood, have been exerted without consulting his inclinations and interest, and might, much more shortly than he imagined, have been extended to his own concerns, in a manner that would have affected him most detrimentally, and afforded him ample cause to repent of the sordid motives that had induced him to act against his country.

France, though disappointed in the great projects it had formed in the

the expedition to Germany, still preserved its general preponderance against the coalition. The directory had, previously to the opening of the campaign, published to all Europe a desire to terminate the war upon equitable conditions; but these did not appear such to the two remaining powers in alliance against the republic. They well understood, that the cession of the Netherlands would be required, together with the restoration of all the conquests made by the British army in both the Indies.

It was to confirm its pretensions to these lofty demands, that France made those venturous attempts in the empire that had almost succeeded. But the failure did not induce the rulers of the republic to abate in their demands, which they still insisted on with as much obstinacy as if they had been completely successful in those vast enterprizes.

Austria did not display less resolution. It relied on that constant good fortune which had, in the critical occurrences of many ages, never permitted it to be reduced to distress, without finally providing it with the means of deliverance. Hence, in the midst of difficulties, the spirit of that high-minded family, though frequently staggered at the reverses that befel it, and bending occasionally before unavoidable necessity, still remained unbroken, and silently cherished the hope, that the hour of prosperity would return, as it had so often done, and richly repay it for its past losses.

While such ideas were prevalent, the court of Vienna felt more indignation than despondency at the success of the republican arms. The

persuasions of a similar kind, that were no less current among the people of its hereditary dominions in Germany, contributed wonderfully to animate them in the defence of a family, that seemed, at all times, the peculiar favourite of fortune, and destined, however liable to temporary depression, ultimately to succeed against all its enemies, and to verify the epithet, bestowed upon it so long ago, of fortunate.

The inferior sovereigns, and petty states of the empire, had, in the beginning of the contest between the coalition and the republic, wavered in their opinion concerning the justice and propriety of requiring them to join against a people that had given them no provocation. Hence flowed those discontents, and murmurs, against the Imperial mandates, and requisitions, to that purpose, which were gradually converted into an enmity to those that issued them, and into good wishes to the cause against which they combated. But this hostile disposition had no activity. A long and habitual subserviency to the politics of the court of Vienna was too firmly established among most of the secondary princes, and Imperial cities, as they are styled, to be shaken by transitory events. The court of Berlin was more feared than respected, and its tergiversation destroyed all influence but that which proceeded immediately from the terror of its arms. Thus the Austrian interest, though it sometimes fluctuated, still recovered its influence, and the inimical designs of Prussia, against the lesser states of the empire, together with the flagitious behaviour of the French, restored, in a great measure, the preponderance

ance of the Imperial court, and the former readiness to coincide with its wishes. The return of this complying temper was also partly due to the necessity which Austria felt, of paying a competent regard to the ideas and inclinations of the people at large, and of carefully avoiding to give them just cause of offence.

The frontiers of France, on the Rhine, were now in danger of becoming again the theatre of war. The spirit and activity of the archduke, increased by his late successes, had prompted him to an enterprize, from which, if he succeeded, much utility and honour would be derived. This was to retake, by a sudden and vigorous attack, the fortress of Kehl. To this end he detached, from his army, a corps of chosen men, who attacked the French general, Scherer, at Bruchsal, in the proximity of the Rhine, on the thirteenth of September, and, pushing him before them as far as Kehl, forced the outworks on the nineteenth, and had nearly carried that strong fortress. A tremendous fire, from the French batteries, compelled them, at length, to retire: but the boldness and resolution displayed in this enterprize did great honour to the assailants, and shewed how little the Austrian troops were daunted by the successes of the French.

The same enterprizing disposition continued to characterize the archduke in his operations against the French, after their retreat to Friburgh, where Moreau had now established his quarters. On the seventeenth of October, his advanced posts, at Kindringen, in the vicinity, were assailed with great fury by the Imperial army, commanded by the

archduke in person. All the generals that had been employed against Moreau, in the course of the campaign, were present in this action, which was maintained with remarkable obstinacy by both parties. The personal intrepidity of the archduke was conspicuous on this occasion. The right wing of his army, under Latour, being repulsed, and on the point of abandoning the attack of Kindringen, he put himself at the head of a body of grenadiers, who returned to the charge and carried it. The left wing, and the centre of the Austrians, met with the firmest resistance, and, though the French were worsted, the action was not decisive.

General Moreau, finding himself overpowered by the immense superiority of numbers that occupied the positions around, concentrated his force in such a manner, as either to make a vigorous defence, or a secure retreat, as circumstances should render it most expedient. He was attacked upon the strong ground he had chosen at Schlingen, situated upon a height, near Friburgh, on the twenty-third of October. The dispositions made by General Moreau, to receive the enemy, were so judicious, that, notwithstanding the number and valour of the Austrians, and the expertness of their commanders, the contest lasted three days, when the French, after disputing every inch of ground, retired, in the best order, across the Rhine, at Huninghen, on the twenty-sixth. Their retreat was conducted with such firmness in the men, and skill in their commander, that the Austrians were neither able, nor willing, to attempt a close pursuit.

The French, on leaving the right side of the Rhine, had provided the fortress of Kehl with a garrison, composed of select officers and soldiers. Moreau's intention was to find the Austrians such employment, in the siege of this important place, that they should not have leisure to turn their attention to any other object in that quarter. His project succeeded so well, that, till the commencement of the ensuing year, their whole time and strength were spent in efforts to reduce this fortress. Herein they lost numbers of their best men. A very serious action took place on the twenty-second of November. The garrison made a general sally, and, driving the besiegers from their line of circumvallation, spiked all their cannon, and, after making a great slaughter, carried off a large number of prisoners.

In order to balance this check, the Austrians attacked, on the thirtieth of November, the fortification that covered the head of the bridge of Huningen, on their side. The attempt was made in the middle of the night, and the French were driven from their works. Recovering, however, from their disorder, they fell upon the assailants, retook their works, and defeated them so completely, that they were obliged to retire, with the utmost speed, to a great distance, furiously pursued by the French, who slew and took vast numbers, though not without a severe loss on their side, at the first onset, which was very unfavourable, and had nearly put the enemy in possession of the head of the bridge, whereby the communication with Kehl would have been cut off, and its reddition accelerated.

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This action, for the time it lasted, and from the mutual animosity of the combatants, was reputed the most destructive of any that had yet happened during this war. Such was the fury of both the French and Austrians, that they were wholly intent upon slaughter. Few prisoners were made; and the killed and wounded, on both sides, was computed at four thousand, the loss being nearly equal.

The month of December was consumed in operations of this kind, which occasioned the loss of numbers, and served only to exercise the skill and bravery of both parties. It was not till the opening of the next year, that, after a valiant defence of two months, the fortress of Kehl surrendered to the Austrians, who thereby became possessed of a heap of rubbish and ruins. The garrison carried away the very palliades, and left nothing worth the taking. The works at the head of the bridge were in like manner evacuated some time after, and a final termination put to the operations of the campaign in this quarter.

The French and Austrian armies, on the lower Rhine, harrassed by the incessant fatigues they had undergone, came also to the determination of concluding hostilities during the winter. An armistice took place between them, about the middle of December, by which they mutually agreed to retire into cantonments, and to remain there peaceably, till the suspension should be formally declared at an end.

The termination of a campaign so unfortunate in its commencement, and so favourable in its termination, to the Austrian interest in Germany, totally revived its in-

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fluence over the diet of the empire at Ratisbon. The consternation that had overwhelmed it at the near approach of the victorious armies of Jourdan and Moreau, had been marked by circumstances denoting more despondency than became so respectable a body of men, and subjected them, in some measure, to the censures of the public, particularly of the court of Vienna, which expressed high displeasure at

the readiness they had manifested to treat with the enemy. They now were equally solicitous to regain the good will of the Imperial court, and addressed it in terms remarkably submissive and thankful for the protection they had received from its armies, and the preservation of the empire, by the expulsion of the French, through the valour and exertions of the archduke.

CHAP. X.

State of Parties in France.—A Revival of the Reign of Terror threatened in the Southern Departments by Freron.—The Directory desert and oppose the Jacobin Interest.—Conspiracy of Jacobins.—Discovered and defeated—Arrangements respecting the Estates of Emigrants.—Influence of the non-juring or refractory Clergy troublesome to Government.—Scandalous Neglect of the Execution of Justice.—Criminal Trials.—Money and Finance.—The same Impositions laid on the People of the Austrian Netherlands as on those of France.—New Plots and Insurrections.—Law for reconciling the different Factions in France, by the Extinction of Terror.—Proposal for repealing a Law which appeared to some to bear too hard on the Relations of Emigrants.—Rejected.—But an equitable Alteration made in that severe Law.—This a Matter of Triumph to the moderate Party.

IT was the policy of the directory, as above observed, to secure their own power, by engaging the French nation in continued military exploits, by which the public mind might be occupied otherwise than in inquiries into their own past or present conduct; and by which they might acquire popularity, in proportion to the success and glory of the French arms. Yet there was, in the midst of all the successes of Buonaparte, in the heart of France, a very numerous party in opposition to the measures of the government; and this party, by the repulse of the French from Germany, was daily increased. The French, at this period, might be divided into two great classes: the one bustling and intriguing politicians, never satisfied while there was any thing to be done or undone; for ever in motion, and incapable of rest: the other party, composed of

men, bred in times before France was seized with a rage for innovation, whose prejudices were all in favour of monarchy, though not perhaps unlimited; and of others too, who, though they had originally favoured the principles of the revolution, longed now, above all things, to enjoy the blessings of peace. When this peaceable party, whether inclined to monarchy, or republicanism, reflected that all the golden dreams of the reformers had passed away like visions of the night, and been followed by nothing but the accumulated evils of war; horror on horror, disappointment on disappointment. When they looked back on former times, plentiful and tranquil; a period too, when they were younger than now, knew more happiness, and saw every thing around them in the light of joy and gladness; they were sensible of the liveliest anguish and regret, and ar-

dently wished for a return of such times as they had formerly enjoyed. This party was the most numerous in France, but they were forced to conceal their sentiments, and they were not united. They were of course, as usually happens in all countries, kept under by a smaller number, in possession of the powers of government. But, in the capital, where the minds of men were stimulated and fortified in their sentiments and designs, by mutual intercourse, and which had so long been the seat of intrigues and attempts of opposite parties, there was a great number of discontented individuals, waiting for opportunities of publicly avowing their sentiments, in opposition to those of the present rulers, and to support them by open force. The vigilance of the directory obviated their designs, and contained them within bounds. So restless and determined, however, were the enemies to the present government, that, farther to secure the public tranquillity, they thought it expedient to add another minister to the six already appointed by the constitution, to whom was given the official title of minister of the police.

Through precautions of this nature, peace was maintained at Paris, but disturbances broke out, occasionally, in several parts of the republic. The southern departments, long a prey to that warmth and impetuosity of temper which characterize their inhabitants, were at this time plunged into confusions that required the immediate interposition of government to suppress them.

As the people in those parts had been particularly ill treated by the jacobin party, they had, ever since the fall of Robespierre, meditated schemes of vengeance against the in-

struments of his tyranny, and of the many cruelties exercised upon them. They executed these schemes to their full extent; and many of the guilty agents, in the atrocities committed among them, were sacrificed to their revenge.

The moderation that governed the councils of those who succeeded to the power of Robespierre, put a stop to those executions. The prudence of the commissioners sent to pacify these departments, had almost restored them to peace and mutual conciliation, when, unfortunately for their repose, a man was sent to represent and to exercise the supreme authority of the state in those parts, who had already signalized himself there by his enormities.

This was the famous Freron, a man of courage and abilities, but of a fierce and sanguinary disposition. The people in those departments had filled the places of administration, in their respective districts, with persons of their own choosing. These were immediately displaced by Freron, who substituted to them individuals notorious for their crimes and the blood they had shed. He reinstituted the societies, and renewed those revolutionary committees that had filled France with such horror; and he authorized them to break those members of the various municipalities whose principles differed from their own.

During several months, the oppressed inhabitants of those departments were compelled to submit to the tyranny of Freron and his partizans, who strove with indefatigable zeal to re-establish the reign of terrorism. But the directory, who felt the necessity of putting an end to the influence which the jacobins were

were endeavouring to recover, recalled Freron, and commissioned two men of moderate principles, Isnard and Jourdan, to inquire, in conjunction with others, into the causes of the discontents and disturbances that had happened in those departments. But the jacobin party laboured so earnestly to frustrate this commission, by calumniating the members that composed it, that, notwithstanding their accusations were formally declared malicious and ill-founded, it was judged requisite, in order to prevent feuds and animosities in the two councils, to dissolve the commission. Government was apprehensive it would make discoveries that might involve persons high in office, and occasion jealousies to be revived, which might defeat the conciliatory views proposed by the new constitution. The inquiry was, therefore, entrusted to the directory, which wisely determined to drop retrospective measures, and, by lenient means, to restore tranquillity to the departments in question.

The jacobins were highly offended by the moderate councils which they now perceived the directory was resolved to pursue. They accused it of having abandoned those democratical principles on which the republic was founded, and basely betrayed those from whom it derived its power in the state. But the directory, unintimidated by their threats, steadily adhered to its determinations, and gradually introduced into office individuals of their own opinions, in preference to the jacobins, who had hitherto enjoyed almost exclusively the first places under government.

This desertion of the jacobin interest subjected the directory to the

most violent rancour of that restless and daring party: but, heedless of their hatred and menaces, government alleged these as reasons for putting a period to their meetings, and shutting up their places of resort. They represented them to the public in the most odious light, exhorting all good citizens to watch their motions, as full of danger and malevolence to the state. They procured laws to be enacted, obviously levelled at them: those, for instance, that made it a capital crime to hold seditious meetings, or to attempt the re-establishment of the constitution under Robespierre. Those members of the late convention and committees, reputed the heads of this party, were ordered to leave the capital, and the major part of those in offices of trust were dismissed.

It was not without pressing motives that the directory acted with this severity towards the jacobins: they were labouring to disseminate a spirit of disobedience through all the civil and military departments in the metropolis. They had seduced into open rebellion a body of the latter, known by the appellation of legion of the police. It consisted of men selected from various corps of the army, and ordered to Paris for the support of the convention when the Parisians opposed that article of the constitution, which ordained a re-election of two thirds of its members to the new legislature.

As they amounted to ten thousand men, such a force appeared too formidable to be left in the hands of the jacobins, who had so perverted them, that they were no longer to be trusted. They were directed to repair to their respective regiments. Upon their refusal to obey, a power-

ful body of troops were sent for, which brought them to submission. The legion was disbanded, and dispersed into the communes to which the men belonged.

This proved a measure of the most fortunate policy. Incensed at the proceedings of government against them, the jacobins had formed one of the most daring and deeply-planned conspiracies that had yet taken place among the many which had marked this eventful revolution. It was conducted with the profoundest secrecy. The conspirators never met twice in the same place; and it was hardly possible to trace their motions, though their leaders constantly assembled every day, and government was apprised of the existence of a plot.

The minister of police, Merlin, of Douay, a name well known, being either inactive or lukewarm in this affair, another man was placed in his office, of more activity and zeal. This was Cochon, who exerted himself with so much care and diligence, that the haunts of the conspirators were at length discovered, and most of the principal ones arrested.

The conspiracy was to have been carried into execution upon the eleventh of May, and the discovery of this design was not made till the ninth. On the morning of the tenth, the directory informed the two councils of the particulars of this conspiracy, which was in every respect a most dreadful and dangerous one. Two men were at the head of it, equally noted for their boldness and resolution. The one was Babeuf, from whom it took its name. This man, conformably to the custom prevailing among the

rigid democrats at this time, had assumed the name of a famous republican of old, Gracchus, thereby to denote his inflexible adherence to the popular cause. He was a man of parts, in the exercise of which nothing was able to daunt him. The other chief actor in this conspiracy, was the celebrated Drouet, the post-master of Varennes, who stopped the unfortunate Lewis XVI. in his flight; and, as a reward of his fidelity to the nation, was elected a member of the convention. Having fallen into the hands of the Austrians, and suffered a long and severe imprisonment in Germany, he had acquired a popularity which recommended him so strongly to the people of his own district, that they elected him a deputy to the legislative body, when the new constitution was formed. The other principal authors of this conspiracy were general Rossignol, notorious for his cruelties in La Vendée; Julian, a confidential agent of Robespierre; Amar, a noted associate of that tyrant; Laignelot, a man of abilities, and a member of the late convention.

The plan of the conspirators, as laid by the directory before the two councils, was to massacre these three bodies, the field officers of the Parisian military, and the constituted authorities of Paris, and to give up the citizens to plunder and slaughter. From the papers that were seized, it appeared that they had formed a complete scheme of government. The legislature was to have consisted of about seventy of those members of the late convention, who had not been re-elected; of a deputy from each of the provincial departments; and of some of the deputies

to the present legislature, whom they looked upon as favourable to their designs.

The insurrection itself was concerted with great foresight and regularity. At the sound of a bell, rung every morning in each of the sections, as a notice to cleanse the streets, the conspirators were to distribute themselves into knots of four or five, and each of these to proceed to the houses of those they had marked for destruction. Having dispatched these, they were all to meet at an appointed place, whence they were to march in force to the palace of the directory, whom they were to put to death in the same manner.

If reports may be credited, a still more atrocious plan remained to be executed, after completing the former. A secret directory, composed of four persons, was to have a number of confidential agents under their orders; who were, after the insurrection had succeeded, to have murdered as many of their own party as were pointed out to them by these directors, in order thereby to get rid of those who, not being acquainted with their ultimate designs, would probably have opposed them. So carefully had they provided against discovery, that numbers of the actors in this terrible tragedy were not to have known any but their immediate employers, who were themselves to be dispatched, if any of those agents were either to be discovered and seized, or to betray them.

It has been a matter of much doubt, whether a conspiracy of so horrible a nature could have been brought to a complete execution, had circumstances been ever so favourable to the conspirators. But the antecedent massacres, at several

periods of the revolution, have too fatally evinced, that the shedding of blood was become so familiar a scene in France, and that the spirit of assassination was so prevalently diffused among surprising numbers, that this horrid project would, in all likelihood, have been executed as unreluctantly as others had been, and that its framers would not have been disappointed for want of hands to perpetrate the horrors they had in contemplation.

Babeuf, the chief contriver of this atrocious plot, boldly acknowledged himself the author of the treasonable writings found in his possession. When required to denounce his accomplices, he answered, that they little understood his character who thought him capable of betraying his friends. He continued, from his prison, to set the directory at defiance, and to address them on a footing of perfect equality. He wrote a long letter, dictated by phrenzy as much as by firmness, wherein he told them, that it was not in their power to prevent the insurrection intended against them, which he dignified by the epithet of holy, threatening them with death unless they retracted their proceedings against him and his party, and promising, if they acted becomingly, a share in the new government.

Whatever might be the motives that influenced government, the trial of the conspirators was unaccountably delayed. The council of five hundred did not vote the impeachment of Drouet until the eighth of July following, when it was negatived by fifty-eight against one hundred and forty, a proof that he had a strong party in that house. About a month after, he escaped

from his confinement, through the connivance, it was suspected, of the government. But his associate, Babeuf, was not so fortunate. He was tried by the high criminal court at Vendome, which condemned him to death.

Great and unfeigned was the satisfaction of the public at the discovery and suppression of this sanguinary plot. The jacobins became more than ever the objects of general execration. The extermination of all who rejected their principles seemed a fundamental maxim of that inexorable faction. Their inflexible resolution and perseverance in their projects, which, had they been attended with humanity, might have rendered them respectable, only tended to excite a dread and abhorrence of them. Thus, they were viewed by the generality as the pests of the community; and a speedy riddance of them became the wish of all but those who were involved in the criminal intrigues.

It was not with the same facility that government was able to crush the advocates of the persecuted royalists. A seizure of those estates, which were to devolve to emigrants on the demise of the actual possessor, had been decreed by the council of five hundred, and rejected by that of elders. The decree excepted only that portion which by law was to remain with the present possessor. It was warmly opposed, as too rigorously intrenching upon the rights of private property; but, after long and violent debates, it was decreed that, instead of a direct seizure, that moiety should be levied for the use of the state which the legislature had already appropriated to that purpose. This, how-

ever, it was plain, afforded no relief to the possessor.

The chief obstacle to these and to the other pecuniary arrangements, respecting the estates of emigrants, was the difficulty of finding purchasers for the lands that had been declared national property. Many individuals, though warmly adhering to the republic, reprobated the confiscation of property on any pretext, while no misdemeanor was imputable to the proprietor; who, while obedient to the laws, could not, without manifest injustice, be punished for the misdeeds of others. The sale of confiscated estates, met also with perpetual obstructions from the scruples infused into the minds of numbers by the nonjuring clergy; who explicitly denounced damnation to those who purchased them. Hence a large proportion of national lands remained unsold, to the great inconvenience of the government, in its want of those sums that would have been produced by the disposal of them.

This interference of the nonjuring clergy, in a matter of so much importance to the ruling powers, could not fail to increase their hatred to that order of men. They accused them of contributing more to the detriment of the state, by their bigotry, than its foreign enemies had done by their arms. They perverted the dispositions of the weak and the ignorant, by intimidating them with arguments founded upon falsehoods and absurdities. The unhappy propensity of unenlightened minds to superstition gave ecclesiastics so decided an ascendancy over them, that, unless they were checked by the most effectual restraints, they would progressively become the absolute

solite dictators of society. This was undeniably an evil of such enormity, that all reasonable men would concur in the necessity of obviating it by every means that appeared indispensibly requisite. The only expedient that seemed to promise efficacy was to interdict every individual of that profession from interfering in political matters, either directly or indirectly, under the severest penalties. Such was the language of the staunch friends to the republican system, and to that freedom of thought upon all subjects, which now characterised so numerous a part of the French nation.

While the French government and its adherents were complaining of the undue influence of the refractory clergy, these retorted the representations made to their disadvantage, by appealing to the people, on the little justice they had to expect from men, so many of whom disregarded those principles on which alone the morality of mankind, and their integrity in the most essential transactions of society, are usually founded. These principles were those of religion, without which little confidence could be placed in each other by the generality of men, who had neither abilities nor leisure to argue themselves into virtue and honesty by philosophical reasonings, and were much more easily kept in good order by those precepts and doctrines that had been established and respected during so many ages, than by the maxims and opinions lately introduced. The clear and visible consequence of these had been the embroilment of the public in continual feuds, and the overturning of a government, under which, with all its im-

perfections, the nation had enjoyed much more tranquillity and satisfaction, than it had known since the introduction of the present system.

The principal allegation against the soundness of the principles, on which the successive rulers of the republic had conducted themselves, was the shameful negligence of which they had all in their turn been guilty, in deferring upwards of three years the inquiry into the murders committed in September, 1792. These were universally reprobated by all parties: they had covered the French nation with disgrace, and exposed it to the abhorrence of all Europe; and they still remained unpunished and uninvestigated. Of those who had been the reputed authors and abettors; some indeed were no more, but others remained, who were happily divested of the power of opposing the course of justice.

These reproaches bore hard upon government, and it found itself unable to stem the torrent of complaint against the long and scandalous neglect of executing that justice upon the criminals, which they so fully deserved. A tribunal was erected, in May, before which their trials began upon the twenty sixth. Several of those arraigned before it were sentenced to die, and others to be imprisoned: but as it appeared that the generality had been the mere tools of others, and had been impelled to the commission of those enormities, through mistaken zeal, and an erroneous persuasion that they were avenging their country, in compassion to their ignorance, they were acquitted of evil intentions, and pardoned.

These acquittals were so many, and the punishments so few, comparatively

paratively to what had been expected, and loudly demanded, that the public was entirely disappointed: the more indeed, that some, who were deemed the principal promoters of those criminal transactions, found means to escape the vengeance of the law.

Before this tribunal were also brought those citizens of Paris, who had taken up arms to oppose that decree of the convention, by which two-thirds of its members were to be returned deputies to the new legislature. Lenity being now, to use a very common phrase, become the order of the day, they were acquitted, to the great joy of their fellow citizens, who now sincerely repented the violent measures they had been persuaded to adopt upon that occasion, through the intrigues of men who had much more in view, the attainment of their private ends, than the public objects which they pretended to have so much at heart. These, the people of Paris were at present convinced, would have been much more effectually accomplished by the steady and persevering strength of argument and remonstrance, in which they would have probably been gradually joined by multitudes in all the departments. But had they failed in these endeavours, still they would not have been the dupes and victims of private ambition, and shed their blood for men who, like most aspiring characters, would, if successful, have forgotten their services, and repaid them with ingratitude.

After having thus, in some degree, satisfied the demands of the nation, the directory now turned its attention to a business which required more than ever the cares

and exertions of government: this was the department of the finances, which having, since the foundation of the republic, been supported by the most extraordinary and unprecedented means, were now beginning to totter, and to threaten instant ruin.

The credit, at first given to the assignats, had long been gradually falling, and they were now become of no value. It was therefore indispensable to replace them by a currency of more estimation. The specie of the nation was either hidden by those who would not part with their hoards, or in those avaricious hands that had accumulated it for the purpose of swelling its value in pecuniary transactions with those who wanted it. The means of bringing it forth, in the ordinary occurrences of society, were studiously sought, but could not be found; while those terrors and uncertainties continued, that made every man tremble for his property. The establishment of the new constitution was beginning to remove these apprehensions: but they still retained much of their influence, and the scarcity of hard money was still an universal complaint.

In order to remedy the depreciation and indeed the inutility of assignats, government procured the passing of a decree, on the 25th of March, which it hoped might tend to expedite the sale of the national property in lands. Twenty-two years purchase was the price at which they had been fixed since the year 1790, when the national assembly first had recourse to this method of supplying the wants of the state. By the decree now passed, a new fabrication of paper money was issued, to the amount of two thousand four hundred millions of

of livres. Part of this sum was intended to redeem the assignats in circulation at the rate of thirty of these for one of the former; and the lands on sale were to be mortgaged, as a security for the payment of the remaining part. The purchasers of these lands were to pay for them by instalments; and, as the property disposed of was a solid and visible asset; it was hoped that the new emission would retain its original value. The directory insisted in the most serious terms on the immediate want of this supply, for the carrying on of the war, and the service of the current year.

The various failures of the French government in its pecuniary operations, had so much discouraged the speculators in these matters, that it was highly necessary to hold out every encouragement to them. On the decline of the assignats, a paper, known by the name of rescriptions, had been given for advances to government, and made payable in specie at a fixed period: but this too had lost its credit, by non-payment. The new fabrication, which went by the name of mandats, lost, at its first issuing, one-fourth of its nominal value, and was reduced shortly after to one-fifth. It continued to decrease, and fell at last to the bare proportion of one-tenth. So heavy a loss alarmed the directory, as, at that rate, the national property, which was paid for in mandats, must of course be sold for one-tenth of its value. It came to the determination to shorten the periods of payment, in order to diminish thereby the quantity of mandats in circulation, which would raise the worth of those that had remained: but this expedient did not much restore it, and government,

to secure any farther detriment, ordained the last instalment, which was the fourth part of the purchase, to be paid in specie.

Thus the speculators were totally deceived in their calculations of the profit they had expected: the more indeed as private land sold at a cheaper rate than public: but as they were chiefly monied men, and much of their opulence had arisen from their successful speculations during the public distress, as their losses were unheeded, and the conduct of government, however irregular and arbitrary, passed uncensured.

So great, in the mean time, were the difficulties of the republic, that, according to a statement of the revenue, made at this time by the committee of finances, the whole of it amounted to no more than five hundred millions of livres, while the expenditure was not less than one thousand. The directory was fully sensible that in such a situation the boldest, as well as the most prudent measures must be resorted to, and that no alternative remained, but either of finishing the contest with the enemies of France, on disadvantageous conditions, or of straining the authority and power of government to the farthest extent that could be borne with, or submitted to, regardless of the dissatisfaction and murmurs that such a conduct would in all likelihood occasion.

France was, at this period, nearly exhausted of all extraordinary means of levying money. The sale of national property, which was almost the only one remaining, had been decreed. This measure however had not yet taken place in the Austrian Netherlands, now incorporated with

with France, which had hitherto abstained from loading this country with such burdens as might prove offensive to its inhabitants. But the exigences of the republic were now become so urgent, that the directory thought itself entitled to put so rich a portion of the empire under the same requisitions as France itself. This could not be construed into oppression of the natives, as they would only be placed on the same footing as the French, with whom they now formed one nation, united in views and interests, and having the same enemies to combat, by whom, if subdued, they would experience in common the same ill treatment, and relapse into that state of slavery, from which they had both taken such pains to emancipate themselves.

Such were the motives laid before the people of the Austrian Netherlands, to induce them to coincide with the design of the French government, to decree the sale of those valuable tracts of land, become the public property in that country, by the suppression of the numerous and opulent monastic orders. Exclusively of these motives, which were of considerable weight with that part of the people which were well affected to the French, had a precedent to plead of great efficacy in the minds even of those who retained an attachment to the religious establishments in their country. This was the general willingness of the catholic powers to retain no other than the parochial and secular clergy, and to suppress all conventual institutions, as the incentives and receptacles of idleness, and burdening the industrious part of the community, with the maintenance of

a numerous class of individuals, wholly heedless for the purposes of society.

As these representations were founded in truth, and as the minds of the people in Belgium had of late undergone material alterations in their opinions of things, they were not unwilling to admit the validity of the reasonings alleged in vindication of the measures proposed by the French, and the suppression of religious houses, together with the sale of their lands, for the use of the state, took place accordingly.

The resources arising from this ample fund, aided by the imposition of some new taxes, rendered supportable by an equitable repartition; and more than all, by an exact and rigid economy, introduced into every channel of expenditure, supplied the five hundred millions wanted, in addition to the revenue, and enabled the government to provide for the demands of the present year.

The difficulties experienced by the French government in matters of finance, great as they were, did not equal those that continually obstructed the indefatigable endeavours to preserve internal tranquillity. The inextinguishable animosity of the opposite parties, that distracted the nation, seemed to increase by failure and disappointment in their respective projects, and to derive, as it were, new vigour from the repeated suppression of their attempts to overturn the established government.

The jacobin party, though not more active than the royalists, consisted of men of far superior parts. As they had but lately been ousted from the seat of power, they nourished

rished a spirit of revenge which prompted them to endless efforts to regain the mastery. In the mean while, their expulsion had not been complete. Many of their partizans still remained in places of trust: the legislature counted many among its members, and the directory itself had one of their well-wishers.

Emboldened by these circumstances, and unintimidated by the discovery and suppression of the dreadful conspiracy, headed by Babeuf, they had the audacity to frame another, at a distance from the capital, hoping, if successful, to rally around the insurgents, the numerous jacobins still remaining in those parts.

The place where the insurrection broke out was Marseilles, a city famous, in the annals of the revolution, for tumults and disturbances. On the nineteenth of July, while the citizens were occupied in the annual election of their magistrates, the jacobins assembled in multitudes, armed with a variety of weapons. They ran through the streets, exclaiming live the mountain and the constitution of ninety-three. A party of them rushed into the hall of election, from whence they drove the citizens, and murdered all who opposed them.

As the plan of this hasty insurrection was ill contrived, it had no other consequence than to throw the city of Marseilles into a temporary confusion. It appeared, however, that the interest of the jacobins, in that place, had more strength and patronage than had been imagined. The commissary of the directory, in his dispatches to government, instead of laying before it the criminal behaviour of the jacobins, represented the whole as an

affray between the royalists and the republicans. But the council of five hundred ordered an inquiry to be made, which detected the perfidy of the commissary, in consequence of which, the forced elections of magistrates, that had been made by the jacobin party, were annulled, and proper measures taken to prevent them from disturbing the peace of that municipality.

But the jacobins were not the only disturbers of the public tranquillity. The royalists, however just their cause, frequently disgraced it by the ridiculous zeal which they manifested in its support. Actuated by those illiterate and bigoted priests, that swarm in France, they formed themselves into bands that assumed the appellation of companions of Jesus and the king. They fell upon those, who, during the reign of terrorism, had persecuted and treated them with barbarity, on whom they exercised the most unmerciful retaliation. Affrays of this nature often happened, especially in the south of France, where the vindictive disposition of the inhabitants is apt to lead them into excesses of a fatal tendency, from the duration and obstinacy of their resentment.

It was easier, however, to crush both the spirit and the insurrections of the royalists, than of the jacobins. The former were usually excited to action through their implicit submission to the advice and exhortation of the refractory ecclesiastics: but the latter acted from the unsubdued and incessant impulse of their own principles, the very nature of which rendered them independent of the opinion of others, and perpetually excited them to action.

action, without needing any other stimulation. Men of this character are not easily tamed into subjection to those who differ from them in sentiments, and are much more ready to rise in opposition to them, than those who are governed by the dictates of others.

This conspicuously appeared in that other attempt, which the jacobins made to overthrow the establishment, so very soon after having failed in their late conspiracy. The numbers that voted against the impeachment of Drouet, and his evasion from confinement, plainly shewed the influence of the jacobin faction. Relying on its many concealed partisans, a resolution was taken, by the undiscovered accomplices of Babeuf in that conspiracy, to rescue him and his associates from the hands of government, at the time when they were to be removed from their prison at Paris, and transferred to Vandame, for trial before the high criminal court.

In order to conceal from the public the real actors in the intended rescue, the jacobins assumed the appearance of royalists. They put on white cockades, displayed white colours, and every other token of royalism, and in this manner proceeded in their enterprize: but they were quickly discovered, and their project entirely frustrated.

Whether through neglect or connivance, no inquiry was made into this business. This induced the jacobins to meditate another plan, and to take what they hoped might prove more efficient means to succeed. They collected as many of their most daring associates as could be procured in the capital and its vicinity. They tampered with the soldiery, some of whom they se-

duced, by whose medium they vainly imagined the majority of the remainder would be brought over to them. When they thought they were sufficiently prepared, they embodied themselves, to the number of five or six hundred, and marched to the camp in the Plain of Grenelle, at a very small distance from Paris. They seemed to entertain no doubt of being joined by the troops there, and confidently entered the camp, crying out, the constitution of ninety-three, and down with the two councils and the five tyrants. At the head of this desperate body of men were three members of the late convention, with as many generals who had been dismissed the service, and Drouet himself, it was said, not long escaped from his prison. They warmly exhorted the soldiers to join them, promising every remuneration that could be required; but they were totally deceived in their expectations. The soldiers remained true to their officers, and, at the word of command, fell upon the conspirators, who, unable to contend with such a force, betook themselves to flight. Numbers were killed upon the spot, and about one hundred and thirty taken. They were tried as insurgents by a military commission. Sentence of death or banishment was passed upon the most notoriously guilty, and the others were discharged.

The objects proposed by these rash and furious conspirators, were similar in every respect to those of Babeuf and his associates. Blood and the extermination of all persons in power, those only excepted whom they considered as favourable to their designs.

While the jacobins were intent upon those destructive schemes, which,

which, happily for France, were so seasonably prevented, the government was preparing a law, by which it hoped to reconcile the parties that divided the nation, so far as to extinguish the motives of terror that rendered so many Frenchmen enemies, through necessity, of their countrymen in power.

This law, from which such salutary effects were expected to flow, was an act of universal amnesty, which was to put an immediate stop to all prosecutions for revolutionary crimes and offences, committed since the commencement of July, 1789, to the fourth of Brumaire, in the fourth year of the republic, 1796. The only exceptions to this amnesty were those contained in the law enacted in the last sitting of the late convention, and called the law of the third Brumaire.

These exceptions were levelled at the opposers of the new constitution, transported priests, and emigrants, and those who had participated in the insurrection at Paris against the decree of the convention, ordaining the re-election of two-thirds of its members.

But this law had always been considered, by the impartial, as too indiscriminately favourable to the adherents of the party which had framed it, as it not only put a stop to the proceedings against the agents of terrorism, but even against individuals guilty of crimes, for which they had been sentenced to severe and merited punishment, and whom it set at liberty in direct violation of all justice, and to the consternation of all persons inclined to moderation and pacific measures.

A committee had been appointed to draw up the plan of this proposed

amnesty, the report of which led to a variety of discussions relating to it, and occasioned at last a proposal to repeal the very law of the third of Brumaire, as bearing too inequitably upon those who were related to emigrants, whom it excluded from public offices, together with those who had been concerned in the insurrection of last October, against the decrees of the convention for the re-elections.

These members of the legislature, who favoured the repeal of this law, considered it as inconsistent with the real principles of the constitution, by which no man ought to be subjected to so heavy a punishment as the forfeiture of his civic rights, without evident proof of his deserving it. In consequence of the reasonings they used in support of this opinion, a committee was chosen to deliberate on the merits of this law, and whether it could, with safety, be repealed at the present period.

The public was, in the mean time, greatly divided in its opinion on this question. Some pronounced it at once a trial of strength between the royalists and the republicans. Were the law to be repealed, an inundation of the former would infallibly take place in every department, and the restoration of monarchy would be the unavoidable consequence.

The nation at large held itself deeply concerned in the decision of this important question, and waited for it with the utmost impatience. The committee, appointed to examine the advantages and ill-consequences resulting from the law alluded to, was considered as holding in its hands the fate of the nations. Loud and fervent were the wishes

wishes of the respective parties, that the examination might terminate in their favour. The remarkable fervour with which the royalists expressed their hope of its repeal, sufficiently indicated how much they expected it would militate for them, while the apprehensions of the republicans, lest it should be repealed, manifested equally their conviction, how strongly this would operate to their detriment.

This fermentation of the public mind carried the weight of the strongest argument with those who were entrusted with this great decision. The elatedness of the royal party, on the bare possibility of a repeal, clearly pointed out the danger of it to the commonwealth, and admonished its well-wishers to oppose such a measure with all their might. The members of the committee of examination, being staunch republicans, could not fail to perceive the question before them in the same light. They did not therefore hesitate to pronounce explicitly a verdict conformable to the opinion of their party, which was thereby released from a state of the deepest anxiety on the issue of this business.

There were, however, some very sincere republicans in both the councils, who disapproved of this law, and exerted their abilities for its repeal. They argued that it made no difference between the relations of real enemies to the revolution, who had abandoned their country, out of hatred to the system introduced by that event, and the relations of individuals who had fled from the tyranny that had deluged France with proscriptions and murders. Such a flight ought not, in the clearest equity, to be accounted

punishable. The law should have been pointed at those chiefly whose crimes had rendered them objects of abhorrence to all parties; and who, having been tried and condemned for them, had been sheltered from punishment, by the amnesty extended to them by that law, in defiance of equity and the general sense of the public, which loudly demanded that they should be made examples of, as guilty of plunders and assassinations that had filled the nation with dread and horror. Were such men to be excepted from the rigour of a law which ought to have been made for them alone, instead of falling upon the innocent? Was it reconcileable with reason and propriety, that such men should be promoted to posts of honour and authority? But the fact was, that the period when this law took place was marked by the terrors that hung over those who, though they reprobated, did not dare to refuse their assent to it. The constitution, though framed and accepted, stood yet upon a tottering foundation. The most upright men in the convention felt themselves in danger from that violent party still prevailing, and with which they had no other expedient to compromise for their own safety, than consenting to this inequitable law, in hope however of some auspicious opportunity to repeal it. This opportunity was arrived, and every motive concurred to induce the legislature to rescind an act replete with cruelty and scandal. It was well known, that those, whom it affected, had been falsely held out to the public, as enemies to the state, and their names, together with those of their relations, wantonly inserted in the list of emigrants, while it

it was notorious that many of the unfortunate individuals, thus introduced, were locked up in prisons, where calumny and suspicion were at that tyrannical period sufficient reasons to confine and to treat them with the most unfeeling barbarity. But were it only out of respect for the rights of the people at large, a law should be abrogated, that took from them the constitutional right of chusing to places and dignities in the state, those whom they reputed worthy of their confidence. To deny them this right, was to abridge them of their liberties in a most essential point. To plead the safety of the nation was the language of tyranny, and would justify every species of despotism. What crimes had not been committed by the sanguinary tribunals, erected on the pretence of punishing the foes to the revolution?

To these, and other arguments, in favour of a repeal, it was replied, by the supporters of the law, that it passed at a time when it was deemed indispensable for the preservation of the national freedom, and the security of the constitution just established. Its numerous and active enemies were every where in motion, and striving with all their might to set the people against it. Suspicions were warrantable motives to exclude those on whom they fell, at a time when so many were justly suspected, from stations of power and trust, wherein they might have acted so hostile a part to the commonwealth. Would it have been prudent to expose it to such danger at home, while menaced by so many foes from abroad? Allowing that a number of individuals suffered unjustly by this law, was not this a much less inconvenience than to

throw the whole nation at once into the hands of so many concealed enemies? But the suffering, so bitterly complained of, amounted only to a temporary suspension of their rights, of which they would undergo the deprivation no longer than the short space that might elapse till the restoration of general tranquillity. As soon as peace was re-established, both at home and abroad, the suspension of all privileges would cease, and every man be placed on the completest footing of equality, in respect of pretensions to public employments. But till that period, it were the height of imprudence to place confidence in any but the tried friends to the commonwealth. The promotion of others would unavoidably excite fears and jealousies. With what prospect of impartial justice could the relations of emigrants be entrusted with the execution of the severe, but necessary, laws enacted against them? Instances might occur, in the present situation of things, when not only the liberty and property, but the very life of the dearest relative would be at stake: was it to be expected that the ties of consanguinity would not have their influence on these occasions, and that a man coolly and determinately would doom another to death, whose life was as dear to him as his own? In this light, the law, so violently reprobated, was in fact humane and merciful: it exempted individuals from those terrible conflicts between the feelings of nature, and the dictates of duty, wherein they could neither yield to the one nor to the other, without incurring the imputation of betraying their trust, or of wanting humanity. When these various circum-

stances were duly considered, it must appear that the repeal of the law in question would be attended evidently with so many inconveniences, that no judicious and unbiassed person could require it. The interest of the public was not, in truth, more concerned in maintaining that law in its full vigour, than that of private families : both would equally suffer from its abolition. It would often happen that justice would not be done to the public, or that by doing it, men would embitter the remainder of their lives, and become objects either of general resentment or compassion. It being clear, therefore, that much more evil than good must flow from the repeal of the law ; and the security of the state being, at the same time, a motive that ought to supersede all others, that law could not with any propriety be abrogated. It was, at the same time, much to be suspected, that many of those, who recommended such a measure, acted from sinister motives, as nothing could be a stronger proof of its impropriety, than the satisfaction universally expressed, by the royalists, at such a question being brought before the two councils.

A multiplicity of other arguments were alleged by the contending parties, in which the public joined with an earnestness that shewed how much all men were convinced of the importance of the subject in debate. But the report of the committee seemed to carry an influence that could not, and ought not to be resisted. This was the opinion of the people at large, even more than of the council of five hundred, as the question against

the repeal was carried by a majority of only forty-four.

The minority, encouraged by this evidence of their strength, resolved, if it were not able to compass the repeal of the law of the third of Brumaire, (25th October, 1795,) so to modify its provisions, as to direct them equally at the partisans and instruments of the terrorists and jacobins ; and the royalists, who, after taking up arms against the republic, had submitted and been pardoned. The proposal of such an amendment proved highly exasperating to the supporters of that law, who asserted, that sufficient moderation had been shewn in exempting from its operation the actors and abettors in the insurrection against the conventional decrees for the re-elections. But the general disposition of the council was so strongly marked by impartiality on this occasion, that the amendment was carried, to the great surprise of the public ; the majority of which, though decidedly inclined to measures of lenity, was fearful of that preponderance of jacobinism, which had hitherto exerted so irresistible an influence over all the proceedings of the legislature.

The council of elders would willingly have consented to the total repeal of the law of the third Brumaire, and embraced, therefore, with readiness, an opportunity of mitigating its severity, by assenting to the amendment made by the council of five hundred.

This alteration of that severe law proved a matter of unexpected triumph to the moderate party, which constituted a large majority of the nation. The exclusion from posts of emolument, or of power, was

was a heavy blow on that sanguinary faction, which had ruled by terror. It lost thereby a multitude of its agents, whose crimes now rendered them ineligible to public employments, and many were, on the same account, obliged to vacate those which they possessed.

The discerning part of the public looked upon this event as a species of revolution, and formed the strongest hope that it would promote a reconciliation between the friends to a republican government, and those to a limited monarchy. Liberty being equally the aim of

both, it appeared not improbable that, if the latter could be satisfied of an earnest determination in the ruling powers to put an end to oppressive measures, the little prospect that now remained of subverting the established government, would induce them to submit to it, rather than renew those attempts to restore their own system, which had so repeatedly failed, not more through the rashness or incapacity of those who had conducted them, than the general repugnance of the nation to join them upon those occasions.

CHAP. XI.

Effects expected in France from a growing Spirit of Moderation.—The Chief Object in the Councils of France, how to break or to weaken the Power of England.—Plan of the French for that End.—Means for restoring the Pecuniary Credit of the French Republic.—A Rupture threatened between the French Councils and Executive Directory.—Prevented by the Necessity of their acting in Concert.—The Legislature invade the Province of the Directory, by the Appointment of a Committee for judging in Cases of Appeals from Emigrants.—Loftiness of the Directory.—Humbled by the wise Economy and Firmness of the United States of America.—Jealousies and Disputes between the French and Americans.—And an open Rupture.

THE spirit of lenity that seemed to have arisen and been nourished by the new constitution, began to operate powerfully in its favour, and to gain it daily fresh adherents. The people in France appeared in general extremely willing to support it, hoping that the period of internal confusions would thereby be accelerated, and that the European powers leagued against them, when they found that unanimity was re-established among the French, would cease to prosecute the war for the restoration of the house of Bourbon to the throne of France, against the manifest will of the nation.

The heads of the republic were now deeply occupied in the concerting of means to counteract the measures of that power, on the indefatigable efforts of which all the others depended for the support of their own. It was with unfeigned mortification that France beheld

that power unshaken and undiminished in the midst of the disasters that had befallen the other parts of the coalition. That invincible spirit, which had so many ages accompanied the councils and the arms of England, and enabled it to maintain so many contests with France, had, in the present, displayed greater energy than ever, and impressed several of the soundest politicians with an idea, that however the French republic might for a while diffuse the terror of its arms among the neighbouring states, the persevering courage of the English, aided by their immense opulence, would finally weary out the endeavours of the French to retain the acquisitions they had made; and, that notwithstanding the republic itself might remain, it would, on the issue of the terrible trial it had stood, be compelled to remit of the pretensions it had formed to prescribe terms of peace to all its numerous enemies, and to treat

treat at last upon a footing of equality with that one, which, while it remained unvanquished, would always prove an effectual obstacle to that plan of universal influence over all the governments of Europe, which France had, since the unexpected success of its arms, kept constantly in view.

However the French might exult in the triumphant career of their armies, it plainly appeared, by the sentiments repeatedly expressed by the principal speakers of the convention, and in the councils, and upon all public occasions, to be their intimate persuasion, however averse to avow it, that while England stood its ground, they would never totally accomplish those mighty schemes of conquest and influence. To execute them partially, would only involve them in perpetual quarrels with those powers whose interest required their depression, and whose cause England would never fail to support. Thus it was clear, that unless the strength of this ancient rival were effectually broken, and it were reduced to sue for peace on such terms as France should dictate, the proposed effect of so many victories would be frustrated, as the humiliation of all its other enemies would not secure to the republic those objects at which it avowedly aimed. The prolongation of the war, in order to attain these, might be attended with such vicissitudes of fortune, as would entirely change the circumstances of affairs, and oblige the republic, in its turn, to abate of its high pretensions, and even to compound for its existence, and the preservation of the ancient limits of France.

That these ideas frequently occurred to the most sagacious of the

French, is incontestible, from the various publications of the time, and no less from that remarkable anxiety with which their rulers canvassed every subject relating to England. How to compass its depression was the chief object of their councils; and every fortunate event that befel them, in their numerous enterprizes, employed their consideration in what manner to convert it to the detriment of England.

Among the various means of obtaining that important end, the annoyance of the English maritime commerce had long been tried, certainly not without some degree of success: but in no degree sufficient to weaken the naval power of England, which continued to rule the seas in every quarter of the globe, with irresistible sway. It was indeed from this very circumstance, that France derived a multiplicity of arguments in its manifestos and exhortations, both to its own people, and to the other nations of Europe. Their tendency was to prove, that England was the tyrant of the sea, and that all the European powers were interested in repressing that tyranny. To effect this, they ought to unite cordially with France, and second its endeavours to restore the freedom of the seas, by abridging, through every means in their power, the commercial resources of England. The actual strength of its navy was so great, that it could not at present be opposed with much hope of success: but other methods might be used, not less effectual in their ultimate issue, and these were in the option of every state. That the power which commanded the seas, commanded also the shores, and that naval power was of more importance than dominion at land,

had passed into a kind of political maxim for ages. It was, in fact, a superiority of naval power that subverted the Roman empire. The irruptions of the Gauls, the Cimbri, and Teutones, by land, were repelled, and might have been repelled had they been repeated. The necessity of subsistence drove them quickly to the necessity of committing their fortune to the issue of a battle, in which the invaded derived an advantage over the invaders from the possession, and from the knowledge of the country. But when the barbarians began to combine their military operations with naval expeditions; when stores, as well as troops, were poured upon the Roman frontier, from the Baltic, the Dwina, the Elbe, the Danube, and the Euxine seas, then, and not till then, they began to be wholly irresistible. It was the maritime habits, and the naval power of the Scandinavians, under the appellation of Normans, Danes, Picts, and other names, that enabled them, for the space of six hundred years, to harass, over-run, and rule the greater part of the sea-coasts of Europe. The trade of a pirate became an honourable profession. The sons of kings, at the head of pirates, sought and obtained at once settlements and renown. Since the revival of letters, the modern improvements in arts and sciences, and the vast extension of commerce, the superior importance of naval power seemed to be farther illustrated, and more certainly established.

It was not among the least striking instances of that fertility of imagination which supported the French under all difficulties, that they found means, as they conceived, to oppose power at land to

power at sea: to raise the naval power of France, and to undermine that of England, by excluding her trade from the great inlets of Europe. This would give England a blow from which it would not easily recover. It could not fail to produce an immediate alteration in its commercial circumstances; the depression of which would infallibly create a discouragement and despondency in the English government, that must induce it, at once, to remit of the haughtiness with which it exercised its naval superiority over other nations.

Such was the purport of the various publications issued by authority, or proceeding from the many individuals, who busied themselves with compositions of this nature. The impression which they made upon the generality of European states, was very feeble. None, indeed, appeared to pay them much attention, but those on which France possessed the forcible means of influence. The others were convinced, that the motives of the French, in those warm addresses to the continental powers, were dictated by selfish views, and that, were they to succeed in overthrowing the maritime power of England, they would doubtless transfer it to themselves, and employ it to the same ends to which they had so notoriously converted the superiority they had acquired at land.

It was doubtless inconsistent, on the ground of morality in the English nation, to arraign the ambition and tyranny of the French, while they themselves, pursued schemes of tyranny and ambition on the main ocean, and in every quarter of the globe. If the French were plunderers at land, the Eng-

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lish were plunderers on too many occasions, and dictators at sea. Still, however, they had done no more in the present war, than what had been authorized by long established custom; and under every restraint, a commercial correspondence with England had been, experimentally, found extremely profitable. If their industry enabled them to derive benefit from other nations, these also received no less profit from them. An exclusion of their trade would redound; therefore, equally to the detriment of both parties.

Foiled in their endeavours to shut all the European ports against the English, the French determined, however, to exclude them from those of which they had the command. A proclamation had been issued by the English government, permitting the exportation of merchandize to Flanders and Holland. But the Dutch convention was directed to publish a counter proclamation, prohibiting the importation of goods from England, under severe penalties; and enjoining the people of the united provinces to renounce all commerce with a nation that had treated them so inimically, and whose intentions were to deprive the Dutch republic of its trade, after depriving it of its ancient freedom, by the forcible establishment of a stadtholder. Having expelled a sovereign imposed upon them against their consent, they were bound in duty and honour to refuse all connections with those, who were endeavouring to subject them again to his yoke.

A similar prohibition of English manufactures had taken place in France, during the administration of Robespierre, and had for some time been strictly enforced. But

the advantages resulting from a commerce with England had gradually superseded the fear of offending against this prohibition; and it was little attended to at this time. A weighty motive for not-enforcing it was, the necessity of giving vent to the cargoes of the English vessels captured by the French privateers. But after the government in Holland had come to the determination of forbidding the entry of English goods, it thought itself the better entitled, to require the adoption of the like measure in France, as Holland, in adopting it, had complied with the requisition of the French government. This appeared so unanswerable a mode of reasoning, that the directory, however disinclined to compliance, found itself under the necessity of giving satisfaction to the Dutch confederates, who were so determined as to admit of no denial, that they threatened to rescind their resolutions, unless the same were taken by the French government.

The regulations proposed on this occasion were very severe; they not only prohibited the importation of English merchandize in future, but ordained the re-exportation of what had been imported. Harsh methods were, at the same time, adopted, to secure the observance of these regulations; and though they were unacceptable to multitudes, so intent was the legislature on diminishing the resources of England, that the prohibitory decree, together with the heavy penalties annexed to its infringement, was carried by a large majority.

Great were the expectations of the enemies to England, that this exclusion of its merchandize and

manufactures

manufactures would, in a short time, reduce it to such distress, as to disable it from carrying on the war, and oblige it to submit to any conditions, for the sake of recovering its trade. It cannot be denied that appearances militated strongly in favour of these consequences. Spain and Italy, two capital marts for the sale of English commodities, especially the first, were now almost entirely shut to their admission. Genoa and Leghorn, the two principal seats of the trade between England and Italy, were under the immediate controul of France; the former was compelled, through the terror of its arms, to exclude England from its ports, by a formal treaty to that purpose; and the latter was in the possession of a French garrison. Corsica was, at the same time, no longer in the hands of the English: but Naples and the papal territories still remained open to them in Italy; and Portugal afforded an ample channel for the introduction of every article of commerce from England, not only into that kingdom, but also into Spain, its adjoining neighbour, with which its immediate communication would always procure either an open or clandestine entrance for English merchandize of all kinds.

Thus, on a considerate examination of the consequences resulting from this famous decree, they did not meet the expectations of those who framed it. It was found that as power shut one door against commerce luxury opened another. Little was the diminution of the English trade to the southern parts of Europe, while in the north it remained uninterrupted. From this quarter it was that England drew the most essential articles it wanted. Hamburgh was a port,

which, while it continued open, would always prove an inlet for English goods to all parts of Germany: and the princes and states of the empire were no ways disposed to gratify the French with an exclusion of the English from that only medium of commercial communication between Germany and the other trading countries in Europe.

The disappointment of the French government, in the sanguine hope it had entertained of destroying the commerce, and through it the finances of England, was farther aggravated by the disorder of its own. Notwithstanding the indefatigable efforts used to place them on a footing of stability, temporary expedients were still the only props of government, which had no fixed prospect of supporting itself by other than precarious and uncertain means. But as these could not again be resorted to, the state still reverted to the dangerous situation it had just escaped, and was liable to experience still greater difficulties, from this successive abridgment of its remaining resources.

In this alarming situation the directory resolved to call a meeting of the great bankers and merchants, to consult with them on the means of restoring the pecuniary credit of the nation, and circular letters were dispatched to them for that purpose. On the tenth of December a message of a most pressing nature was sent to the council of five hundred. It was seriously urged by the directory, to come without delay to the assistance of the state, the wants of which were such, that if not immediately relieved, it would be exposed to certain ruin. The only remedy that could be proposed, in this extremity, was, to authorize the directory

rectory to receive the last instalment due on the sale of the national domains, amounting to eighty millions, and which, being payable in specie, might be appropriated with effect to the extinction of the debts that lay most heavy on government, and the liquidation of which appeared the most indispensable.

This message was communicated to a secret committee of the council of five hundred: but contrary to the expectations of the directory, it was treated with slight, and as undeserving of attention. Equally astonished and offended at this reception of a message, from which far different effects had been hoped, the directory published this transaction upon the following day, as an appeal to the public on the conduct of the council. But this step was judged to have been too hastily taken. It seemed intended to bring the council into disgrace, as refusing to concur with the directory in a necessary measure, and it evidently tended to occasion a variance between these two branches of government, an evil that ought of all others to be the most studiously avoided in the present circumstances of the nation.

The committee, thus brought forward before the public, exculpated itself for the rejection of this message, by asserting that it represented the state in a much more alarming situation than consisted with reality. Through care and economy all difficulties might be removed, and the directory had been no less faulty in exaggerating the difficulties of the nation, than imprudent in making them known to the world.

It was with much concern that the public beheld a rupture between the legislature and the executive department, which, unless it were

speedily healed, by the discretion of both parties, might be productive of the most serious evils. The necessity of acting in concert prevented farther altercation: but the council of five hundred became extremely watchful of the motions of the directory, and resolved to confine it with the utmost strictness, to the powers assigned to it by the constitution.

During the cruel administration of Robespierre, multitudes had fled to foreign countries, or concealed themselves in various parts of France, in order to escape the fate that would otherwise have attended them. The revolutionary committees of the districts to which they belonged, actuated by the barbarous spirit of the times, had entered the names of these unhappy persons on the list of emigrants, by which they were subjected to the punishments enacted by the law, against individuals of this description. After the overthrow of this sanguinary system, several decrees had been passed, to rescue those who had suffered unjustly, through its tyranny, from the wretched condition to which they had been reduced. Those who had expatriated themselves since the last of May, 1793, when this dreadful system commenced, were permitted to return to their country, and those who had been falsely entered on the list of emigrants, were cleared from the penalties annexed to emigration.

But, in the numbers that appealed to the laws, enacted to reinstate in their rights those who had been unjustly deprived of them, there were many who came strictly under the denomination of emigrants, but who found means, though partiality or bribery, to procure testimonials of their not having left France be-

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fore the administration of Rober-spierre. The appeals were made to the directory, which appointed commissioners to examine and decide of their validity: but these abused the powers committed to them in so glaring and scandalous a manner, and the directory appeared so remiss in calling them to account for their criminal behaviour, that the legislature thought itself bound to take the cognizance of these matters from the executive power, which, either through want of time or of inclination, did not pay them sufficient attention, and to appoint, for their investigation, a committee of its own members.

The public were not dissatisfied at the scrupulous vigilance of the councils over the directory; and at the spirit with which they animadverted upon their conduct, and restrained their powers when it was necessary for the safety of individuals. The number of which the directory consisted, though seemingly calculated to keep the active rulers of the state sufficiently divided among themselves, to prevent any one of them from engrossing the supreme authority, had not, however, in the opinion of many, provided against the combination of the members collectively, to grasp at sovereign power, and to overrule, through the weight and dignity attached to their office, the proceedings of the other departments of the state. It was therefore no less incumbent on these to repress the first attempts of that body, to exceed the limits of their constitutional powers, than upon the parliaments of Great Britain to keep a vigilant eye on the conduct of the monarch and his ministers, and on the states-general of Holland, to watch the steps of an aspiring stadtholder.

Such were the opinions of the discerning part of the public; nor did many scruple to avow their apprehensions, that, in consequence of the numerous appointments to places of trust and profit, confided to the directory, it would soon or late arrive at so great a power, as to form a party strong enough to control the legislature itself.

Whether this were effected through influence, or through force, the result would be the same: and the nation would be obliged to submit to absolute sway, like others that are governed despotically, by the crown and its agents, through the purchased and servile acquiescence of its representatives.

These surmises were not without foundation. The stateliness assumed by the directory, in its intercourse with foreign states, sufficiently indicated the lofty ideas they entertained of their importance, and how readily they would raise themselves to the summit of personal grandeur and uncontrolled power, in the management of all public affairs, unless their ambition were obviated by timely checks, which could not be too expeditiously employed against men who exhibited so early a disposition to aspire at an undue extension of their authority.

This loftiness of the directory had suffered no small degree of humiliation from the spirited conduct of the government of the united states of America. Full of the idea, that these owed their independence to France, the French bore with impatience and indignation that so great a benefit should be overlooked, and that, in this struggle for liberty with so many powers combined against them from every quarter in Europe, they should be forsaken by that people, in whose cause they

had acted with so much zeal and success.

But that which principally exasperated the French government was the treaty that had been lately negotiated between England and the American states, by their envoy in London, Mr. Jay. It was represented as so contrary to the treaties in force between them and France, as to amount almost to a denunciation of the amity subsisting between those two powers.

The resentment of the French hardly knew any bounds. The language held at Paris portended nothing less than the most signal revenge for what was termed an act of the basest ingratitude and perfidy. Instead of that cordiality which had taken place between the French and American governments, a distant and suspicious intercourse succeeded; and if the public voice of the people of France had been listened to, a rupture could not have failed to ensue.

It was retorted, on the part of the Americans, that as soon as the French republic had been established, it began to entertain a design to introduce a system perfectly similar to its own, into the United States, without consulting them, and in defiance of the constitution already settled among them. To this end, they commissioned their resident, Genet, to use all manner of artifice and intrigue, in order to pervert the dispositions of the commonalty, and to seduce them from their attachment and obedience to the existing government. He had carried his misconduct so far, as personally to insult the president of the congress, and endeavour to set him and that body at variance with the people. This agent of the French republic, had indeed been recalled

by his employers, but the seeds of mischief he had sown had produced their intended effect, in the divisions that had embroiled the Americans, and destroyed that unanimity of sentiments from which they had derived such internal tranquillity.

To these complaints the French replied, that the treaty of commerce with England had cancelled all pretensions of amity from America to France. It violated, in a positive and hostile manner, the treaty entered into by the French, in favour of the Americans, in the year 1778, by which the states agreed to guarantee the possessions of France in the West Indies: whereas, by the present treaty with England, the very furnishing of provisions to the French islands was allowed to be an illegal trade. Such a falling off from their professions of friendship and attachment to France, at a time when they ought to have been realised by actions, after having been so reiteratedly expressed in words, displayed in glaring colours the contemptible interestedness of the Americans, and proved them to be void of all principles but those of avarice and gain, and that to these they would sacrifice all consideration of honour and magnanimity.

Recriminations of this nature grew louder and more rancorous than ever, on the intelligence that the government of the united states had formally ratified this treaty. But fresh motives of inveteracy arose from the discoveries contained in a letter, written by the president of the congress to the American ambassador at Paris. This letter, which was dated from Philadelphia, the 22d of December, 1795, had been dispatched in a vessel that was wrecked on the coast of France. It was preserved with other papers,

and carried to the directory, by whom it was considered as indubitable proof of the inimical disposition of the American government to the French republic.

This letter, on a cool perusal, contained, however, no hostile designs against France. Its contents were chiefly complaints of the arbitrary proceedings of the British ministry respecting the trade of the United States. He directed Mr. Morris, who had quitted his embassy at Paris, and acted as American agent at London, to lay before the English ministry the imprudence, as well as the unjustifiableness of those proceedings, at a time when Great Britain ought to be particularly solicitous to retain the good will of the Americans, in order to induce them to receive favourably the treaty of commerce just concluded, but which met with a multitude of opponents, on account of the harsh measures that had been so unseasonably taken against the commerce and navigation of the United States. It was with difficulty he had stemmed the torrent of discontent and resentment that had arisen on this occasion, and prevented the party, that favoured the French, from carrying matters to extremities. His own views, in which he was seconded by the better sort, were peace and neutrality. These would, in the course of a few years, raise the United States to a condition of prosperity and power, that would render them formidable to all the world, and secure to them tranquillity at home, and respect from abroad.

Such was the general tenour of this famous letter, the interception of which was looked upon as so timely an occurrence for the interest

of France, by admonishing it to place no confidence in the Americans. But without the medium of this letter, the most judicious of the French were convinced that the interest of the Americans would lead them to act a neutral part in the contest between France and England, and that it would be highly impolitic in either of these to insist upon their acting any other.

The French government did not however relinquish the hope of a future connection with the United States. They grounded this expectation on the numbers of people there, who testified an aversion to all political ties with England, and whose republican disposition inclined them to espouse the cause of all who opposed the government of kings. They also relied on a change of men and measures in the American administration. The presidency, it was intimated to them by their American partisans, would, on a new election, be filled by another incumbent, less averse to an alliance with France than the present. These and other representations of a similar tendency, from the same quarter, induced the French government to dissemble the resentment it bore to the American for its partiality to England, and to extend it no farther than to treat the subjects of the united states, employed in their commerce and navigation, in the same manner in which these were treated by the English.

These misunderstandings, between France and the states of America, had, in some degree, been suspended by the recall of Mr. Morris from his French embassy, and replacing him by a man whose principles were more conformable to their own, and his person, therefore, more acceptable,

ble. This was Mr. Monroe, who was received with great respect and cordiality. But when this gentleman was recalled, and Mr. Pinkney appointed his successor, which was in November, 1796, the directory refused to admit him in that capacity, and suspended, at the same time, their own ambassador in America, Mr. Adet, who was ordered to lay before that government the complaints of the republic against its proceedings, and the determination to issue orders to the French ships of war to act towards the trading vessels of neutral states in the same manner that those states permitted themselves to be treated by the British navy.

In support of this determination, the directory alleged the seizure of French property, by the English, on board of American vessels, in the very ports of the United States, and through the connivance of their government. Such had been the regard paid to America, by the convention, at the commencement of this war, that while it declared lawful prize all English property found in neutral vessels, the shipping of the United States was excepted from this declaration. But the conduct of the English, in seizing the American ships laden with provisions on French account, had compelled the convention, through mere necessity, to rescind this act of indulgence, and to use the right of retaliation, by seizing English property in American vessels.

It was farther stated, by Mr. Adet, that American sailors were pressed into the service of the English, without reclamations being made, or even marks of disapprobation being manifested on the part of the American government. These and other

acts of partiality, amply justified the measures taken by the directory. When the United States thought proper to enforce the respect due to their flag by the English, the French would also treat it with the same degree of respect.

These remonstrances of the French resident were answered by stating to him, that, according to the terms of the treaty of 1778, neutral property had been declared secure in American vessels: but that no such stipulations were contained in the present treaty between England and America. But the propriety of this answer was pronounced inadmissible by the French. It was absurd, they said, that any state should assent to the continuance of a treaty, when they found it was to be converted into an instrument of the deepest injury to their interests. For the Americans to insist on the validity of such a treaty was an insult to the understanding of the French, to which it could not be expected they were either so unwise, or so pusillanimous, to submit; nor could the Americans reconcile to any principle of justice, or of honour, the breach of that article in the treaty with France, by which they had bound themselves to guarantee the French colonies, in the West Indies, against the attempts of the English.

The reciprocal jealousies excited by these various transactions were greatly heightened by the motives which were understood in France to have influenced the recall of Mr. Monroe from his embassy, and the nomination of Mr. Pinkney in his stead. These were the reputed partiality of the one to the French, and the contrary disposition of the other. When the former took leave of the directory, they did not omit this

this opportunity of declaring their sentiments on the situation of affairs between France and America. They assured him, that whatever differences had arisen between the ruling powers of both countries, the French still retained their esteem for the people of the United Provinces, of whose warmth and good will to the republic of France they were thoroughly convinced, as well as of their disinclination to coincide with the measures adopted by their government. They were not less careful in testifying their highest regard for his personal merit, and their warmest gratitude for the attachment he had unvariably displayed to the cause of liberty and the prosperity of France.

Such, however, was their resentment of the connection between the

English and the American governments, that they determined to gratify it, by treating the American minister with rudeness, if not with indignity. Not satisfied with having denied him the assumption of that character, they would not suffer him to remain at Paris as a private one. Herein they were, by many of their own people, severely censured, as having, without necessity, affronted an individual, come to them on a respectable mission, and widened thereby the breach between them and the state which he represented. Prudence, it was said, ought to have enjoined a contrary behaviour. They should have sought to have kept the door of reconciliation open, instead of striving to shut it in this arrogant and contemptuous manner.

CHAP. XII.

The Haughtiness of the Directory towards different Nations.—Particularly towards the Dutch, whom they consider, not as Confederates, but a conquered People.—Moderation of the Republic and preponderating Party in the United Provinces.—Batavian Convention.—Its Proceedings.—Affairs of Geneva.—Meeting of the National Institute of France.—Considered as an auspicious Omen of the Return of Peace and Reign of the Arts.—And Liberty of thinking and publishing on all Subjects.—The Alliance between the Church and Monarchy of France, in the End, ruinous to both.—The new, or constitutional, Clergy avow their Assent to the Separation of the Church from the State.—Yet venture to condemn some Things settled, or approved, by the republican Government.—But which they considered as adverse to the Dignity and Interests of the ecclesiastical Order.—The Settlement of ecclesiastical Affairs considered by the Generality of the French as a Matter of great Importance.

THE irritable temper of the directory was experienced by other governments beside the American. The court of Stockholm, which had, since the death of the late king Gustavus, explicitly renounced his projects against the French republic, and manifested favourable dispositions to it, had lately undergone an evident alteration. Some attributed this to the intrigues of Russia; others to the resentment of the Swedish government at the duplicity of the French, who had paid the subsidy they owed to Sweden, in drafts upon the Dutch republic, which they were conscious would not be honoured. Another motive of dissatisfaction to the directory was, the recall of baron Stäel, the Swedish ambassador, a friend to the republic, and the replacing him by Mr. Renhausen, a gentleman noted for his attachment

to the politics of Russia. The court of Sweden gave the directory to understand, that were he to be refused admission, the French envoy at Stockholm would be treated precisely in the same manner. But the directory ordered him, nevertheless, to quit Paris; not, however, without expressing the highest respect for the Swedish nation, the good-will of which it still sought to retain, notwithstanding this variance with its government. The French envoy at that court was, at the same time, directed to leave it; his residence there being no longer consistent with the honour of France, to the interest of which that court was become manifestly inimical, by its subserviency to Russia, the declared enemy to the French republic.

The king of Sardinia's ambassador had, in like manner, experienced the displeasure of the directory, for expressing

expressing his regret at the precipitation with which his master had concluded the treaty of peace with France; the terms of which, he said, would have been much less severe, had he waited for the more favourable opportunities that followed it. For having uttered words of that import, he was ordered to quit the territory of the republic. The Tuscan envoy was dismissed in the same manner, on account of the particular zeal he had testified in behalf of Lewis XVI.'s daughter, when she was permitted to leave France.

The court of Rome, when compelled by the victories of Buonaparte to solicit a suspension of arms, had sent commissioners to Paris, to negotiate a peace: but, in hope that the numerous reinforcements, which were coming from Germany to the Imperial army, would enable it to recover its losses, and expel the French from Italy, they studiously protracted the negociation, on pretence that they were not furnished with sufficient powers to conclude a definitive treaty. It was not till the successes of the French had put an end to these hopes, that they appeared desirous, as well as empowered, to come to a conclusion. But the directory, for answer, signified their immediate dismissal.

Notwithstanding the resolute and decisive conduct adopted by the directory, they found it necessary to abate of their peremptoriness with the Dutch; who, though strongly determined to remain united in interest with France, were not the less resolved to retain their national independence. The party that favoured and had called in the French, had done it solely with the view of securing their assistance for the sup-

pression of the stadtholdership, in which they had been formally promised the concurrence of the French republic. They were, for this motive, so zealous for the success of its arms, that, during the campaign of 1794, they had projected an insurrection in the principal towns of the Seven United Provinces, while the republican armies should advance, with all speed, to their support. Having communicated their designs to the French government, they doubted not of its readiness to second them, and prepared accordingly to execute the plans which they had formed in virtue of that expectation. But the uninterrupted career of victory, that had given so decided a superiority to the French over all their enemies, had also elated them in such a manner, that, looking upon the co-operation of their party, in Holland, as no longer of that importance which it had hitherto appeared to be, they now received its applications with a coldness, which plainly indicated that they considered the Dutch as a people that must submit to their own terms, and whom they now proposed to treat rather as being subdued by the arms of the French, than as confederated in the same cause.

Such were the dispositions of the French towards the Dutch, when they entered the United Provinces. The arbitrary manner, in which they imposed a multiplicity of heavy contributions upon the Dutch, was highly exasperating to the nation: but they were too prudent to exasperate men, who were determined to act as conquerors, and whom it was impossible to resist. They submitted, therefore, with that phlegmatic patience, which characterizes them

them in difficulties, and usually enables them to surmount the greatest, by giving way to the storm while it lasts, and reserving themselves for those auspicious opportunities of retrieving their affairs, that so seldom fail the vigilant and undespending.

In the mean time, the republican party, in Holland, resolved to conduct itself with so much temper to the adherents of that party, which it had opposed with so much firmness and perseverance, that they should have no cause to complain of its having made an improper use of the power it had newly acquired. The effects of this moderation were highly beneficial to both parties. It softened the grief of those who had been deprived of the government of their country, and induced them to be less hostile to those who had taken their places: and it procured for these a readiness in the generality of people to consider them as actuated by patriotic motives, and in no wise by private animosity towards their antagonists.

This conduct was the more remarkable, that the inhabitants of the provinces, though a large majority, was desirous of a change of government, differed materially in their opinions concerning that which was to succeed it. The party favouring the stadtholder was the least considerable. It consisted of the titled, or noble families, still remaining in the United Provinces; and chiefly depended upon the inferior classes, and the great number of foreigners, for the most part Germans, in the Dutch service. The mercantile and middle classes, and generally the people of opulence and property, were inclined to a republican system: but herein they differed among themselves as to the plan to be adopted.

Several preferred the antecedent one, that had subsisted from the demise of William III. king of Great Britain, and stadtholder, with such alteration as might secure it effectually from a re-establishment of that office, and render it more democratical: others recommended an immediate adoption of the precedents, which the French had fixed on as the most popular. These different parties contended with great warmth for the superior excellence of their various plans. But the necessity of settling some form of government, brought them, at last, after long and violent dispute, to the determination of calling a national convention. The provinces of Zealand and Frizeland, the two most considerable in the Dutch republic, next to that of Holland, made a long and obstinate opposition to this proposal. But they were, at length, prevailed upon to concur with the others on its expediency.

The year 1795 was consumed in altercations of this nature. But as soon as the national convention met, which was on the first of March, 1796, all parties agreed on a resolution to declare war against Great Britain, which they considered as having chiefly occasioned the many calamities that had befallen the United Provinces for a course of years. Through its influence over the stadtholder, the strength of the state had been perfidiously withheld from acting in defence of the trade and shipping of the republic, and its interests wholly sacrificed to those of England. During the whole duration of the American war, this had been done in despite and contempt of continual remonstrances and solicitations from the most respectable citizens in the commonwealth.

wealth. It was through the interference of England, leagued with Prussia, that the stadtholder, who had been expelled from the United Provinces, was restored in defiance of the manifest will of the Dutch. Thus a governor was imposed upon them, whom they could compare to no other than a lord-lieutenant of Ireland, or a stadtholder of some Prussian district. He was the mere agent of those two powers, by whose impulse he was guided, and by whose power he was upheld in his authority, which he exercised entirely according to their directions. Through their fatal influence, Holland had been precipitated into the present contest with France, against the well-known wishes of all the provinces, and upon pretences quite foreign to their interest. While this influence lasted, Holland could be viewed in no other light than as a dependence of England and Prussia. It was, therefore, incumbent on the national convention, to put an end to this slavish and ruinous connection with those two powers, but especially with England; which had, on the pretence of espousing the cause of the stadtholder, torn from the republic almost the whole of its possessions in the Indies and in America. What was still more insulting, the English ministry treated him avowedly as the sovereign of the Seven Provinces, though they must know that he was constitutionally no more than the captain-general of their armies, and the admiral in chief of their fleets. What was this but tyranny and usurpation in the extreme? The pretensions of Prussia were at an end by the treaty it had concluded with France: but those of England were in full vigour, and it eagerly seized every

opportunity of doing all the damage in its power to the people of the United Provinces; who had, therefore, the clearest right to consider it as their most inveterate enemy. On these considerations, which were obvious to all impartial minds, the national convention ought to call forth the whole strength of the nation, and use every effort to recover what England had so unjustly taken from it, rather by surprise than real prowess.

Such was the language of the republican party, in Holland, which, confiding in its strength, and on the support of the French, was determined to improve to the utmost the opportunity that now offered, of extinguishing radically, all the hopes and pretensions of the Orange family. In this determination, this party met with every encouragement from the directory, which anxiously stimulated it to form a constitution explicitly exclusive of a stadtholder.

The Dutch convention itself was sufficiently averse to the re-establishment of this office, which, new-modelled as it had been, by England and Prussia, was become, in fact, a sovereignty. But however unanimous on this point, they varied on several others. The former independence of the Seven Provinces on each other, and their separate and unconnected authority over their respective territories and people, had so long subsisted without impairing the general union, that it appeared to many unnecessary, if not dangerous, to make any alteration in this matter, as it would affect the mode of levying taxes, and burthen one province with the expences of another. To this it was replied, that a firm and indissoluble union,

union, which was the object principally required, could not be effected, while such a separation of interests was suffered to exist. It would open a door to perpetual variances, which might eventually endanger the very existence of the government they were about to establish, by breaking the principal bond of unity on which it was to be founded. After a multiplicity of debates upon this subject, the importance of a solid union of all the provinces, into one common state, appeared so indispensable, that it was unanimously agreed to on the first day of December, 1796. To remove the objection that had principally stood in the way of this decision, a commission of the most respectable members of the convention was appointed to examine and state the former debts of the respective provinces, and to consider of the most equitable and satisfactory manner of liquidating them, by providing for their extinction, and preserving, at the same time, uninjured, the rights and interests of all the parties concerned in this liquidation.

In all these transactions, the members of the Dutch convention were remarkably cautious in permitting no visible interference in their deliberations on the part of the French government. Its secret influence was well known; but the preservation of every form and external indication of freedom, was judged indispensable, in order to maintain the apparent dignity of the state, and, what was of more consequence in the eye of the discerning, to prevent the French themselves, at any future period, from pleading a right of interfering, from any acknowledged precedent. The directory was also very careful in abstaining from all

open and ostensible exercise of authority over this meeting. This would have invalidated their proceedings, and infringed the liberty which France boasted of having restored to the Dutch, in too glaring a manner, not to have excited their murmurs and resentment. For these reasons the directory affected every sentiment of respect for this national convention of the United Provinces, and treated it with every outward mark of their considering it as the representatives of an independent nation.

But the regard shewn, by France, to the republic of Holland, was measured solely by the consideration of its weight in the political scale, which, however depressed by circumstances, might still recover the level of its former importance. The directory did not extend the same deference to those whom it deemed more subjected to its power. This was remarkably evinced in its conduct towards Geneva. This little republic had invariably remained attached to the interests of the revolution in France, ever since its first breaking out; and had gone hand in hand with it through all its variations. Relying on these proofs of its fidelity, it now requested the directory to confirm its independence, by making it a clause in the treaties between France and other powers. But this request did not coincide with the views of the directory, which had, it seems, in contemplation the annexation of Geneva to the dominion of France. In pursuance of this project, an intimation was given to the Genevans, that their interest would be better consulted, and their freedom secured, by becoming a part of the French republic. This intimation was highly

ing to the Genevans; and the means taken to bring them to compliance were still more offensive. Disturbances and bloodshed were indirectly either promoted or countenanced, by some dark intrigues, with a view to make them sensible that the only remedy for those domestic confusions, was to throw themselves into the arms of the French. But this attempt was not successful; nor even approved by numbers of the French themselves. They condemned it as manifesting an ambition incompatible with those principles of moderation on which true republicans ought to value themselves, and which the French held forth to Europe as the maxims by which they had resolved to conduct themselves. Were Europe once convinced that the ancient system of conquest and encroachment on the territories of its neighbours, which had rendered France so odious under the monarchy, were to be continued under the republic, the necessity of self-defence would gradually unite every country against it: in which case, notwithstanding the brilliant career of its arms hitherto, patience and perseverance on the part of the numerous enemies that so unjustifiable a conduct would create, must in the end prevail, and both the glory and character of integrity, at which the French ought equally to aim in their political proceedings, would be forfeited.

In addition to these motives, for abstaining from a forced incorporation of Geneva with France, it was urged that the inhabitants of that city and its territory, though forming but a small state, were so jealous of their independency, that they would never consent to resign it. The

very circumscription of that state, made every member of it the more sensible of his personal weight in its affairs, and of the freedom which he enjoyed. To deprive him of the satisfaction arising from such a situation, would be a wanton exertion of the superior strength of the republic, which would redound much more to its disgrace than benefit. Stung with rage at a treatment which they did not deserve, the citizens of Geneva would desert it, and carry to other countries that industry to which alone it owed its flourishing situation during so many years. The mere possession of the place itself would prove a poor recompense for the expulsion of its inhabitants, which, however indirectly effected, would not be the less real. In the mean while, they would exhibit, in the various places of their voluntary banishment, living proofs of the ambition and tyranny of France. The nearest of its neighbours would see their own destiny in that of those unhappy fugitives, and learn from thence the obligation they were under, of embracing one of these two alternatives: either of submitting to the like treatment, or of preparing manfully to resist it. Of those who would be constrained, to adopt this resolution, the first would be the Swiss, a people noted for ages on account of their love of liberty, and of their astonishing achievements in its defence. Such a people, if united, France would find a formidable enemy: nor was it indeed to be supposed they would tamely behold the annexation of Geneva to France, by compulsory means, nor even by the voluntary concession of its inhabitants. They were bound, in the former of these cases, to assist them, and in the latter they

they would hardly permit such an acquisition to France in so near a neighbourhood, and of so dangerous a tendency, without seriously interposing to prevent it. This, of course, must be attended with consequences of which the ultimate issue could not be ascertained, but which would undoubtedly be productive of many calamities.

Arguments of this nature were indiscriminately used by the Genevans, the many French individuals that espoused their cause, and by those persons in Switzerland, who foresaw the difficulties, wherein the Helvetic body must necessarily be involved, were the directory to persist in so unequitable a project. It was therefore abandoned: but the iniquitous ambition that had prompted it still remaining ungratified, sought a revenge for its disappointment, in the harsh usage of the several agents deputed from Geneva to Paris, whom it ignominiously expelled from that city, on no other pretence, than that they did not come with those friendly views that became the state which sent them. But the Genevans, undiscouraged by this treatment, persevered unremittently in the determination to remain a separate state, and continued to labour with the more vigour in improving the government they had established, when they found themselves countenanced by the moderate party in France, which, happily for them, was the most numerous.

The motives that were thought to have actuated the directory in a transaction, from which they reaped finally so little honour, were the desire to signalize themselves by the acquisition of a state, which, however inconsiderable in strength and

extent, had obtained a highly deserved reputation throughout Europe; by the industry and ingenuity of its inhabitants; and, more than all, by the distinguished figure it had maintained, and the high spirit it had displayed, in those active and tempestuous scenes that were produced by the reformation. It had long been considered as the original seat of Calvinism, and the rival of Rome itself in matters of religion. Here the famous founder of that sect lived and died, after having, by his unconquerable courage, laid the foundation of the most resolute association of men that ever figured in modern ages. From the principles which he inculcated, arose that reformation in religion which was grafted on republican maxims. Hence it was immediately adopted by all that aspired at freedom. It filled France with the most intrepid asserters of civil as well as religious rights. It spread into the low countries, where it erected the republic of Holland. It made its way into England and Scotland, where it gradually animated the inquisitive and daring spirits of the last century in this country to those researches into the nature of government, and to those exertions in the cause of national freedom, which, had not fanaticism intervened, would probably have terminated so happily for all parties. Geneva, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, had been the central point of communication between the principal actors of this high-spirited party. Beza, a far greater character than Calvin, no less inflexible, but much less austere, added lustre and importance to this place, by his learning and many other respectable qualities. He con-

tinued like him the oracle of his party, and was visited and consulted by all the great champions it produced, both in arms and literature. All these circumstances conferred a splendour upon Geneva, that entitled it to great distinction. The first kings and states in Europe, of the protestant persuasion, treated it unanimously with every mark of respect, and it continued on this honourable footing even during the reign of Lewis the fourteenth, who strove several times in vain to subdue the spirit with which it resisted his attempts to influence its government. The annexation of so celebrated a state to the French empire appeared to the directory an object worthy of their attention, and they were seriously chagrined at their failure.

A compensation for their disappointment offered itself, about the same time, in a province, wherein they might claim a better right to exercise their sway, and from which both they and their countrymen would derive more honour and profit. This was the province of science and literature, that had remained neglected during the confusions attending the antecedent periods of the revolution. The necessity of reviving the spirit of genius, that had lain awhile dormant, or had only been busied in the arts of destruction, roused at once the attention of government, and of the whole nation. The great numbers of literary men in France, exerted themselves, on this occasion, with the most commendable zeal. Setting aside all partialities, on religious and political accounts, they cordially united in prosecuting the plan proposed by the ruling powers, for a regular cultivation of all those depart-

ments of knowledge and polite learning, that conduce to the utility and glory of a nation.

Desirous of giving this revival of the encouragements, due to literature, all the solemnity of which it was susceptible, the directory appointed the fourth of April, 1796, for a public meeting of all the members of the national institute, established the preceding year, at the æra of the new constitution. The meeting was held in the largest hall of the ancient palace of the Louvre. All the literati, and all the men of genius and reputation in the polite and liberal arts attended. The directory, the councils, and all persons in the principal departments of government were present, together with the foreign ministers, and as many spectators as the hall could contain. The purpose of the meeting was formally announced, in a speech made by the president of the directory. France, he said, delivered from past miseries, had now resolved to revive those arts, through the cultivation of which the nation had risen to so high a degree of reputation, and commanded the respect of all Europe. It was the determination of government, to pay them all the attention, and give them all the encouragement and recompense which they could possibly claim from a free and enlightened people. The president of the national institute, citizen Dusaulx, replied, in the name of his brethren that they were all equally animated with the love of freedom, of knowledge, and of arts; that they were firmly attached to the republic from principle, and the consciousness that in the bosom of freedom all those great sentiments are generated and nurtured, that dignify human nature

and constitute the true grandeur of nations.

The solemnity of this day, and the hopes it inspired, that a renewal was at hand of the arts and occupations of peace, filled the public with the highest satisfaction. Discerning people observed, on this occasion, that the liberty of thinking and publishing, so carefully fettered under the former government, was an advantage of much more consequence than the generality seemed to perceive. Exclusively of those apprehensions for personal safety, which were now removed, remunerations would flow in equal proportion to persons of all religious persuasions, and neither dignity nor income would be appropriated to any particular sect. This would at once destroy all other motives, in the investigation of truth, than that of arriving at a discovery. While the champions of only one sect were salaried for maintaining its doctrines, and all others precluded from opposing them, by the severest penalties, with what face could any man pretend to assert their rectitude? It was solely by freedom of disquisition that truth was discoverable: and the most valuable consequence of the revolution was the abrogation of that exclusive privilege, which ignorance and imbecility had conferred upon the clergy of the established church, that of silencing, without any other argument than threats and terror, all those who dared to dissent from their opinions.

The fact, at this period, was, that though a prodigious mass of the French nation still remained enslaved to the Romish tenets, multitudes in all classes had imbibed a propensity to think and speak on subjects relating to religion, with

the most boundless restraint: as these latter had been experimentally found the staunchest friends to liberty, and the former its most inveterate foes, it was natural to conclude, that the ecclesiastics, adhering to the church of Rome, who were the spiritual guides of these, were also the instigators of this rancour. Hence the strictness and severity with which they were constantly watched. Hence too the averseness of the constituted authorities, to permit any species of authority to reside in any ecclesiastical body, lest, as the experience of all times had invariably shewn, it should gradually obtain an influence over the minds of men incompatible with the rights of government.

The spirit that brought about the revolution was in direct opposition to those claims of implicit belief, on which all spiritual authority is founded. While the monarchy continued part of the constitution, finding the priesthood, either from interest or bigotry, its most faithful and firmest supporters, it repaid their assistance with its own. It was this alliance, between the church and the crown, that finally ruined both; and induced their destroyers to consider them as inimical, from their very essence, to political liberty; and inadmissible, on this account, into any system founded on that principle. After the king's death, the clergy underwent the severest persecution, those only excepted who had taken the oaths of fidelity to the republic. During the stormy and tyrannical government of Robespierre, the civil establishment of the Gallican church was formally annulled, and even those ecclesiastics, who adhered to the republican government, were deprived of the

regular maintenance hitherto allowed them.

After the fall of the tyrant, the convention decreed a variety of mitigations in the laws that had been enacted against the nonjuring clergy. It proclaimed the fullest liberty of worship, and required no other than a simple declaration of submission to the laws, from those clergymen who exercised their professional functions, together with an acknowledgment of the sovereignty of the people. But those who subscribed to these conditions, together with their followers, were brauded, by the nonjuring clergy and their adherents, as guilty of apostacy. Much of that spiritual antipathy took place between those dissenting parties, which has so long proved the disgrace and the bane of religion. But the ruling powers, faithful to their determination of impartiality, paid no attention to those dissensions; and as they had formally declared, that no particular mode of worship should be maintained at the public expence, nor be protected exclusively to any other, they went no farther than to prevent those animosities from breaking out to the disturbance of the peace of the community; and to this end enacted penalties to punish and repress them.

As that part of the French clergy and nation, which openly professed allegiance to government, by conforming to its ordinances, and making the declarations prescribed, could not fail of being viewed with a favourable eye, it ventured to take some steps which were thought hazardous, in the opinion of those who dreaded the jealousy they might occasion. A meeting of

some of those bishops, who were called constitutional, from their having taken the civic oaths enjoined by the constituent assembly, so styled from having framed the first constitution, was held in the beginning of 1795, in order to consult how to restore order and regularity in the worship and discipline of the church, and to replace it on a footing of stability, after the confusions that had so violently disturbed its peace. They made a declaration, at the same time, which was highly acceptable to the friends of harmony and universal toleration in religious matters. They frankly and explicitly avowed their assent to the separation of the church from the state, acknowledging it to be the most effectual means of eradicating those corruptions and scandalous practices that had been produced by their union, and so deplorably tainted that purity of manners, and integrity of life, which ought to accompany the ecclesiastical profession. Religion, they said, when unconnected with politics, would resume that influence over mankind, which arises from innocence and virtue. The great and the powerful would respect it the more for demanding from them only the protection of the state in return for its obedience and conformity to the laws of the land.

These were declarations very uncommon in the ecclesiastical assemblies of modern ages. But numbers of the most zealous friends to Christianity, applauded them with fervent sincerity, as tending to divest religion of those appendages, which made it doubtful whether its asserters and followers were influenced by conviction, or by interest; and to bring it back to the principles,

ples, temper, and views of Jesus Christ, the apostles and primitive Christians. At the same time; it was observed, as well it might be, that the constitutional reforming clergy were as much to be suspected as any of the old clergy, in the preceding period of private or selfish passions. It is something carnal and develish, not pure, disinterested, and benevolent, that is, for the most part, at the bottom of that zeal which is manifested for the overthrow of religious establishments. The new clergy past severe censures upon those ecclesiastics who had swerved from their religion, or violated its discipline, or the vows they had made, and the obligations they had contracted on their entrance into the service of the church. They published also some pastoral letters, containing their sentiments on several points of consequence. They disclaimed all temporal authority, declaring the government of the Christian republic to be purely spiritual. Charity was its essential character, and it required no submission to its precepts, that was not warranted by reason. Its true spirit was moderation, and the very reverse of tyranny. They asserted, however, at the same time, that the authority of the church was vested in the episcopal order, but rejected the supremacy of the pope, allowing him only the first rank among the bishops.

Notwithstanding the caution which the circumstances of the times imposed upon them, they scrupled not to condemn some things that were sanctioned by the law. They severely reprobated those relating to divorce, and censured no less violently the matrimonial connections, formed by ecclesiastics, during the disorders of the revolu-

tion, and the licentiousness of manners it had occasioned. They stigmatized, as guilty of sacrilege, those laymen who had taken upon them to officiate as the ministers of religion, in the meetings held for the celebration of divine service, and in the absence of regular clergymen. This latter was deemed an act of unseasonable severity, by the impartial, who disregarding the scrupulous nicety that dictated it, thought that it betrayed too marked a prepossession for the dignity of the ecclesiastical order. This occasional exercise of the priestly function was denominated laicism, and represented as sacrilegious usurpation of the sacerdotal rights.

The ultimate intent of the constitutional prelates, who had been concerned in those meetings and publications, was, to procure a convention of a more numerous assembly than their own, which consisted only of thirty-four, in order to settle definitively the affairs of the Gallican church: but the government did not incline to permit the formation of any body of men into a national synod or council. It apprehended that the claims of such a meeting might be such, and its influence so prevailing, as to endanger the authority of the state, and to create disturbances that might lead to serious consequences. The advocates of government pleaded on this occasion the precedent of England, where the convocation of its bishops and clergy has for many years, though suffered to meet, been prohibited to act. For these reasons, the directory ordered a number of ecclesiastics, met for the purpose of holding a synod, to be dispersed: this happened in the month of March, 1796; since when,

no other meeting of this nature has been attempted.

The public approved this exertion of authority, without inquiring into the reasons alleged by those who argued for the propriety of these meetings. They dreaded that spirit of obstinacy with which the generality of divines are apt to maintain their opinions, and to disregard the mischiefs that may be occasioned by insisting on the obligation of receiving them as orthodox, and binding on the consciences of men. Though the revolution had diminished, in a great measure, the superstitious disposition of the times, enough remained to set the nation in flames; and it was the duty of its rulers to discountenance and suppress all religious discussions of this kind, which invariably tended to involve men in quarrels, and seldom elucidated the subjects about which they contended.

The conforming and the nonjuring clergy fully confirmed these apprehensions, by the animosity they reciprocally displayed. The latter especially exhibited scenes of bigotry, that could not have been exceeded in the darkest ages. Those who abjured the party of their antagonists, were not admitted into the congregation of the faithful, as they styled themselves, until they had been formally exorcised: a ceremony which they deemed necessary to expel the evil spirit that might still be lurking within them. But what was still more scandalous, as well as more absurd, they would sometimes dig out of their graves the bodies of those who had been buried by conformists, and give them a fresh interment, in order to insure their repose.

Such absurdities, at the close of

the eighteenth century, amply refuted the assertions of those who represented the clergy of France as a rational and enlightened body of men. This might be true of numbers; but till the revolution had empowered men to think, an incomparable majority of both clergy and laity were plunged in the deepest ignorance and credulity. Some have thought there was more of hypocrisy than persuasion among the former: but their late sufferings have proved their sincerity.

The conforming clergy seem, however, to gain ground. Their tenets appear more reasonable to the reflecting, and several of them are also decided republicans. Christianity has been by some of them described as the great charter of the original rights of man, and the union of church and state as anti-Christian, and inimical to liberty. While such principles are avowed by ecclesiastics, and countenanced by government, it can hardly be doubted but they will finally preponderate; the sooner indeed, that all ideas of persecution are dropped, and the fanatical party left to indulge in all its extravagancies, without the least notice on the part of the state, which treats them with a silent contempt, that more effectually exposes them to ridicule, than could be done by the measures of restraint.

This revolutionary spirit, in religious matters, was not, in the mean time, confined to France. It had long been making a concealed progress in Italy and Germany, and the French revolution gave it fresh vigour. In the Austrian Netherlands, the influence of the Romish clergy, and the submissive disposition of the natives, in the concerns of religion

ligion, preserved it from alterations. But, in the united provinces, the freedom allowed to all persuasions had so completely paved the way for innovations of this kind, that, on the irruption of the French, and the revolution effected in the Dutch government, the religion of the state was immediately abolished, and all sects declared upon a footing of equality. The stipends of their respective ministers were to be paid by their followers, and no other interference exercised by the ruling power, than to maintain liberty of worship to all who paid obedience to the laws of the country.

A system so new to the ideas of all the nations in Europe, so repugnant to the temporal interests of an immense portion of the established clergy, and reputed by numbers in all classes so inimical to religion itself, could not fail to call forth the indignation of multitudes. The approbation of perhaps a majority of those literary men, who are not members of the ecclesiastical body, has powerfully conduced to give this new system a considerable degree of popularity. As it does not appear hostile to Christianity itself, few, if any, of those sects that are not connected with the state, by a regular establishment, can be supposed inimical to the introduction of it into countries, where they exist themselves merely upon sufferance, and certainly can lose nothing by being placed on a level with all other sectaries, in point of emolument and importance. The Roman catholic states, being all monarchical, are those that have hitherto opposed it with most violence: as the ecclesiastical establishments there, form part of the political system, a

disjunction of the church from the state cannot be effected, without considerably weakening the latter; the authority of which depends essentially on the support given it by the former, whose attachment, therefore, is remunerated and secured, by the riches and splendor annexed to it. Opinion being the foundation of all power, and ecclesiastics in those countries possessing a notorious influence over the community, sovereigns are too sensible of their own interest to suffer the dissolution of a tie, that binds their subjects to them so efficaciously, and will, therefore, strenuously exert themselves to prevent the propagation of a system, that would deprive them of such able defenders.

The settlement of ecclesiastical affairs, in France, was considered, by most men, as an object of the highest importance. Though great liberty was assumed by numbers, in the exercise of that latitude of thinking, which was countenanced by the ruling powers, and the spirit of the constitution, and who paid little regard to the interest of religion: yet the majority, throughout the nation, were extremely desirous to see a total and unfettered freedom of worship granted to all persons who submitted to the established system. The government was so thoroughly convinced of the necessity of coinciding with the general sense of the community on this subject, that, notwithstanding the multiplicity of weighty concerns that occupied it in the course of this year, it carefully bestowed its attention upon the termination of this business. The satisfaction expressed by the public, on this account, proved the rectitude of the measures they had adopted

CHAP. XIII.

In France, a General wish for Peace.—But the Popularity of the War with England still continued.—Overture of Peace from England to the French Republic.—Negociation for Peace at Paris.—Abruptly broken off.—Affairs, Maritime and Colonial, French and British.—Infidelity of the French Government to their Engagements to the Dutch.—French Preparations and Expedition for an Invasion of Ireland.—Defeated.—The Death of Catherine II.—And the Resignation of General Washington.

THE directory were very sensible that, after the pacification which they had in so great a measure effected in the affairs of religion, the nation would expect that they should proceed with equal solicitude to restore peace between the state and its numerous enemies: victories enough had been obtained to teach these the inefficacy of their endeavours to subvert the system now settled in France; the adherence to which, by the mass of the people, was sufficiently proved, by the zeal with which they supported it, and the sufferings to which they had cheerfully submitted, during the struggle against its many and potent adversaries. It was time to come to a conclusion of so destructive a war, and to conclude a peace upon reasonable conditions.

This was a language that began to diffuse itself every where. The popularity of the war against England, which was looked upon as the power under the auspices of which it had been chiefly promoted, was not diminished: but as the ruinous expences of this terrible contest,

had proved so fruitless, for the purpose proposed by this ancient rival, it was now hoped that he would desist from attempts that had already cost him so much blood and treasure. To persist in them, must finally plunge him into far more serious difficulties than he had yet encountered. His resources, however great, were not sufficient to subsidize the immense combination of powers that he must bring into action. He might keep them together some time longer; but the greatness of his efforts must necessarily exhaust him, and he would then be compelled to agree to a much more disadvantageous peace, than if he were willing, while yet on a respectable footing, to enter into pacific negotiations.

Such were the sentiments of the moderate party in France, but there were others who entertained no other ideas, than of an entire subjugation of England. To humble it would not satisfy them. The French, in their opinion, were entitled to wreak the most signal vengeance on a people that had excited all Europe against them, that had
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loaded them with the most opprobrious aspersions, that had sought their utter ruin, and not only to deprive them of their hard-earned liberty, but to parcel them out among the European despots. Fortune having declared for the republicans, it was equally their duty and their interest to inflict the severest punishment on those who had formed so iniquitous a design. While England subsisted, it would prove an everlasting and irreconcilable enemy. It would unite with every power that harboured malevolent intentions to France. It would foment and support that rebellious and fanatic party among the French which thought itself bound, in conscience, to oppose the present government, and to restore the house of Bourbon. No medium remained between a precarious existence of the republic, and the total reduction of England. Having forced all their other enemies to submit, it were shameful to suffer this, their most deadly one, to retain the power of compelling them to undergo another trial for their independence.

With arguments of this kind did the violent among the republicans plead for the propriety of making an attempt upon England itself; alleging, at the same time, the number of partisans and well-wishers the republic might rely upon, among the English malcontents; whose numbers were immense, and daily augmenting, through the pressures which the war incessantly accumulated upon the nation.

But that circumstance which most irritated all parties in France at this juncture, and destroyed the confidence of their government in the good faith of that of England,

was the mission of Mr. Hammond, to Berlin, in order to procure, as they firmly asserted, the re-union of Prussia to the coalition. His failure, they said, was the real cause of the English ministry's determination to make overtures for a treaty.

Influenced by this suspicion, though the Directory permitted the French ministry for foreign affairs to grant a passport for an agent from England, at the request of the English ministry, yet this was done much more to obviate the complaints that would have arisen upon their refusal, than from any expectation of a prosperous issue to the negotiation.

Lord Malmsbury, the person commissioned on the part of Great Britain, to negotiate a peace with France, arrived at Paris, on the twenty-second of October, and was, on his arrival, received by the people of that city with every demonstration of joy: but the government, far from treating him with cordiality, indirectly countenanced a variety of surmises, so prejudicial to his errand and official character, that he was necessitated formally to complain of them, before it thought proper to silence and disavow them.

The negotiation was opened, on the twenty-fourth of October, by lord Malmsbury's proposing to De la Croix, the French minister of the foreign department, to fix upon some principles whereon to found the conditions of the treaty, and recommending that of reciprocal restoration of what had been lost and taken by each of the Belligerent parties, as the most usually adopted on such occasions. He observed, that Great Britain having, in the course of this war, made conquests upon France of the highest value
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and consequence, was not in the case of requiring restitutions for itself; but France having made large acquisitions on the allies of Great Britain, the objects of the negotiation seemed, of course, to be the compensations that France might expect, for the restitutions it would make.

To this proposal of the English ambassador, it was replied, by the directory, that the accession of other powers to a business, which he was authorised to transact separately between Great Britain and France, would essentially retard the progress of the negotiation, as he had no commission from those allies to act in their behalf. But that to prove their readiness to embrace every means of reconciliation, they would consent, on his procuring credentials to that purpose, from those allies, to take into consideration any specific proposals he should lay before them.

This answer was accompanied with explicit insinuations, that the intention of the British ministry was, by the semblance of a general negotiation, to prevent other powers from making their particular proposals, and, at the same time, to induce the English nation to supply the government with the means of continuing the war, from a persuasion that the French had refused to make a peace.

The British minister's reply was, that he had not been commissioned to enter upon a separate treaty; that Great Britain proposed to make a common cause in this transaction with its allies, and that to wait for powers from these, before any discussions on the subjects to be proposed should take place, was perfectly unnecessary.

The directory rejoined, by taking notice, that the respective situation of France, and of its remaining enemies, ought to be duly considered in the demands of the latter for restitutions. The strength of these had been diminished by their losses, and the desertion of their associates, who had not only abandoned the coalition, but were now become the allies of France, or observed a strict neutrality. These, it was insinuated, were circumstances very unfavourable to the restitutions hinted at by the British negotiator.

After a variety of farther assertions and replications on both sides, the directory at length agreed to the principle laid down by lord Malmsbury, and required a specific mention of the compensations he had alluded to. He replied, by proposing the restitution of what had been taken from the emperor, and peace to be negotiated with him for the empire, as its constitutional head: the accession of Russia to the present treaty; and Portugal to be included in it, without any demands of indemnity by France. In return for these concessions, Great Britain consented to restore its conquests in both the Indies; provided however it received an equivalent for that portion of the island of Hispaniola, ceded by Spain to France. The restoration of the prince of Orange, to the Stadtholdership of the Seven United Provinces, was also required, in consideration of which Great Britain would restore most of its acquisitions from them.

To these outlines of the pacification proposed, the directory answered, by requiring the whole of his demands to be stated to them in twenty-four hours. To this peremptory

tory requisition he replied, that it precluded at once all farther negotiation: that, if they disapproved of his propositions, or refused to take them into consideration, they ought to bring forward their own, that he might lay them before his constituents. But he received no other answer, than that they could listen to no terms inconsistent with the constitution, and the engagements formed by the republic. It was signified to him, at the same time, that being obliged to consult the British ministry, previously to all replies and communications, it evidently appeared that his powers were inadequate to the conducting of a treaty, which might, if the British ministry were inclined to pacific measures, and determined to treat on their present plan, be as well forwarded by an epistolary correspondence. Lord Malmsbury's, they sarcastically observed, was a negotiation of couriers and messages. This republican rudeness strongly marked the subversion of the French monarchy. His residence therefore in Paris being totally unnecessary, they ordered him to depart in forty-eight hours. This injunction was notified to him on the twentieth of December.

Thus ended a negotiation, of which no hopes had been entertained, from the manner in which it commenced, and was carried on. Politicians thought that too much was demanded of the French, and that they were disposed to grant too little. The truth was, that neither the British, nor the French, government, were sincerely disposed to peace; though a shew of pacific inclinations was necessary to both, in order to preserve any tolerable degree of popularity, and even to the endurance of their sway among their respective nations. Circum-

stances greatly favoured the French, exclusively of their successes in Italy. The German princes and states, alarmed at the re-assumption of its former loftiness of style by the court of Vienna, on the expulsion of the French from the empire, were confirmed in their adherence to Prussia, as a counterbalance to the power of Austria. Both the court of Berlin and Petersburg had united, on this occasion, in espousing their cause. Thus, though the emperor continued steadfast in his engagements with England, still the union formed against him, in the empire, diminished considerably his importance. Spain too, at this period, was in league with France, and preparing a formidable armament against England. The councils of the Batavian republic, the new style of the Seven United Provinces, were so firmly interwoven with those of the French republic, that a re-establishment of their former government was become inadmissible in any treaty.

Notwithstanding these manifold advantages, numbers in France did not contentedly see the dismissal of lord Malmsbury, thinking that possibly a fairer opportunity of concluding a beneficial peace, would not recur. The events of war had hitherto been so much more prosperous than could be expected, that they ought to have been improved, while their influence was in full strength from their being recent, and the fortune of the state should not have been committed to the future contingencies of war, the chances of which were so uncertain and precarious.

In order to screen themselves from these strictures, which most people deemed not ill-founded, the directory published an elaborate apology for their conduct, wherein they

they endeavoured to criminate that of the British ministry in the late negociation. They enumerated the conquests and victories of the French, the glory they had obtained, the connections they had formed, and the treaties they had concluded. They represented that ministry, as insisting upon the dissolution of every honourable and beneficial tie they had contracted. Every advantage was to be given up, and the enemies of the republic replaced on the same footing as before the war, and completely enabled to renew it with the likeliest prospect of success. France, in a word, was to renounce its honour and its reputation, as well as its dearest interests, and tamely forego all those claims to which the triumphs obtained by its arms had given it so reasonable and incontestible a right. The apology concluded with menaces to England, and exhortations to the people of France, to persevere unremittingly in the prosecution of the war, which could not fail to terminate gloriously for the republic, and to the merited humiliation of a foe, that presumed to dictate conditions to a state that had imposed its own terms on every other member of the coalition.

This address, by the directory, so well calculated to operate on the national vanity of Frenchmen, and a vulgar passion for false glory, proved satisfactory to the majority of people: but many remained unconvinced of the propriety of their conduct, and appealed to the multiplicity of untoward events that had befallen the arms, and the enterprises of the republic, during the course of the present year.

These had certainly met with severe checks. Exclusively of their expulsion from Germany, the French

had been very unsuccessful in the West Indies, and throughout the whole of their transmarine settlements. The colony of St. Domingo, the most valuable of any to France, and the former source of its commercial prosperity, was in a state of confusion, that baffled all the efforts continually made to restore it to any order. The blacks and the mulattoes were now become its rulers, and the ancient proprietors in most parts of it, entirely ruined. Their estates were in the hands of their former slaves, who lorded it every where with that barbarity, which is the usual concomitant of uncivilization. As they were armed, their numbers made them irresistible. They chose their own commanders, and in a short time threw off all subjection to government, and took forcible possession of a large portion of the southern districts, where they declared themselves a free and independent people. The French commissioners were unable to reduce them, and with no small difficulty preserved the sovereignty of the republic in the northern parts. In addition to those disorders, several of the principal places in the island were in possession of the English, who had been called in by the planters, to protect them from the tyranny of the French commissioners: in consideration of which they had transferred their allegiance from France to Great Britain.

But neither the French nor the English seemed, at this period, in a situation long to retain the dominion of that island. The emancipation of the slaves, by the government in France, had excited a spirit of disobedience in them, which, gradually matured into mutiny and rebellion, had produced a revolution, by which they

they were become masters of the country. The strength of the English, on the other hand, never had been sufficiently considerable to effect any real progress in the reduction of this valuable island. Continual diseases, of the most deadly kind, had swept away the reinforcements sent from England, almost as fast as they arrived. Never, in fact, was the folly of committing European troops to those fatal climates so dreadfully evinced as in the prodigious mortality, that unceasingly attended this fruitless and destructive expedition.

The reports brought over to the French government, of the real state of St. Domingo, convinced them, that, while the war lasted, it would be utterly out of their power to re-establish their authority in that colony. Some persons indeed scrupled not to predict, that, in the present circumstance of affairs in those parts of the world, this would never be accomplished. The negroes and mulattoes were become so intelligent in the European methods of attack and defence, that they were completely adequate, by their numbers, their dexterity in the use of arms, and their knowledge of the country, to resist any force that could be brought against them, and to maintain their independence in spite of all attempts to reduce them. The extent of the island was such, that it could only be subdued by a large military force; and experience had shewn, that it was impracticable to preserve the lives and health of Europeans long enough, after they had been landed, to carry a design of this nature into effectual execution.

Warned by the fate of their West Indian colonies, the rulers of France

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did not think proper to enforce the decree for the emancipation of slaves in their East Indian settlements. The commissioners that had been sent to the isles of France and Bourbon, to execute this decree, had been expelled by the inhabitants. On their return to France, they made heavy complaints of the treatment they had received; but the directory, taught by experience, readily admitted the excuses of the colonists, who, professing a due attachment to the republic, had, however, remonstrated against the policy of the decree, and requested leave to qualify its execution, so as to prevent the mischiefs that would flow from an immediate compliance with it. The danger of exasperating the people of so distant a settlement induced government to abstain from coercive measures, and to listen favourably to their representations.

In the mean time, the hostilities carried on by the military and naval forces of Great Britain in the West Indies, against the French and their allies, had been accompanied with success. The island of Grenada, chiefly inhabited by French planters, who had, in a great measure, through ill usage, been driven into rebellion, was, after a long and sanguinary contest, obliged to yield to the conduct and valour of general Nichols, and the troops under his command. He had contended with a variety of difficulties, and met with obstinate resistance, during the whole course of the year 1795; but, in March, 1796, he obtained a complete victory over the insurgents, who were compelled to lay down their arms, and submit to the mercy of the British government.

In May following, the Isle of St. Lucia was reduced in like manner,

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by general Abercromby, after defeating and taking prisoners a very considerable body of French, who did not, however, surrender themselves without a vigorous defence. In the preceding month, Isiquibo and Demerary, two Dutch settlements of great importance, were taken possession of by a body of troops, commanded by general Whyte.

The only advantage gained at sea, by the French, in the course of this year, was at Newfoundland, where a vast amount of property, in warehouses and other buildings, and in merchandize and shipping, was destroyed, in the month of August, by admiral Richery, after he had escaped from Cadiz, where he had been compelled to take refuge many months, from the British squadron, sent in quest of him. He had the good fortune to return safe to France, after his expedition, without the loss of a ship.

This success was amply counterbalanced, by the capture of a Dutch fleet of ships of war and transports, destined for the retaking of the Cape of Good Hope; which had been reduced, in the preceding year, by a British naval and military force, under the command of admiral Elphinstone and general Clarke. It sailed, in March, from the Texel, and was to have been joined by a French squadron, at the expence of the Dutch. Destitute of this expected aid, it was attacked by the British squadron, under admiral Elphinstone, who captured the whole; consisting of three ships of the line, three frigates, and other vessels of inferior size. About two thousand troops were on board the squadron. This event took place in the course of August.

The Dutch settlements, in the island of Ceylon, with Malacca, Cochin, and Chinsura, in the end of 1795, and beginning of 1796, were also taken possession of by the British troops without resistance.

The reduction of these places, particularly of the Cape and Ceylon, though the possessions of our ally, the stadtholder, whom we had taken under our protection, inspired an unusual degree of joy and exultation, not only in the generality of the British nation, but into administration, and persons in their confidence, who now began to drop hints, which have been so often repeated, of coercing the trade of the world, of restraining it within British channels, and of the commercial advantages of naval-war, without interruption, and without end. A secretary of state said, in the house of commons, "I would be glad to see the minister who should dare to give up the Cape of Good Hope on any account." This was somewhat in the same spirit with the resolution of the French government, to incorporate, in all possible cases, the Austrian Netherlands with the territories of the republic. The possession of the Cape and Ceylon, particularly the harbour of Trincomale, a sure asylum to ships in all seasons, was accounted, by those who thought in this manner, such a compaction of the maritime dominion of Great Britain as the *arrondissement* of the French empire, by the natural boundaries of seas, rivers, and mountains. As, on the one hand, it was said, a kingdom may be united by local position, but divided internally by mountains, morasses, and deserts, which enabled the inhabitants of particular districts to resist government.

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and to co-operate with external enemies; so, on the other, the resources of power, though separate, and at a great distance from each other, may be of such a nature as to be easily united, and not intercepted or cut off by any hostile power. Compactness of dominion is determined not always, or only, by geographical situation, but by other circumstances, that secure the co-operation of all its different members. The resources of British power are of such a nature, that, though remote from each other, in point of local situation, they are approximated by facility of communication. The ocean, which divides the territories of the British empire, unites its different nerves in one cord of strength. The Cape of Good Hope is our half-way house to India. The reduction of Ceylon, again completes the chain of connection between the British dominion in Europe and that in India, which now happily embraces the best part of that peninsula. Even the immense army that we are obliged to keep on foot in India is a fortunate circumstance; if we have regard, as we ought, not only to gain, but to the stability of empire. It nourishes, in the British youth, a military spirit: while mercantile habits, and the acquisition of sudden wealth, tend to enervation; the necessity of maintaining the grand spring of our commerce, by force of arms, breeds up a race of soldiers. Nor, to complete the felicity of our relative situation to India, do our friends remain there for life, or plant colonies, in the process of time, to be estranged from the parent country, but return with their fortunes to the places of their nativity. Add to this prosperous situation of our affairs, to-

wards the east, our successes in the West Indies, our commercial treaty and alliance with North America, and our new settlements on the south and west continent of America: and the result of the whole will be, that our commercial zone encircles the globe; that to the whole world we may bid defiance, and force the trade into our own channel. It is possible, by a due attention to political economy, to every thing that may encourage navigation and trade, to manufactures, to agriculture, which is the basis of all, and to the state of the labouring poor, to whom the possibility and hope may, and, no doubt, will be extended, of becoming, through industry and other good habits, independent cultivators of the soil, and raised to the possession of farms on their own account.—It is possible, by due attention to these things, and to all that falls within the progress of political economy, to maintain our power and rank in the scale of nations; not only until the vicissitude of human affairs shall reduce the power of France, from its present preponderancy on the continent, to a state less formidable, but for a long series of future ages. The small republic of the island of Rhodes made head and stood out against the Romans, long after great kingdoms on the European continent had owned their sway: after Spain, Gaul, and part of Germany, had bowed under their yoke. Great Britain will maintain a more successful contest with France than Rhodes did with Rome, in proportion to its greater extent and happier situation. The war, which had been unavoidable in its origin, had been well conducted, and successful on the part of Great Britain, whose

naval power was never so great, nor commerce so flourishing and extensive, nor revenue so high, as at the present moment. And all this prosperity was not ascribed to the uncontrollable tide of affairs, but to the superior penetration and providence of the British government.

There were others, again, who, on the subject of the present state of affairs, indulged an opposite train of reflection. The continental powers, it was said, had Britain stood aloof, would have made such arrangements, among themselves, as might seem adequate to the control of the French republic. Their confederacy would have been the more solid and sincere that it would have appeared the more necessary. When they found England so zealous in the cause, they readily devolved on her the labouring oar, because they judged that she was the ablest to wield it. Had not Great Britain interfered, the whole continent of Europe would have been involved in war: Britain alone would have been at peace. By a conduct the most extraordinary, and a destiny the most fantastic, Britain alone is likely to be at war with France, and all the other nations to be at peace. France, bounded by the Alps, the Pyrenees, the Rhine, and the Ocean; in friendship with Spain, and overawing the Italian states, will be mistress of a maritime coast, from the sea of Marmora to the Texel. With such internal resources, such an extent of coast, the Scheldt, Rhine and other rivers, as well as canals for circulating her commerce, it is to be feared, that she will overtop not only Great Britain, but give law to all Europe. But all this is the result of those precipi-

tate counsels which drove the French to become a military republic, and gave them power by the necessity of exerting it. Our commerce, flourishing, indeed, for the present, beyond all example, yet cannot be lasting, being founded, in a great measure, on principles of injustice. The dominion which is arrogated by the British flag at sea, cannot possibly fail to be as odious to the European nations, as the ambition of the French at land. The trade of the East and West Indies, the most valuable in the world, and the great stimulant to all commerce, is, at present, in our hands: true. If, however, this be a great good to us, which in the eye of sound and moral policy it is not, it is a great evil to other nations; to whom, as well as to us, the productions of the tropical and other distant climates, have, through use, become articles of the first necessity. Is it to be supposed, that the inventive genius of France will not, after she shall have made peace with the continent, encouraged by the universal discontent, jealousy, and resentment, at the conduct of Great Britain, fall on some means to sap the foundations of her naval power, pride, and tyranny? Have we not expected such a combination against us, as was formerly excited, by jealousy, envy, and cupidity, against Venice? may not an armed neutrality at sea be yet formed, more general and more firm, in proportion to the growing tyranny that prompts it? May not the French, and the other nations on the Mediterranean, excluded from the great India-trade, by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, entertain the project, and in some shape, and some time or other, effect

fect it too, of inviting it into its old channels, through Persia, Arabia, and Egypt? The route to India, by the Cape of Good Hope, being lost to all nations but England, is it not to be expected that those nations will either combine for the purpose of recovering a participation in that advantage, or attempt to open new, or rather re-open old channels of communication with the East for themselves? That they have adopted the general principle of opposing our power at sea, by their power at land, they have already discovered, by their efforts to exclude our merchandize from Amsterdam, Venice, Genoa, Leghorn, and other ports. It is but an extension of the same principle to force back the India-trade into its ancient channels. In order to evade the effects of such measures, a plain road lies before us. Let us entrench ourselves, as it were, in moral and sacred ground, and make head against the ambitious views of France, by raising up the standard of justice: by shewing a readiness to give up all conquests, Dutch as well as French, without reserve, as the price of a peace, founded on similar principles of justice. Can any thing be more insolently absurd than to stand foremost in a confederacy, against a system of ambition on the continent of Europe, while we ourselves glory in ruling the waves* with absolute sway? let us respect neutral flags, encourage universal freedom of trade, and avow a just conviction, that all nations have but one general interest: the inviolability of private property and public

credit, of the rights of men, and the rights of nations; and free ports be opened in every part of the British dominions. We may then find some success in rousing Europe against oppression, when we ourselves have given the example of moderation and justice.

Such were the outlines of the two opposite parties, which appeared at this time in Great Britain, on the subject of peace or war, and free or forced commerce. In recording public opinions, as well as actions, we do not confine ourselves merely, on every subject, to the debates in parliament, but pay due respect to liberal and enlightened minds, whether expressed in public speeches, productions of the press, or in private conversation.

The loss of the armament, on which the Batavian republic had expended large sums, was aggravated by the scandalous neglect of the French government, to furnish them with that naval assistance which had been stipulated and duly paid for. This behaviour of an ally, for whom they had made such sacrifices, greatly abated the fervour of their attachment, and excited many complaints throughout the seven provinces. The acceptance of the money, for defraying the charges of equipment, and the diverting it to their own uses, was a breach of faith, that disgraced them much more than they were benefited by the sums thus diverted. It so much weakened the confidence of their Dutch allies, that, ever since, these have constantly testified a mistrust of their most solemn assurances, that has

* The popular song of *Britannia rule the waves* is equally unjust and impolitic. How can foreigners join in such symphonies? What must be their feelings? and what the effect of these, described on their return to their own countries?

more than once proved highly detrimental to the interest of France.

It was imagined, at the time, that this retention of the Dutch money proceeded from a motive by which the directory doubted not to justify it. This was the great project of invading Ireland, that had long been meditated, and which they were now preparing to carry into execution. The importance of that noble island to Great Britain was well known. The number and bravery of its inhabitants, the fertility of the soil, abounding in all the necessaries of life, pointed it out as an acquisition to France, that would set it above all difficulties, and put an end to the war at once, by depriving England of those supplies of men and provisions, indispensably wanted for its armies and navies.

In this vast undertaking, the French principally relied on the co-operation of the Irish themselves. They were thoroughly acquainted with the situation of the country, and the discontents of the people, by means of the secret correspondence between the French government and the heads of the malcontents, who regularly informed it of the measures that were taking, on their part, to excite a general insurrection.

The armament, designed for this great expedition, had been preparing, at Brest, during the whole summer. It consisted of twenty-five ships of the line, including the seven that composed the squadron of admiral Richery, who was to join it with all speed, fifteen stout frigates, besides sloops and transports for an army of twenty-five thousand men, to be commanded by general Hoche, whose military abilities were esteemed equal to those of any officer in the

French service, Moreau and Buonaparte himself scarcely excepted.

Through several unforeseen accidents, this armament was not ready for sailing till the eighteenth of December. On going out of Brest, some of the largest ships struck upon the rocks, at the mouth of the harbour, and several were lost, and others rendered unfit for present service. The Day after its departure, a violent storm arose, which dispersed the fleet, and damaged many of the ships. This tempestuous weather lasted during the whole time of the expedition. On the twenty-fourth, admiral Bouvet, commander-in-chief of the French fleet, anchored with seven ships of the line, and ten others, in Bantry-Bay. In order to reconnoitre the country, a boat was dispatched towards shore; but it was immediately captured, and multitudes appeared on the beach in readiness to oppose a landing. After lying some days in this bay, the storminess of the weather increased to such a degree, that, on receiving no intelligence of general Hoche and the principal officers, who were in a frigate that parted from the fleet, in the gale of wind that scattered it on putting to sea, the French admiral determined to quit his position, and make the best of his way to France. The land officers, on board, objected to this, and insisted on landing the troops; but as general Hoche, who alone possessed the plan of the expedition was absent, he refused to comply with their representations, and set sail for Brest, where he safely arrived, on the last day of December. The other divisions of his fleet had also the good fortune to reach that harbour, with the loss, however, of five ships: two of the line, and three

three frigates: one of the latter was captured by the English, and two foundered at sea, with one of the former. The other, after a desperate engagement, with some ships of the British squadron, off Brest, ran ashore to prevent the being taken.

The fate of this fleet proved, even to sense, what needed no proof in the eye of reason, that a superior naval force is not, in all cases, a certain security against invasion. Ireland, notwithstanding the superiority of the English fleet, was sixteen days at the mercy of the enemy, and saved from attack only by the elements.

- Such was the issue of this famous expedition: the real object of which had long kept Europe in suspense. Some thought it Portugal, others the English outward-bound fleets. Few imagined it was so hazardous an enterprize as the invasion of Ireland. The strength of the Protestants there alone was deemed fully sufficient to repel such an attempt, and the Roman Catholics had so many reasons to be satisfied with the conduct of government, that no suspicions were entertained of any desire, on their part, to exchange their connection with England for one with France, whose treatment of those who were become its dependants, under the name of allies, afforded, certainly, no encouragement to follow their example.

The close of 1796 was marked by the death of Catharine II. empress of Russia. Catharine, as we have seen in the preceding volumes of this work, had subdued by her policy, or her arms, the Crimea, the Cuban, with a part of the frontier of Turkey, and almost one half of Po-

land. Indulging still in her ambition of conquest; inflamed, not satiated, by so much success, she sought still to extend her dominion, wherever it was bounded only by that of a neighbour, not by the hand of nature. She contrived to stretch forth, as it were, both her arms, the one in Europe, the other in Asia; but contrarily to what had been usually experienced, both by herself and predecessors, while she made a conquest of no small importance in the north of Europe, she was vigorously repelled from the softer climate of Asia. By caresses and intrigues she induced the inhabitants of Livonia to insist on the fulfilment of an ancient convention, whereby the Courlanders were obliged to bring all their merchandizes to Riga; though they had, on their own coasts, excellent harbours, happily situated. A quarrel, which had naturally arisen on this subject, between the Livonians and Courlanders, was not yet terminated, when the empress sent engineers into Courland, to mark out a canal for facilitating the merchandize of that country into Livonia. The Courlanders, seeing this, and fearing lest they should be soon forced to make use of this canal, thought it better for them to be protected, than oppressed, by the empress, and to be her subjects rather than her neighbours.

Catharine, informed of these dispositions, called to her the duke of Courland, the feeble son of the famous Biren, under the pretext of having occasion to confer with him on matters of importance. But no sooner was that prince at the foot of the throne of the Autocratrix of the north, than the states of Courland held an assembly. The nobi-

lity proposed to withdraw the country from the supremacy of Poland, and to put it under that of Russia. The principal members of the grand council made a faint opposition to this alteration, by observing, that, before they proceeded to a resolution, it would be expedient to wait the return of the duke. The Oberburggraf Hoven rose up, and spoke a long time in favour of Russia. Some counsellors expressed themselves of his opinion, and others reproached them with treason. The dispute grew warm on both sides; challenges were reciprocally given, and swords were about to be drawn, when the Russian general, Paklen, appeared in the assembly. His presence restored tranquillity. No one presumed to raise his voice against Russia; and the proposal of the nobles was adopted. The next day the act was drawn up, by which Courland, Semigallia, and the circle of Pillten, made a formal surrender of themselves to the empress of Russia; and it was carried to Petersburg, where the duke of Courland learnt, from the mouth of his own subjects, that they themselves had deprived him of his dominions. The empress immediately sent a governor thither.

However, some discontent remained in Courland: discontent brought on proscription; and the possessions of the proscribed were given to the courtiers of Catharine. The favourite, Plato Zuboff, and his brother, Valerian, obtained a great part of those rich and shameful spoils.

The acquisition of Courland to Russia, was of great importance. It produces much corn, as well as timber: in both of which articles it carries on a great commerce; and it has several ports advantageously

situated on the Baltic, among which are Libau and Vindau: the first a flourishing and commercial city; the second, likely to become one day the station of the Russian fleets. The port of Vindau, which is never obstructed by ice, by a little improvement, might be rendered capable of containing a hundred ships of the line.

At the same time that she quietly usurped the sovereignty of Courland, she sent out her arms against Persia. Under pretence of defending Lof-Ali-Khan, of the race of the Sophis, she aimed at the possession of the Persian provinces, which border on the Caspian. Valerian Zuboff, at the head of a numerous army, penetrated into the province of Daghestan, and advanced to lay siege to Derbent. His first attack was directed against a high tower, which defended the place; and, after having made himself master of it, and put the whole garrison to the sword, he was preparing to make an assault upon the town. The Persians, intimidated by former successes, and the impetuosity of the Russians, cried out for quarter; and the commandant, a venerable old man, of the amazing age of one hundred and twenty years, and the same who, at the commencement of the present century, had surrendered Derbent to Peter I. came now to deliver the keys to Valerian Zuboff.

Aga Mahmed was advancing with succours to the relief of Derbent, when he heard that the place was already in the hands of the Russians. Valerian Zuboff came forth from the place to offer him battle, in which victory declared for the Persians; who forced their enemies to return into Derbent.

Cathar

Catharine, being informed of this, immediately gave orders for a body of troops, which she had in the Kuban, to go and reinforce the army of Valerian Zuboff, not doubting that her general would very soon give a total defeat to Aga Mahomed. She also flattered herself with the hopes of obtaining a greater triumph. The new treaty, which she had just concluded with Great Britain, and with Austria, secured to her the assistance of those two powers against Turkey. In a word, she now reckoned on the full accomplishment of her darling project, of driving the Ottomans out of Europe, and of reigning in Constantinople. But she suddenly finished, by an easy death, the career of a splendid life, in the sixty-seventh year of her age, and thirty-sixth of her reign. She died at Petersburg, of an apoplexy, on the tenth of November; on which her son, the great duke, Paul Petrowitz, was proclaimed emperor.

Catharine was the most illustrious sovereign, after the exit of Frederick the great, king of Prussia, on the theatre of Europe, for comprehension of mind, lofty ambition, courage, and perseverance in her designs, and the general influence of her policy and arms, in the affairs of Europe. Her ambition was not directed merely to the security and extension of the empire, but to the civilization and welfare of subject tribes and nations, by the introduction of arts, liberal and mechanical, and the improvement of manufactures and commerce: and all this, by means more gentle and gradual than many of those employed by Peter the great; and, consequently, more effectual. In all her wars, she was

successful: in all her regulations, for the internal government of her mighty empire, there appeared that benevolence, which, for the honour of human nature, is usually found in conjunction with sublimity of genius. She wished, soon after her accession to the throne, to introduce civil liberty among the great mass of the people, by the emancipation of the peasantry. It was found impracticable to emancipate their bodies without enlightening their minds. To this object she bent the powers of her inventive, though prudent, genius. Schools were instituted in all parts of her dominions, and a way was opened for the lowest of her subjects to liberty, by certain privileges, within the scope of industry and merit. The code of laws, drawn up by her own hand, was never exceeded, in point either of sagacity or goodness: for, we are always to bear in mind, that even Solon found it expedient not to dictate the best laws, but the best that the people, for whom he dictated, were capable of bearing. Her military plans partook of the strength of simplicity. She did not feed the flame of war to no purpose, by throwing in, as it were, faggot after faggot, nor waste time in tedious detours, but, with a mighty and irresistible concentrated force, proceeded directly to her object. She had not the art of appearing affable, generous, and magnanimous, but the merit of really being so. She was not only a patroness, but a great proficient, in literature; and, had not her life been spent in great actions, it would, probably, have been employed, though with somewhat less glory, in celebrating the illustrious achievements of others. It is an

invidious thing to pry, with too much curiosity, into the frailties of such a character. The severest critic has not been able to charge her with any thing unnatural, or, in her predicament and situation, not easily to be forgiven. As to the obscure event that led her to the throne, if this had not taken place, an event of another kind must have led her first to imprisonment, and then, most assuredly, to death.

The last of her grand designs was to curb the power and insolence of the French republic. It was the policy of the empress, who detested the French republic, without loving the Austrians, to let both parties exhaust themselves: determined, however, whatever might be the fate of their arms, to prevent either from acquiring an uncontrolled sway in Germany. Orders were issued for a levy of a hundred and fifty thousand troops, destined to act, in some shape or order, for the relief of the emperor of Germany. It has been questioned, whether it would not have been wiser policy, in her Imperial majesty, to have moved for the assistance of the confederates sooner? She, perhaps, entertained a persuasion, that the allies would stand firm together, and make a more successful opposition to the republic. She was, no doubt, well enough pleased to see almost all the other powers of Europe weaken themselves by war; whilst, at the same time, it must have been her intention, as has since appeared, to interfere, more and more, in the general conflict, in proportion as the party she detested gained ground on a sovereign prince; who, though a neighbour, and ancient enemy, yet possessed a hereditary throne,

and had ceased to be a formidable rival. It is to be considered, farther, that had she moved sooner, the Turks, on the other side, instigated by French intrigues, might have moved also. The Czarina waited, too, until she should secure peace, on the most formidable frontier, by a marriage between her grand daughter and the young king of Sweden; an object which she had much at heart, though it was found impossible to accomplish it.

Catherine II. has left a name that will ever be memorable, and remembered by future generations, to whom the benefits of her institutions will extend, with grateful admiration. Yet, it was the love of glory that was her predominant passion; and the humane will regret, that she pursued this through seas of blood: so that she will take her station in the temple of fame, among the great, not the good princes; and in this speculative age, add to the odium of absolute monarchy, by displaying the miseries that flow from unbounded power, united with unbounded ambition.

This year also, general Washington, the greatest of cotemporary men, as Catharine was of cotemporary sovereigns, resigned the presidency of the United States. These illustrious characters were both respectively at the head of the two latest, greatest, and most rising empires in the world; both nearly of the same age; both of equal celebrity; though not of true glory: pure and disinterested patriotism being the ruling principle in the mind of Washington; the patriotism of Catharine only secondary to her ambition, and subservient to the love of fame. General Washington having rescued his country from the oppression

oppression of the English government, and restored it, by a commercial treaty, in spite of France, and almost in spite of itself, to an amicable connection with the English nation, voluntarily retired from power, after giving the most profound instruction and advice respecting union, virtue, liberty, and happiness: between all of which there was a close connection, with the

most ardent prayers for the prosperity and peace of America. There is nothing in profane history to which his parting address to the states can be compared. In our sacred Scriptures alone we find a parallel in that recapitulation of divine instructions and commands which the legislator of the Jews made in the hearing of Israel, when they were about to pass the Jordan.*

It

* In his address to congress, on the seventh of December, 1796, having given an account of the situation of the United States, in relation to foreign powers, and strongly recommended the creation of a navy, he directs the attention of congress to the encouragement of manufactures, agriculture, a national university, and also a military academy. His sentiments, on these subjects, are those of an enlightened and philosophical statesman.

"I have heretofore proposed to the consideration of congress, the expediency of establishing a national university, and also a military academy. The desirableness of both these institutions, has so constantly increased with every new view I have taken of the subject, that I cannot omit the opportunity of, once for all, recalling your attention to them.

"The assembly to which I address myself, is too enlightened not to be fully sensible how much a flourishing state of the arts and sciences contributes to national prosperity and reputation. True it is, that our country, much to its honour, contains many seminaries of learning, highly respectable and useful; but the funds upon which they rest are too narrow to command the ablest professors in the different departments of liberal knowledge, for the institution contemplated, though they would be excellent auxiliaries.

Among the motives to such an institution, the assimilation of the principles, opinions, and manners of our countrymen, by the common education of a portion of our youth, from every quarter, well deserves attention. The more homogenous our citizens can be made, in these particulars, the greater will be our prospect of a permanent union; and a primary object of all such a national institution should be the education of our youth in the science of government. In a republic, what species of knowledge can be equally important? and what duty more pressing on its legislature, than to patronize a plan for communicating it to those who are to be the future guardians of the liberties of the country?

"The institution of a military academy is also recommended by cogent reasons. However pacific measures may contribute to the general policy of a nation, it ought never to be without an adequate stock of military knowledge, on emergencies. That first would impair the energy of its character, and both would hazard its safety or expose it to greater evils when war could not be avoided; besides that, war might not often depend upon its own choice.

"In proportion as the observance of pacific maxims might exempt a nation from the necessity of practising the rules of the military art, these ought to be its care in preserving, and transmitting, by proper establishments, the knowledge of that art. Whatever argument may be drawn from particular examples, superficially viewed, a thorough examination of the subject will evince, that the art demands much previous study, and that the possession of it, in its most improved and perfect state, is always of great moment to the security of a nation. This, therefore, ought to be a serious care of every government; and, for this purpose, an academy, where a regular course of instruction is given, is an obvious expedient, which different nations have successfully employed."

General

It has often happened, nay it the most brilliant talents and vir-
has most frequently happened, that tues, in politicians and warriors,
have

General Washington, in September (1796), published a little piece, entitled "A Letter from General Washington, on his Resignation of the Office of President of the United States." This letter, written by the father and saviour of his country to his countrymen, on an occasion when his heart was warm, and open, and the tenor and grand object of his life in his full recollection, paints the man in juster and livelier colours than any thing we can record. He begs the people of the United States to be assured, that his resolution to resign the presidency had not been taken without a strict regard appertaining to the relations which bind a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service, which silence, in his situation, might imply, he was influenced by no diminution of zeal for their future interests; no deficiency of gratitude for their past kindness; but was supported by a full conviction, that the step was compatible with both. Having mentioned the motives that induced him to accept and continue in the high office, to which their suffrages had twice called him, and those which had urged him to lay it down, he says, "In looking forward to the moment which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honours it has conferred upon me; still more, for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have then enjoyed, of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, liable to mislead; amidst appearances, sometimes dubious; vicissitudes of fortune, often discouraging; in situations in which, not unfrequently, want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism, the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans, by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to the grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows, that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence; that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual; that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained; that its administration, in every department, may be stamped with wisdom and virtue; that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these States, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

"Here, perhaps, I ought to stop; but solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments, which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motives to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former, and not dissimilar occasion."

He recommends the love of liberty; the unity of government to which they were powerfully invited and urged by every inducement of sympathy and interest; guards them against the causes by which this union may be disturbed; all obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, controul, and counteract, or awe regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities; the spirit of party, and all encroachments of one department of government on another.—"Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would

have been employed in personal ambition and aggrandizement; or, what is worse, for the aggrandizement of absolute monarchs, whose precarious smiles were preferred to the steady and dignified regards of true glory. A Charles of Sweden sacrifices his people to animosity, pride, and revenge. A Richelieu lays his countrymen in chains at

the feet of their haughty sovereign. The moral philosopher exclaims, on a review of the great qualities of Julius Cæsar,

‘Curse on his virtues! they’ve undone his country.’

The great and good qualities of general Washington were displayed in a great and good cause: the

would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labour to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in the courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that national morality can subsist without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education, on minds of a peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail, in exclusion of religious principles.”

The legislature and patriot proceeded to warn his countrymen against inveterate antipathies against particular nations. On this subject he makes these remarkable observations, of which many will, no doubt, make, at this present moment, particular applications. “The nation, prompted by ill-will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts, through passion, what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility, instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes, perhaps, the liberty of nations, has been the victims.” On this point, of an equal and just regard for all nations; and, on the other hand, on the insidious wiles of foreign influence, general Washington descants at a greater length than on any of the other topics on which he touches; and, if possible, with greater earnestness. It is not difficult, from hence, to conjecture, what was, at the time, the principal object of his solicitude—foreign influence, particularly that of the French republic.

The world has had many *political testaments*; some real, some counterfeit: none that breathes such pure morality, such sublime and sound policy, as the address and the example of general Washington. The style of his paternal letters and speeches, exhorting his countrymen to preserve union among themselves, and peace, good faith, and sincere good-will towards all nations, as well as the sentiments, shining forth with mild radiance, not in fiery flame, were contrasted with certain passionate persuasives to war. How much to be preferred is sound sense, simplicity, and sincerity of intention, self-command and moderation of temper, to the most shining talents and accomplishments without them! Yet, though we cannot rank general Washington in the first class of literary geniuses, he was not deficient, but greatly above par, in the most useful kinds of knowledge, and also in the art of writing. His thoughts are clearly arranged; he manages with great skill the march of his hearer’s or reader’s sentiments and spirits; his language is perfectly grammatical and pure, and altogether free from any provincial slang, and cockney or metropolitan barbarisms, which, issuing from the house of commons and newspapers, has adulterated the English tongue, and threatens, in its progress, to render it to future ages unintelligible. A like observation may be extended to the writings of Dr. Franklin, Mr. Adams, and other American writers.

cause of his country, and of the human race. He pursued the noblest ends by the noblest means: the dignity and happiness of mankind, by sublime genius and heroic courage.

The most distinguished characters, in many instances, have been found to have derived the enthusiasm that prompted them to undertake and persevere in the execution of great designs from an admiration of other illustrious characters, which inspired a desire of imitation. Achilles emulated Bacchus: Alexander, Achilles: Julius Cæsar, Alexander; and Frederick II. of Prussia, with other heroes, Julius Cæsar. So too, Charles XII. of Sweden had Quintus Curtius, in his earliest youth, always in his hands, and had learned his stories of Alexander by heart. In like manner Gustavus III. the late king of Sweden, was inflamed with a love of glory, by contemplating the actions of both his paternal and maternal ancestors; particularly of Gustavus Vasa and Gustavus Adolphus, and of the renowned Prussian monarch, who was his uncle. If general Washington was roused to any grandeur of design, or, in his public conduct, political and military, had any model of imitation, it seems to have been king William III. prince of Orange, and king of England. The ground on which we hazard this conjecture is, his admiration frequently expressed of that great prince, both in his letters and in private conversation, compared with the tenor of his own actions. The causes and circumstances in which they were both engaged were similar: their conduct also similar. The prince maintained the independence of his countrymen, in opposition to the

mighty power of France: the general maintained the independence of his countrymen, in opposition to that of England: both were remarkable for coolness and caution; but remarkable also for firmness and intrepidity, under every circumstance of danger, and every critical moment of action. They never shunned a decisive engagement from any other motive than that of prudence: nor were they wiser in council than brave in the field; though their final success was more owing to judicious retreat, and renewed preparations for actions, than to daring impetuosity. The character given to the pretender, in 1745, and applied to general Washington in his familiar letters to general Mercer, may, with equal propriety, be applied both to king William and to himself. They were the most cautious men in the world, not to be cowards: and the bravest, not to be rash. It may be added, that their fortitude, in the eye of true moral criticism, shone forth with greater splendour, when veiled in the garb of caution, than when confessed to the eyes of all, and covered with dust and blood in the field of battle.

There is an active fortitude, and there is a passive fortitude: the latter not certainly less, but in some respects superior to the former. In the conflict and agitation of danger, quickly to be over, or quickly to spend its utmost fury, the mind of the patriot and hero is awakened by an excitement of his spirits, and the attention and sympathy of all around him. In the calms of torpid silence, nay, and under the chilling blasts of reproach, whilst he still retains his unshaken purpose, the éclat of his virtue is less, but the proof of its constancy greater: greater in the

the inverse ratio of the magnitude of the difficulties and dangers to be overcome, to the indifference with which they are regarded. It is the firmness of both the heroes that forms the subject of this brief parallel, after their retreats under innumerable disadvantages and hardships, that, in the whole of their character, is the just object of the greatest admiration.

There was also a striking coincidence, not only between the circumstances and situation and the public conduct of these great men, political and military, but also, in some points, between their natural tempers and dispositions: particularly in an habitual taciturnity and reserve. A degree of taciturnity is, indeed, inseparable from a mind intent on great and complicated designs. Minds deeply occupied in the contemplation of great ends, and the means necessary for their accomplishment, have as little leisure as inclination either to entertain others with their conversation, or to be entertained by them. Most great men, when profoundly engaged in important affairs, are remarkably silent. Buonaparte, though naturally affable, in the midst of those circumstances of unprecedented novelty, complication, and alarm, in which it has been his destiny to be placed, is, on the whole, reserved and silent. Henry IV. of France, though naturally affable, humorous, and facetious, became thoughtful and silent, when he found himself involved in projects of great difficulty as well as importance.

It is not by a multiplicity of words and common-place compliments that men attain an ascendancy over the minds of other men; but by the weight of their character and the

soundness of their judgment, which readily discerns certain common interests and passions, that tend to unite men in common sympathies and common pursuits. It was a common and striking trait in the characters of both king William III. and general Washington, that they both possessed the happy art of reconciling and uniting various discordant parties in the prosecution of common objects.

But every parallel is soon terminated, by the wonderful diversity which characterizes every individual of the human race. Washington had no favourites, but was warm in his affections to his own family and near relatives: William was not a little addicted to favouritism; but cold and indifferent to the sincere attachment and devotion of his queen: a princess, by whose right he was raised to a throne, and a partner worthy any sovereign prince, for every accomplishment of mind and person.

The calm, deliberate, and solid character of general Washington did not exclude a turn to contrivance and invention. He was judicious, not dull; ingenious, not chimerical. In this respect, his talents and turn, like his virtues, were carried to the line beyond which they would have ceased to be talents and virtues, and no farther. He knew how to distinguish difficulties from impossibilities, and what was within the bounds of human power, in given situations, from the extravagancies of a heated and bold imagination. He was neither terrified by danger, nor seduced by repose, from embracing the proper moment for action. He was modest, without diffidence; sensible to the voice of fame, without vanity; independent

independent and dignified, without pride. He was a friend to liberty, not licentiousness: not to the abstractions of philosophers, but to those ideas of well-regulated freedom, which the ancestors of the Americans had carried with them from England, and confirmed by the revolution towards the end of the eighteenth century. On those principles he fought and conquered; conquered—but not for himself. He was a Hannibal, as well as a Fabius; a Cromwell, without his ambition; a Sylla, without his crimes.

As the children of men, in youth or the vigour of manhood, are more healthful and vigorous than those in the decline of life, so general Washington, descended and formed, by the spirit of England, in the purest and most flourishing period of English freedom, possessed a juster and higher spirit of liberty than what might, probably, have been bred by an emigration in the present times. When we reflect on the contest between monarchical power, on the one hand, and the spirit of insubordination, on the other, which, at the present moment, divide Europe, we shall find reason to congratulate mankind, that the example of a happy medium between both has been set, and is likely to be more and more enforced, by the growing prosperity of America. In this view, general Washington appears in the light of another Noah; the pilot, who, sailing in the middle, between the dangers of Sylla and Charybdis, guided the ark that saved the human race from ruin.

The French agents, Adet, Fauchet, Genet, and Dupont, had been sent out, to the American states, in the

character of envoys; but, in reality, as firebrands of discord and sedition. The grand object of their mission was, that the French republic should acquire such an influence and ascendancy in North America, as she already possessed in Venice, Genoa, and the Swiss cantons: to divide the North Americans into two great political parties, or rather governments; to play the northern states, where the French interest preponderated, against the southern; to weaken, and so to obtain an influence and authority over the whole. As the patriotism, prudence, and firmness of general Washington had contributed so largely to snatch his country from the grasp of the British legislature, so now they contributed equally to save it from a connection and subordination, still more to be dreaded, with the French republic.

The magnitude of the danger, from which general Washington, before his resignation of the presidency, saved his country, will sufficiently appear from the mention of one circumstance, that Mr. John Adams, the vice-president of the congress, the intimate and confidential friend of general Washington, and, in every respect, worthy of so great an honour, was chosen his successor, by a majority of only three votes above the number that appeared for Mr. Jefferson, who was at the head of the French party: which passed on the 8th of February, 1797. It may also be observed, to the same end, that the treaty for an amicable and commercial intercourse between Great Britain and North America was ratified only by the president's casting vote.

CHRONICLE.

JANUARY.

4th. **L**AST night the house of *Dublin*. Caleb Harman, esq. in the county of Longford, was attacked by a numerous party of Defenders, who demanded a surrender of all the arms in the house; but, on Mr. Harman's refusing to comply with this demand, they determined to carry their purpose by assault, and with some difficulty forced open the doors. Mr. Harman, at the head of his domestics, endeavouring to repel the assailants, was fired upon, and received the contents of a blunderbuss loaded with slugs in his abdomen, and in consequence of his wounds, died this morning. Several of the domestics were also severely wounded; and the defenders having effectually succeeded in obtaining all the arms in the house, retreated in triumph. Eleven out of the twelve ruffians who assassinated Mr. Harman have been taken, and are in Longford gaol; in the number is the person who was wounded by Mr. Harman's pistol.

6th. *Leith*. His royal highness the count d'Artois, with his suite, landed here from on board his majesty's frigate Jason: on the frigate's coming to anchor in the roads, his

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royal highness was saluted with 21 guns from Leith battery, and with the like number on his landing at Leith, where he was received from the boat by lord Adam Gordon and a part of his suite, and conducted in his lordship's carriage to an apartment in his majesty's palace of Holyrood-house, fitted up in haste for his reception; and, as he entered the palace, his royal highness was saluted with 21 guns from Edinburgh Castle. The Windsor Foresters and Hopetoun Fencibles were in readiness to line the approach to the palace, but, his royal highness chusing to land in a private manner, and with as little ceremony as possible, that was dispensed with. The noblemen in his royal highness's suite followed in carriages provided for that purpose, and were conducted from the outer gate of the palace, by the commander in chief, to their apartments. His royal highness and suite, consisting of a number of French noblemen and gentlemen, dined with lord Adam Gordon.

7th. At Carlton house, between nine and ten o'clock in the morning, the princess of Wales was delivered of a princess. The duke of Gloucester, the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor,

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the lord president of his majesty's council, the duke of Leeds, the duke of Devonshire, the earl of Cholmondeley (lord chamberlain), and the earl of Jersey (master of the horse to the prince of Wales), lord Thurlow, and the ladies of her royal highness's bedchamber, were present. Her royal highness and the young princess were in perfect health.

14th. Between eight and nine o'clock this day, the powder mills belonging to Mr. Hill, at Hounslow, owing to the wheels of the mill not being properly supplied with oil, took fire, and blew up with a dreadful explosion, which not only terrified the inhabitants of the place, but alarmed the cities of London and Westminster, and the houses of the people several miles round the metropolis experienced the effects of its powerful concussion; three men, who were at work in the manufactory, have lost their lives, and the flames from the mill communicating to a punt in the mill river, in which were 30 barrels of gunpowder, set fire to the whole, and blew up with a terrible explosion; the man who had the care of the vessel being shattered to pieces, and the boat being blown out of the water. Not a vestige of the mill is left standing, and Hounslow heath is covered with bricks and tiles, and the mangled limbs of the unfortunate sufferers. The houses in Hounslow, Isleworth, and even Brentford, have suffered considerably; the Crown Inn at Hounslow, and the King's Head at Brentford, have not a whole pane of glass in the windows; and the inhabitants were so terrified near the spot, that they not only forsook

their dwellings, but a number of women, with their children, through fear, appeared half naked in the streets, expecting every moment that their houses would fall and bury them in the ruins. The scattered limbs of the unfortunate victims, who for the most part have left large families to lament their loss by this unforeseen event, were, by order of the magistrates, collected together and deposited in the church-yard. The loss of this valuable manufactory is estimated at near 20,000*l*. The shock was felt as far north of London as the extremities of Enfield parish, and South beyond Croydon. A similar disaster happened to the same concern about 20 years ago.

16th. *Vienna.* The princess royal of France, Maria Theresa, arrived here on the 9th, a little after six o'clock in the evening, amidst the loudest acclamations of crowds of people, who accompanied her carriage as far as the Burg, where his Imperial majesty had caused a residence to be prepared for her. Count Colloredo, cabinet minister to the emperor, accompanied her to the place of her residence from Burkersdorff, whither he went to welcome her, in the name of his Imperial majesty, as soon as information of her arrival was received. Prince Stahremberg, the principal lord of the bedchamber, on the 10th, went to the residence of the princess, and presented to prince Gavre all the future household servants, &c. destined for her use.—The first who received the French princess royal of France in this capital, were the archdukes and archduchesses. The emperor and empress honoured her with a visit soon after her arrival,

and

and received her with open arms. In her own place of residence the princess wept most bitterly. She has since paid a visit to the arch-duchess Christine, who is indisposed. A grand and brilliant court-day is expected to-morrow, which will be the first day on which her Imperial majesty will make her public appearance after her lying-in. It is expected also that the French princess royal will be introduced, with proper ceremony, to the higher class of the nobility and foreign ambassadors. Countess Chanclos, formerly governess to the arch-duchess Elizabeth, first consort of the emperor, has been appointed to the same dignity with the French princess royal. Prince Gavre is appointed governor to her royal highness. The only article preserved by the French princess, from the effects which were put into her carriage at Paris, is said to be a small parcel, which, besides a small quantity of linen, contained three miniature pictures, and some hair of her father, mother, and the princess Elizabeth her aunt; also a pair of garters knit by her late unfortunate mother, out of the threads of an old piece of tapestry which she found in her prison.

18th. When the royal standard was flying at the Tower, being the queen's birth-day, a tricoloured silk flag, three yards wide and of length in proportion, was hoisted over the rampart on a staff of seven feet long, and continued hoisted for three hours before it was discovered in the garrison. On the discovery, the major of the Tower, colonel Smith, went himself to strike it, when making into a wrong part, it disappeared before he reached the spot, but was traced into the de-

puty chaplain's house, and found stripped from the staff, under his son's bed, a young man of 15, at present a pupil in a public school.

20th. *Portsmouth.* In consequence of a dreadful gale of wind, a great number of ships at Spithead were this day obliged to cut their cables, and run for the harbour, several of which got foul of each other. Signals of distress were seen flying on board many vessels, but the weather was so extremely bad as to prevent any boats going to their assistance. A man of war's boat was driven out of the harbour with the tide this afternoon, and upset near South-Sea Beach; the whole of the crew got safe on shore except one man, who was unfortunately drowned. The tide was many feet higher this day than has been known for upwards of 30 years; several houses on the point having been washed down, and a number of people removed their goods up into the town; for if the wind had not abated, the tide would have been full as high in the morning, and many more houses consequently damaged.

24th. *Edinburgh.* On the 21st inst. his royal highness the duke d'Angouleme eldest son to Monsieur, arrived at the Abbey of Holyrood-house. His royal highness is to be accommodated in the apartments of the earl of Bredalbane there, until such time as the royal apartments can be put in proper repair to receive their royal highnesses; and his royal highness the duke d'Angouleme proposes to see company for the present in the apartments of monsieur on Mondays and Thursdays at noon.

25th. *Edinburgh.* The weather, for three days past, has been

very tempestuous. On Saturday afternoon it blew a perfect hurricane from the S. W. In the new town, and other exposed situations, many persons were carried off their feet, and thrown down; several carriages were overturned, and in some houses the windows were broken and forced in. The streets were strowed with chimney pans, by the falling of which several persons were hurt, though we have not heard of any being dangerously so. On Sunday morning the storm was equally violent. The gale was from a quarter that is seldom dangerous on this coast; but, if it was equally violent on the West coast, the consequences are to be feared.

26th. *Glasgow.* By a sudden inundation yesterday at Greenock and Port Glasgow, the tobacco-cellars at the latter place were laid under water from six to nine inches on the floors, by which means a good deal of tobacco is injured, but to what amount we cannot say. The loss on sugar at Greenock will be very great, probably not less than 30,000*l.* In some of the cellars on the West Quay, the water was up from eighteen to twenty inches on the lower tier of sugar. The storm was also severely felt here; a stack of chimnies was blown down in the High-street, and several trees in the neighbourhood have been torn up by the roots.

28th. A telegraph was this day erected over the admiralty, which is to be the point of communication with all the different sea-ports in the kingdom. The nearest telegraph to London has hitherto been in St. George's Fields; and to such perfection has this ingenious and useful contrivance been

already brought, that one day last week information was conveyed from Dover to London in the space of only seven minutes. The plan proposed to be adopted in respect to telegraphs is yet only carried into effect between London and Dover; but it is intended to extend all over the kingdom. The importance of this speedy communication must be evident to every one; and it has this advantage, that the information conveyed is known only to the person who sends, and to him who receives it. The intermediate posts have only to answer and convey the signals.

29th. Earl Cholmondeley has informed the city remembrancer, that his royal highness, from being under the necessity of dismissing his establishment, is unable to receive their congratulatory compliments in a manner suitable to his rank and with that respect which is due to the city of London; and that the prince expresses much regret in not having it in his power to shew a proper regard for the good wishes of the city of London towards himself and the princess.

This morning about 10, Michael Blanch, a Spaniard, James Colley, an American, and Francis Cole, a Black, who were found guilty at the late admiralty sessions, of the wilful murder of William Little, the master and commander of an American vessel, were brought out of Newgate, and placed in a cart, and conveyed to Execution Dock, where they were executed according to their sentence. In the afternoon the three bodies were brought back to surgeons' hall, there to be dissected pursuant to the sentence of the

the court of admiralty. Had it been a case of piracy; they would have been hung in chains.

DIED.—In Portugal, Dr. Loreira, author of the “*Flora Cochinchensis*.” This celebrated botanist devoted 30 years of close application to the composition of this work. Sir Joseph Banks invited him to this country, for the purpose of publishing it here; but advanced age prevented him from accepting the invitation.

20. At Lancaster, in an advanced period of life, Mr. Alexander Stevens, architect; who in the course of the last forty years, erected more stone bridges, and other buildings in water, than any man in these kingdoms. Among the many works of that kind may be mentioned the bridge over the Liffey at Dublin, and the locks and docks on the grand canal of Ireland. The north of England and Scotland exhibits numberless works of his execution. The aqueduct over the river Lune, at Lancaster, is one of the greatest undertakings he was ever concerned in; and, had he lived a few months longer, he would have had the satisfaction of seeing it completed.

FEBRUARY.

1st. This night, after eleven o'clock, as the royal family were returning from Drury-lane theatre, when the carriages had reached the end of John-street, Pall Mall, a stone was flung with such force as to break one of the glass pannels in the coach, in which were their majesties and the lady in waiting; which, after striking the queen on the cheek, fell

into lady Harrington's lap. A deposition on the above business was taken at the duke of Portland's office, before the secretary of state and two of the magistrates from Bow-street; when some of the footmen attending on the royal family were examined. A reward of 1000*l.* is offered for the discovery of the offenders.

18th. This day came on in the court of king's bench, the cause of *Jeffreys versus* Mr. Walker and others, commissioners appointed for liquidating the prince of Wales's debts, for the sum of 54,685*l.* for jewels furnished by the plaintiff for his royal highness. Messrs. Sharp, Elias, Levi, and Dugden, eminent diamond-merchants, were called on the part of the plaintiff, who proved the value of the articles to be, unset, 50,997*l.* 10*s.*; while Messrs. Crisp, Duval, and Francillon, on the part of the defendants, gave it as their opinion, that, having examined the jewels, they were not worth more than 43,800*l.* exclusive of the setting of a miniature picture of her highness. The jury, after a quarter of an hour's consideration, found a verdict for the plaintiff 50,997*l.* 10*s.*

19th. Richard England was put to the bar at the old Bailey, charged with the wilful murder of Mr. Rowlls, brewer, of Kingston, in a duel at Cranford-bridge, June 18, 1794. Lord Derby, the first witness, gave in evidence, that he was present at Ascot races; when in the stand upon the race-course he heard Mr. England cautioning the gentlemen present not to bet with the deceased, as he neither paid what he lost or what he borrowed; on which Mr. Rowlls

went up to him, called him rascal or scoundrel, and offered to strike him; when England bid him stand off, or he would be obliged to knock him down, saying, at the same time, "We have interrupted the company sufficiently here, and if you have any thing further to say to me, you know where I am to be found." A farther altercation ensued; but his lordship, being at the other end of the stand, did not distinctly hear it, and then the parties retired.

Lord Dartry, now lord Cremorne, and his lady, with a gentleman, were at the inn at the time the duel was fought: they went into the garden, and endeavoured to prevent the duel; there were several other persons collected in the garden. Mr. Rowlls desired his lordship and others not to interfere; and on a second attempt of his lordship to make peace, Mr. Rowlls said, if they did not retire, he must, though reluctantly, call them impertinent. Mr. England, at the same time, stepped forward, and took off his hat: he said, "gentlemen, I have been cruelly treated; I have been injured in my honour and character; let there be reparation made, and I am ready to have done this moment." Lady Dartry retired; his lordship stood in the bower of the garden, until he saw Mr. Rowlls fall. One or two witnesses were called, who proved nothing material. A paper containing the prisoner's defence being read, the earl of Derby, marquis of Hertford, Mr. Whitbread, jun. col. Bishopp, and other gentlemen, were called to his character. They all spoke of him as a man of decent, gentlemanly deportment, who, instead of seeking quarrels, was stu-

dious to avoid them. He had been friendly to Englishmen whilst abroad, and had rendered some services to the military at the siege of Newport. Mr. justice Rooke summed up the evidence, after which the jury retired for about three quarters of an hour, when they returned a verdict, guilty of manslaughter. The prisoner having fled from the laws of his country for twelve years, the court was disposed to shew no lenity. He was therefore sentenced to pay a fine of one shilling, and to be imprisoned in Newgate twelve months.

20th. In the king's bench, came on the trial of Kyd Wake, indicted for a misdemeanour in hissing and hooting the king as his majesty was going to the parliament-house, on the first day of the present session, and likewise crying, "down with George, no war," &c. Mr. Stockdale, the bookseller, and Mr. Walford, the linen draper, who acted as constables on the day, were examined, and fully proved the facts charged in the indictment; upon which the jury, without hesitation, found a verdict, guilty. A great number of persons attended on the part of the prisoner; but as they could only speak to his general character, and not to the case in point, Mr. Erskine, the prisoner's counsel, declined calling upon them, reserving their testimony to be offered in mitigation of punishment, on the first day of next term, when the prisoner will be brought up to the court of king's bench to receive judgment.

21st. *Hull.* After the family were gone to bed, a very alarming fire broke out in the habitable part of Wressle Castle, which increased

increased with such rapidity that before the engines could be brought from Howden (a distance of four miles) the entire building was on fire; by which the whole, with the leaden covering, was entirely consumed, except one chamber, with the outer and some parts of the inner walls. It is supposed to have been occasioned by a chimney taking fire; from which no danger was apprehended when the family went to rest. The south side, or principal part of the quadrangle, being the only part left undemolished in 1650, contained the dining-room, drawing-room, and chapel, used as the parish-church ever since the other was ruined in the civil wars. In the two principal chambers were some beautiful stair-cases of singular contrivance, containing double flights of stairs, winding round each other, after the designs of Palladio.

24th. The following melancholy occurrence took place. As the ferry boat was crossing the river from Common-staithe quay to Old Lynn, at seven in the evening, with about 30 persons on board, it ran foul of the cable of a barge, and was unfortunately overset, by which accident it is feared that upwards of 20 persons have lost their lives; four more must inevitably have shared the same fate, but for the active and vigorous exertions of one of the passengers (John Price, a sailor), who at the imminent hazard of his life, and with that humanity and intrepidity which are the characteristics of an English sailor, rescued four fellow-creatures from death; he had seized a fifth (a woman), but the rapidity of the tide tore her from him, and he himself had

nearly perished in the attempt to save her life. Eight only of the bodies have yet been found. It is just 166 years since a similar accident happened at the same ferry, when 18 persons were unfortunately drowned.

DIEB. 7th.—At his lodgings in Bath, John Sibthorp, M. D, F. R. S. and regens professor of Botany in the university of Oxford. He was indefatigable in his researches for new and rare plants, and travelled twice into Turkey and Greece to collect them. The fatigues he underwent in his last tour entirely destroyed his constitution, and he has fallen a victim to his favourite study. He took the degree of M. A. June 28, 1780; of B. M. Dec. 8, 1783, (about which time his father resigned to him the professorship), and of D. M. Jan. 20, 1784. Some years ago the university appointed him a travelling fellow on Dr. Radcliff's foundation, and in that capacity he visited a great part of the European continent. At Gottingen his abilities were held in such estimation, that he was honoured with a degree in physic by the university. In 1794 he published a *Flora Oxoniensis*, and has left an estate of 300*l.* per annum to the university, in trust, to defray the expenses attending the publication of a *Flora Græca*; taken from specimens in his own valuable collection. After that work is finished, the sum of 200*l.* per annum is to be added to the salary of the Sherardian professor, on condition that he reads lectures on botany in every term. His excellent collection of plants and books he has bequeathed to the botanical library of the university.

17th. In his 59th year, James Macpherson, esq. M. P. for Camelford. Of this celebrated author of *Ossian* some anecdotes shall be given in a subsequent department of this volume.

M A R C H.

4th. Mr. B. D. Cock, driving a curricule round Camden-place, near Bath, the horses, in consequence of being too much curbed, became restive, and one of them, having broken the bar, suddenly dashed over a precipice upwards of 100 feet deep, by which the gentleman was literally dashed to pieces, the curricule destroyed, and the horses killed on the spot.

In the court of exchequer, in Dublin, a jury of merchants, on the 20th of February last, gave lord Westmeath a verdict of 10,000*l.* damages, against Mr. Bradshaw, son of sir Henry Cavendish, (who took the name of Bradshaw for a large estate), for crim. con. with lady Westmeath.—Lady Westmeath was a Miss Jefferys. She was married to lord Westmeath in 1784, and has two children by his lordship.

10th. *Derby.* What particularly engaged the attention of the public at our assizes was a charge against a woman of the name of Ann Moon, aged 24, for the wilful murder of her infant child, about 14 months old. The circumstances of this murder were as follows: On Friday last, this poor creature, who is the wife of a labouring man, was about to heat her oven, and being short of wood, had broken down a rail or two from the fencing round the plantation of

a gentleman in the neighbourhood; some of her neighbours threatened her with a prosecution, and told her she would be transported for it. This much alarmed her mind; and the idea of being separated from her child, of whom she had always appeared remarkably fond, so wrought on her imagination, that she formed the horrible design of putting it to death, in order that, by surrendering herself into the hands of justice, she might be executed for the murder, and so be for ever re-united in heaven to that babe whom she had loved more than life. As soon, therefore, as her husband was gone out to his labour, she proceeded to put this diabolical design into execution: she filled a large tub with water, when the babe, smiling in its mother's face, disarmed her for the moment, and she found herself unable to commit the horrid fact. She then lulled the babe to sleep at her breast, and wrapping a cloth round it, plunged it into the tub, and held it under water till life became extinct; then took it out of the tub, and laid it on the bed, and taking her hat and cloak, locked her street-door, and left her key at a neighbour's for her husband, when he should return from his labour. She then proceeded to walk eight or nine miles to a magistrate, and, requesting admission to him, told him the whole story, concluding with an earnest desire immediately to be executed. She was tried this morning; and, many strong instances of insanity for some years past appearing, the Jury found her not guilty.

At Stafford assizes, a remarkable cause was tried, in which Mrs. Docksey, sister and heir at law of the

the late Peter Garrick, esq. of Lichfield, (brother to the celebrated David Garrick) was plaintiff, and Mr. Panting, surgeon of that town, defendant. The defendant claimed all the real and personal property of the deceased, (nearly 30,000*l.*) under deeds of conveyance executed by Mr. Garrick at the advanced age of 85, to the total disinherison of all his relations and their families, and in derogation of many wills made in their favour, the last dated in 1791. Mr. Erskine led the cause for the plaintiff; and after a most eloquent and impassioned opening of the case, which lasted upwards of two hours, and the examination of several witnesses, the cause was relinquished on the part of the defendant.

Birmingham. Binns and

11th. Jones, two delegates from the London corresponding society, regardless of the laws and peace of the country, delivered (the one at the Swan in Swallow-street, and the other at the Bell public-house, in Suffolk-street in this town) their inflammatory lectures; information of which being given to William Hicks, esq. one of our magistrates, he immediately repaired, with the peace officers, to the illegal assemblies. The meeting at the Swan had broken up; but at the Bell they found Jones in a room haranguing about 70 people. As soon as he saw the magistrate, he was silent; but Mr. Hicks being made acquainted, by several who were present, of the seditious language he had held, immediately ordered the proclamation against disorderly meetings to be read, and the people in a few minutes dispersed. Jones was admonished by

the magistrate, who warned him to beware of his conduct in future, as a strict watch should be kept over him and all his associates.

16th. Were executed opposite Newgate, pursuant to their respective sentences, Tho. Kemp, the letter-carrier, Joseph Francis Bodkin for robbing Mr. Ardesoif, and William Fogden for horse-stealing.

25th. This evening about six o'clock, a disagreeable accident happened in Greek-street, the corner of Compton-street. Two men intoxicated to a great degree, assaulted every person they met; and one of them, who had a hammer in his hand, struck a passenger on the head with it, near the eye, which was beat in by the blow. They were at length secured, and carried to the office in Marlborough-street, whence they were removed to Tothill-fields bridge-well.

31st. Mr. Halhed has thought proper to dispose of all his oriental manuscripts, which he acquired with great labour and expence. These manuscripts the British museum has very laudably purchased.

Vienna. On the presentation of the princess royal of France, a particular circle had been formed for the solemnity, and the court was as numerous as it was brilliant. The empress presented the princess to the ambassadors and their ladies, and to certain ladies of the first rank. After which the other ministers and nobility were, in their turn, presented to her royal highness, by the grand mistress of her Imperial majesty's court, by the grand treasurer of the court, count Dietrichstein, and by prince Gavres,

Gavres, governor of the princess's court. The princess of France exceeded the general expectation on this occasion. Her beauty, her sensibility, her grace, her affability, and easy deportment, excited at once surprise and admiration. She said the most flattering things to field marshals Lascy, Clarfait, Colloredo, and Pelegrini; and to count Trautmansdorff. The French emigrants were presented to her royal highness by the marquis de Gallo, the Neapolitan ambassador. They were six in number: the duke de Guiche, captain of the guards to Louis XVI. who distinguished himself on the fifth of October, 1780; the marquis de Riviere, the Blondel of his master; count de Gourci; count de Merci; the marquis de la Vaupaliere, and M. D'Aschepar. Amongst the other French and foreigners, who were acknowledged by the princess, were the duke of Richelieu, count de Fersen, the chevalier Meyer, so well known for his literary productions; the bishop of Nanci, alike celebrated for his virtues and his talents; the duchess de Guiche, who shed tears; the countess de Vauban, and the countess d'Oudenarde. The presence of these faithful and unfortunate nobles contributed not a little to render this scene pecuniary interesting.

DIED.—In his 84th year, Abbé Raynal. He walked to Paris a week before his death; got a cold, which was followed by a catarrh, and kept his bed some days. On the day of his decease he got up, shaved and dressed himself. At six in the evening he went to bed; heard a newspaper read, and made some critical observations upon the operations announced in the paper.

At ten o'clock he died. The justice of the peace of the section des champs Elysées, did not chuse to bury him until he had asked the government whether it was intended to pay him any funeral honours.—He was employed, just before his death, upon a new edition of his philosophical history, and had presented an address to the directory to obtain from the agents of the republic in foreign countries the documents, of which he stood in need, relative to the commerce of different nations, to the East India companies, and some other objects of his work. The directory immediately complied with his request, and sent the necessary orders to the French ambassadors in Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Spain, and Italy. It is known that the abbé had, among his manuscripts, a history of the revocation of the edict of Nantes, in four volumes; but it is rumoured that, under the reign of Robespierre, he burnt part of his papers.

17. At the Hague, Peter Paulus, president of the first national convention there, and one of the principal authors of the revolution in Holland. In him his country loses one of its most zealous defenders, the patriotic party their chief support, the convention its head, and marine its ablest director. He has fallen a sacrifice to his exertions as president. His death has produced the same sensations at the Hague as the death of Mirabeau did at Paris. The greatest honours have been paid to the first president of the Batavian convention; and a degree of that assembly declares that he never ceased to deserve well of his country; which decree, written on vellum, the convention

convention has resolved to present to his widow; and to give her, at the same time, the national scarf with which he was decorated at the opening of the convention.

At his house in Norton-Street, sir William Chambers, knight of the polar star, surveyor-general of his majesty's board of works, treasurer of the royal academy, and fellow of the royal and antiquarian societies. A further account of this architect shall be given under the head of characters.

A P R I L.

2d. The intimation of the first performance of a piece ascribed to the pen of Shakspeare produced this night the effect which might naturally have been expected in a metropolis filled with his admirers. At four o'clock the doors of the theatre were besieged, and, a few minutes after they were opened, the pit was crowded solely with gentlemen. Before six not a place was to be found in the boxes, and the passages were filled. The play of Vortigern was announced for representation as the production of our immortal bard; but the tale of its long concealment and happy recovery was not heard without suspicion; which his votaries wished to heighten into immediate incredulity. The town, however, retained its candour; and, we believe, the predominant sentiment in the audience, on this evening, was a wish to welcome with rapture the recovered offspring of their beloved Shakspeare. A play was therefore performed, founded in some degree on the historical account of the ambition of Vorti-

gern, the usurper of Britain; his murder of Constantius; his alliance with the Saxons; and his passion for Rowena, the daughter of the Saxon chief. The events are warped into a resemblance to those of Macbeth, Richard III. &c. with the inadvertency of a copyist, who was more intent on imitating the language than the genius of Shakspeare. The characters are such as would not have been drawn by that astonishing writer in the exercise of his usual faculties. He is remarkable in seldom borrowing from himself. The play is destitute of all those gigantic metaphors, and bold allusions, which, approaching the limits of possibility, astonish and alarm our imaginations into a sympathy with his sublime conceptions. The language, though evidently an imitation, is infinitely beneath the original, which possesses an aptitude, a facility, and harmony, which has never been surpassed. The audience betrayed symptoms of impatience early in the representation; but finding its taste insulted by bloated terms, which heightened the general insipidity, its reason puzzled by discordant images, false ornaments, and abortive efforts to elevate and astonish; pronounced its sentence of condemnation, at the conclusion of the play; and we have no doubt that Vortigern, if it be published, will rank in character, though not in merit, with the perverted and surprising labours of the unfortunate Chatterton.

This most gross and impudent imposition had, however, its supporters, as the following attestation, drawn up by the rev. Dr. Parr, shews.

We whose names are hereunto subscribed,

subscribed, here in the presence, and by the favour of Mr. Ireland, have inspected the Shakespeare papers, and are convinced of their authenticity.

Samuel Parr,	James Boswell,
John Twedale,	LAUDERDALE,
Thomas Burgess,	Rev. J. Scott,
bart.	KINNAIRD.
John Byng,	J. Pinkerton,
James Bindley,	Thomas Blunt.
Herbert Croft,	H. J. Pye,
SOMERSET.	Rev. N. Thorn-
I. Heard, garter	bury,
king of arms,	John Hewlett,
E. Webb,	Matthew Wyatt,
E. Valpy,	J. F. Newton.

To the above an attestation is also subjoined as to the authenticity of the autographs and fac-similies of the deeds, with twelve signatures.

6th. The new charter of Northampton this day brought from London by the mayor, was met at the foot of the bridge by the corporation with great ceremony, and conducted to the Guildhall amidst the congratulations of the townsmen on the re-establishment of their ancient privileges, and the security and protection afforded to the poor.

7th. The trial of admiral Cornwallis, for disobedience of orders, in not proceeding to the West Indies, pursuant to the instructions of the admiralty board, commenced on board the Orion at Portsmouth, at eight o'clock in the morning. The charges were three in number. The substance of them is as follows: 1st, that admiral Cornwallis, after having sailed from England for the West Indies, and proceeded a considerable way on his voyage, did return, contrary to the orders he had received. 2dly, That

not having a sufficient regard to the importance of the situation of a commander in chief, he omitted to shift his flag on board of some other ship, after the Royal Sovereign had been disabled, in order to proceed, as he ought to have done, to the place of his destination; but that, instead of doing so, he gave his instructions and the command of the convoy to another officer. And, 3dly, That after his return he disobeyed another order of the board of admiralty, by not hoisting his flag on board the Astrea frigate, and proceeding to the West Indies, as he had been ordered by their lordships.

The evidence having been gone through, the trial closed at one o'clock, when the court pronounced the following sentence.

“The court having heard the evidence in support of the charges exhibited against the honourable William Cornwallis, vice-admiral of the red; and having heard his defence, and the evidence in his behalf, and having maturely weighed and considered the same, were of opinion,

That, with respect to the two first charges, of his returning without leave, after having been ordered to proceed to Barbadoes, and of his disobeying the orders he had received, misconduct was imputable to him, for not having shifted his flag on board the Mars or Minotaur, and proceeded in either of them to the West Indies; but, in consideration of other circumstances, the court acquitted him of any disobedience in his conduct on that occasion.

“With respect to the third charge, of his having, after his return, disobeyed the orders of the board

board of admiralty, in not going out to the West Indies in the *Astrea* frigate, the court were of opinion that the charge was not proved, and therefore acquitted admiral Cornwallis upon that charge.

10th. Early this morning, the wife of Mr. Sawyer, a boat-builder, near the Bishop's walk, Lambeth, was discovered in her bed-room, with her brains dashed out, and stabbed in a most shocking manner. This horrid deed is supposed to have been accomplished by some diabolical villains, who entered the back part of the house leading to the river, and, meeting with resistance to their schemes of plunder, perpetrated the hellish deed. The murderers escaped without creating the least alarm. It is a circumstance particularly remarkable, that, although the husband of the murdered woman was in the house the whole time, he declares he neither heard nor saw any thing of the transaction.

11th. This morning a little before 12, three malefactors were executed at Kennington-common: a brush-maker, for a riot in St. George's fields, a young man for sheep-stealing, and a man for house-breaking.

Letters from Smyrna unfortunately advise us of the conflagration of 4000 warehouses, entirely belonging to Ottoman merchants, the value of which is estimated at four millions of piastres.

21st. Advice was received at the admiralty, brought by lieut. Crispe, of the *Telemachus* cutter, of the capture of the enterprising sir Sidney Smith, commander of his majesty's ship *Diamond*, on the coast of France. Having, on the 18th instant boarded and taken a

lugger privateer, belonging to the enemy, in Havre-de-Grace harbour, by the boats of his squadron, then on a reconnoitring expedition, and the tide making strong into the harbour, she was driven above the French forts, who, the next morning, the 19th, discovering, at break of day, the lugger in tow by a string of English boats, immediately made the signal of alarm, which collected together several gun-boats, and other armed vessels, that attacked the lugger and British boats; when, after an obstinate resistance of two hours, sir Sidney had the mortification of being obliged to surrender himself prisoner of war, with about sixteen of his people, and three officers with him in the lugger. The *Diamond* frigate is safe, but could afford her commander no assistance, there not being a breath of wind during the whole of this unfortunate transaction; we are happy to add, that only four British seamen were killed, and one officer and six seamen slightly wounded. The seamen were immediately thrown into prison on their landing; and sir Sidney underwent a long examination before the French commandant, after which he was ordered to be conveyed, under a strong escort, to Paris. The following were amongst the officers captured with sir Sidney Smith: Messrs. W. Moory, R. Kenyon, and R. Barrow: one of these was wounded. When the officers on board the *Diamond* heard of the disaster which had befallen their gallant commander, they sent a flag of truce into Havre, to enquire whether he was wounded, and entreating that he might be treated with kindness. The governor returned

turned for answer, that sir Sidney was well, and that he should be treated with the utmost humanity and attention. The French, it appears, warped out another lugger of superior force against that captured by sir Sidney Smith in Havre-de-Grace harbour, with which they engaged him, for a considerable time, with so much heavier metal, that rendered all his resistance ineffectual, and therefore compelled him to strike.

14th. Two of the officers belonging to Bow-street arrived in town from Liverpool with Henry Weston, who is charged with committing divers forgeries on the bank of England to the amount of 17000*l*. He had got to Liverpool, and sent his luggage on board the *Hector*, bound for St. Vincent's in the West Indies, which ship had got down to a place called the Gut, about seven miles below Liverpool, and was to have sailed the next morning. The officers found him in bed at Bates's hotel, with a brace of loaded pistols by his side. On their road to town, Weston found means to conceal a case knife in his pantaloons, and on changing chaises at the King's Head, Hounslow, he requested to go to the privy, where he cut his own throat, but missing one of the arteries, did not effect his purpose.

25th. This night the counting-house of Mr Mingay, of Smithfield (who in the interim was speaking to a friend in the back room on the same floor) was broke open, and a bag of gold, containing 1200 guineas, which had been placed in readiness to send to his banker's in the morning, was taken clear off.

30th. In consequence of a publication addressed by lord Malden to the inhabitants of the borough of Leominster, the duke of Norfolk, accompanied by capt. Wombwell, of the first West York regiment of militia; and lord Malden, accompanied by capt. Taylor, aid de camp to his royal highness the duke of York, met on Saturday evening in a field beyond Paddington. The parties having taken their ground, and the word being given by one of the seconds, they fired without effect. The seconds then thought proper to offer their interference, and, in consequence of a conversation which passed while the parties were on the ground, a reconciliation was effected.

In an act now before the house of commons, for the further support and maintenance of curates within the church of England, the preamble recites the act of the 12th of queen Ann, by which every rector or vicar is enjoined to pay to each curate a sum not exceeding 50*l*. and not less than 20*l*. a year. It states, that this allowance is now become insufficient for the maintenance of a curate. The bill therefore enacts, that the bishop or ordinary shall have power to allow the curate a sum not exceeding seventy five pounds a year, with the use of the rectory or vicarage-house, where the rector does not reside four months in the year, or 15*l*. in lieu thereof.

DIED—19th. In Doctors Commons, George Harris, D. C. L. son of Dr. John Harris, bishop of Landaff, chancellor of the dioceses of Durham, Hereford, and Landaff, and commissary of Essex, Herts; and

and Surrey. He has left a large fortune, which he has chiefly bequeathed to public charities: 10,000*l.* to the Westminster Lying-in hospital, donations equally liberal to several others, and the residue (supposed to be 40,000*l.*) to St. George's hospital.

At his house in Stafford-
21st. row, Pimlico, aged 89, Richard Yates, esq. the celebrated comedian; his reputation in the parts of old and grotesque characters especially, was eminently great. He was remarkable for pure and chaste acting up to the words of his author with a scrupulous attention; the more remarkable, as performers of this cast of acting frequently introduce their own humour, with what may be called the *licentia histrionica* of the drama. He excelled also in teaching or making an actor, in a higher degree, perhaps, than any one of his time. He was married, first, to a woman who was rich; secondly, to Miss Anna Maria Graham, who had been introduced to his tuition by Mr. Garrick, and with him she first came on the stage at Birmingham. Mr. Yates died suddenly. He had been very well, as usual, for some time, and had breakfasted heartily. Having ordered eels for dinner, when, unfortunately, they could not be had, his warm and hasty temper could ill bear the disappointment; and from anger he worked himself up to rage. His housekeeper, zealous to please him, went out a long way, and brought some; ere she returned, exhausted with fatigue of spirits, he had leaned his head upon the table, and she found him dead.

M A Y.

This day a storm of thunder
1st. was remarkably tremendous in the western part of Sussex. At Pulborough a barn was set on fire by the lightning, and entirely consumed. Luckily it contained only seven quarters of oats. In the neighbourhood of the above place, the peas in the fields were considerably injured by a heavy fall of hail, which accompanied the thunder.

Northampton. The following
7th. dreadful accident happened a few days since to Mr. J. Robinson, horse-breaker, in Peterborough: having a young colt in training, the animal began on a sudden to plunge, by which means the rider was thrown from his seat with such violence, as to separate the ribs from the back-bone. The unfortunate man is attended by an eminent surgeon, and there are hopes of his recovery.

A few days ago, as a groom was combing a race-horse in the neighbourhood of Beverley, in Yorkshire, the animal became so irritated as to catch hold of the man's side with his teeth, and tear away the flesh in so shocking a manner, as to render his bowels and entrails visible. The poor fellow's recovery is much despaired of.

On Saturday the sheriffs of
9th. London and Middlesex appeared in the Exchequer chamber, to render into court their estreats, levies, captions, &c. and to answer an officer called the opposer, for the crown. Several of the sheriffs' officers, no doubt, being engaged about their country houses and their carriages, had forgotten to make any returns, in consequence of which the sheriffs were ordered

to attend in person next term, for the purpose of being examined upon interrogatories by the officer before the barons. This is a circumstance to which nothing similar has happened for a great many years.

An important cause came on to be tried in the common pleas, in consequence of an issue directed from the court of chancery on the question of fact, whether the late earl of Orford devised by his last will any lands and effects to the earl of Cholmondeley. The case is briefly this.—On the 25th of November, 1752, the earl of Orford made a will, in which he bequeathed his principal estates, after the demise of his immediate heir, the present earl of Orford, to the earl of Cholmondeley, whose grandfather had married the daughter of his ancestor, sir Robert Walpole, the first earl of Orford. In 1756, the earl of Orford made a second will, in which he changed the order of succession, and gave a preference over the earl of Cholmondeley to lord Walpole, who is descended in a direct line from the second brother of the first earl of Orford.—This, of course, annihilated the first will; and, had nothing farther occurred, no question could have arisen on the subject. But, in 1776, twenty years after the second will was made, the earl of Orford signed a codicil, the purport of which was to make various provisions which had been omitted in his wills, and declared this codicil to be a codicil to his last will, signed on the 25th day of November, 1752. On the part of the plaintiff, it was contended that this codicil, which was duly signed and attested, was a revival and setting up of the will to which it referred;

and that, of course, that will retained the same force and effect, as if the second will had never been made. On the part of the defendant, it was maintained, in the first place, that the codicil was destitute of those forms, expressly required by the statute of wills, which could alone give it the effect of reviving a first will in preference to a second, where a real estate was devised; and, secondly, that it was the intention of the testator to annex the codicil to the second, and not to the first will. To establish these points, it was proposed to adduce parol evidence; but the court interfered; and were unanimous in their opinion, that the established law of the land forbade the admission of parol evidence to contradict a written and perfect instrument, such as the will and codicil together appeared to be; that the word *last*, on which the counsel for the defendant had laid so much stress, was an expression which had no determinate meaning until the death of the testator, when it operated to explain the intended last act of his life; that neither the will of 1751, nor the will of 1756, was, in fact, a will until the testator was dead; that an alteration of the date of the codicil would be making a new disposition for the dead, which no court upon earth was entitled to do; the only power vested in a court, on the subject of wills, being that of explaining the intention of the deceased, which, in this case, was perfectly clear; that wills ought only to be considered as ambulatory instruments, subject to the pleasure of the owner, and to be used by him as his judgment or caprice might direct; and that the will of

1752. was absolutely revived, and made his last act by the codicil of 1756. The jury, agreeing with the court, found a verdict for the plaintiff; in consequence of which, the earl of Cholmondeley will succeed, at the death of the present earl of Orford, to an estate of the annual value of 10,000*l.* exclusive of the magnificent seat at Houghton, which is supposed to have cost upwards of 200,000*l.* and some other property.

Kyd Wake, who was convicted at the sittings after last Hilary term of having, on the first day of the present session of parliament, insulted his majesty in his passage to and from parliament, by hissing, and using several indecent expressions, such as, "No George—no war," received the judgment of the court; viz. "That he be imprisoned, and kept to hard labour in Gloucester gaol, during the term of five years: that, during the first three months of his imprisonment, he do stand for one hour, between the hours of eleven and two, in the pillory, in one of the public streets of Gloucester, on a market-day; and that, at the expiration of his imprisonment, he do find security for 1000*l.* for his good behaviour for 10 years."

Crossfield, Le Maitre, Higgins, and Smith, were placed at the bar of the Old Bailey, charged with a conspiracy to assassinate the King. Crossfield pleaded generally Not Guilty.—Le Maitre said, he had good objections to make to the indictment, but, relying on his innocence, would not make them; he therefore pleaded Not Guilty; as did George Higgins and John Smith. Some consultation was then held at the bar, when

Le Maitre, Higgins and Smith, were remanded, and Crossfield was put on his trial. The attorney-general addressed the jury, and having concisely stated the law, submitted to them the following account of facts in the case:—Some time since a man of the name of Upton, before the highest magistrates of the country, his majesty's privy-council, accused himself and several others; directly, with the design of assassinating his majesty. Among the persons so accused was the prisoner at the bar, who thought proper not to abide the justice of his country, but to fly from it. The prisoner at the bar, in company with Upton and another, went to a brass founder's, where they endeavoured to procure a brass cylinder, extremely smooth in the internal surface, of the length of three feet, and with a bore of five-eighths of an inch. From thence they went to another brass-founder's, on Snow-hill, where they endeavoured to procure the same article; and upon the man's wishing to know for what purpose it was intended, he was answered, that it was a secret. A third brass-founder was also visited upon the same errand by the prisoner and Upton; and from thence they went to one Hill's, who was a turner, and lived in Bartholomew-close, for the purpose of his turning them models of the instrument they wished to make. In answer to his enquiry for what purpose it was destined, he was told, for an electrical machine. From another witness, of the name of Cuthbert, the jury would hear, that they examined an air-gun. There were also draughts of the instruments, which would be submitted to their inspection,

and they would perceive that the arrow was of a peculiar construction. It had points or barbs, which upon meeting any hard substance collapsed in the head of the arrow, and afterwards opened again, so as to prevent its being withdrawn when once it had entered the flesh; and towards the point there was a small hole for emitting any liquid which might be placed in a cavity prepared for holding of it. The consideration of one of these draughts might be important in the cause, because the dimensions marked on the margin were the hand-writing of the prisoner. When the information of Upton was received before the privy council, as he had before informed them, the prisoner at the bar absconded, and they should be able to trace him to Bristol; afterwards he returned to London; then went to Portsmouth, where he entered on board a vessel bound for the Southern whale-fishery, as surgeon. The name of this vessel was the Pomona; and, shortly after he came on board, they sailed from Portsmouth to Falmouth, during which time his behaviour was in every respect becoming and decent. When he was at sea, however, he told them who he was, and avowed his having been concerned in a plot to kill the king, by an air-gun; and said, that if government knew he was on board that ship, they would send a frigate after her, to bring her back. It so happened, that two days after they were at sea, they were captured by a French corvette, La Vengeance; and he expressed the utmost satisfaction at the thoughts of going to France; feeling himself much safer there, than while amongst an English crew. They

were put on board another ship, the Elizabeth, and afterwards again transferred at Brest to another. During this time he rather acted as a superintendant of the prisoners than as one himself. He had frequent conversations with the French commissaries, and made several declarations as to his former and future intentions of killing the king. It seemed then his intention to remain there or go to Holland: but upon the arrival of a cartel ship, he came home under the name of H. Wilson, and described himself as one of the crew of the Hope, and not of the Pomona, as he really was. Upon his passage home, he endavoured to persuade the witnesses not to notice when they got home what passed at Brest, nor the circumstances of the change of ship and name. They were landed at Fowey in Cornwall, and upon these men giving information to the magistrates of what had passed, he was instantly apprehended. In coming to town, he endeavoured to persuade the officers to let him escape, and told them they could not expect above 5s. for their job, but he could reward them much more liberally. One asked, if they consented, what they could do with the post-boy? He answered, the boy might easily be secured by one of the pistols which the officer carried. Having thus gone through the circumstances of the case, the attorney general observed, there were two points for the consideration of the jury. The first, whether the prisoner was a party to the fabrication of this weapon; and secondly, whether it was designed for the purpose charged in the indictment.

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He then proceeded to call evidence to substantiate the case.

The evidence for the crown being closed; Mr. Adam, counsel for the prisoner, said, he was afraid his case would take up a great length of time; he therefore submitted to the court, whether they would adjourn, or whether they wished him then to proceed.

After some consultation between the judges and the jury, the court adjourned at eleven o'clock at night to the next day.

12th. The trial proceeded; when the prisoner's counsel addressed the jury in his defence. They relied chiefly on the equivocations of the witnesses, on the prisoner's character; and that Upton in his information, was actuated by motives of revenge, for having been disgraced in one of their clubs.

The attorney general replied in a very able manner; and the learned judge summed up with candour and accuracy.

The jury, after retiring about two hours, brought in a verdict of Not Guilty.

13th. Henry Weston, the unfortunate young man who forged the name of general Tonyn, and thereby got possession of 5000*l.* stock, was tried at the Old Bailey, and capitally convicted. He calmly addressed the court after conviction, acknowledging the justice of his sentence, and hoping all young men would avail themselves of his example, and avoid the crime (gaming) which had brought him into such a miserable situation.

14th. The trial of William Austin came on at the Old Bailey this morning at eight o'clock, before Mr. Justice Grose, and lasted till half past seven in the evening,

when he was found guilty of being concerned in the forgery of the late Mr. Lewis's will.

16th. An action was brought in the court of King's Bench, by lord Valentia against Mr. Gawler, for crim. con. with lady Valentia. The damages were laid at 10,000*l.* Mr. Erskine, with his usual ability, stated the case, and the criminal conversation was clearly proved from the evidence of a maid servant, lady Lucy Maxwell (his lordship's sister), and others. The defence set up was, that lord Valentia not only winked at, but in some measure promoted the incontinency of his wife. Lord Kenyon delivered an excellent charge to the jury, and they brought in a verdict of 2000*l.* damages.

On the morning of Friday the 13th of this month, the Peak hills in Derbyshire were covered with snow near four inches deep, the contrast between which, and the green thorn fruit trees in full bloom, formed a spectacle novel and striking.

There has lately been discovered at Wallingford an old painting, on oak, of our Lord's last entrance into Jerusalem, which has been used as a chimney-board, and was near being thrown into the fire; but turns out an original of the great Raphael's. The drawing, expression, and arrangement, astonish all who have seen the picture. Connoisseurs far and near are going to its owner continually to behold this fine piece, rescued by accident from obscurity and the flames, and likely to produce no inconsiderable sum by its sale. Several hundred pounds have already been offered for it and refused.

17th. The triennial Eton festival was celebrated with great splendor. Their majesties and the princesses, accompanied by the prince of Wales, went to the college at half past one, when the procession of the young gentlemen began, preceded by the prince of Wales's band of music. Their captain, Mr. Whitfield, being the senior scholar, led the van, with their serjeants, searjeants-major, colonels, corporals, ensign, lieutenant, polemen, musicians, &c. Messrs. Polehampton and Halifax, with twelve servitors, acted as salt-bearers, and by their legal depredations on the public gained a liberal supply towards sending their captain into the world with a good grace. When they came to Salthill, they were met by the king and prince of Wales on horseback, attended by general Gwyn and colonels Garth and Greville: her majesty and the princesses, with lady Harrington and her son, were in the royal coaches. The king took on himself the ordering and marshaling the multitude in such a manner, as the procession might pass freely round the carriages of the royal family; many, however, notwithstanding, pressed so close, that his majesty was obliged to call them to order, and ask those he thought were Londoners, "if they were members of Eton, as he could not recognize their persons sufficiently to recollect them." At the close of the procession, ensign Hatch went to the top of the hill, and displayed the flag in a very masterly style, to the satisfaction of every person present. When the Montem was over, the king requested that, on their return home from the Windmill-inn, where an elegant dinner

was provided, they might appear on Windsor terrace, which they did in the evening. The royal family, after having given their usual donations, returned to the lodge to dinner. The fineness of the day also drew an immense concourse of persons on foot and horseback to view the sight, which afforded, according to Mr. Halifax the salt-bearer's account, on being asked the question by his majesty, a very profitable harvest.

20th. This day came on the trial of John Reeves, esq. for a libel, before lord Kenyon and a special jury at Guildhall. This prosecution was instituted; in consequence of a resolution of the house of commons, on account of a pamphlet published by Mr. R. entitled, "Thoughts on the English Government;" and in which were the expressions, "that the kingly government might go on, if lords and commons were lopped off;" and such other expressions as were deemed a libel by the house.

The attorney general stated the case on the part of the crown, and left it to the jury to consider, whether the expressions alluded to were merely unadvised and erroneous; or whether, considering the whole context of the pamphlet, they were, as charged, libellous, and tending to villify the constitution.

Mr. Plumer, in behalf of Mr. Reeves, admitted the fact of publication; and contended, from the whole tenor of the work, and the known character of Mr. Reeves, and his enthusiastic admiration and support against democracy, of the British constitution, that no imputation of libel could be fixed on him.

Lord Kenyon delivered an admirable

mirable charge to the jury, who retired, and remained out of court for upwards of an hour. When they returned, the foreman said, "My lord, the jury are of opinion, that the pamphlet, which has been proved to have been written by John Reeves, esq. is a very improper publication; but being of opinion, that his motives were not such as laid in the information, find him — Not Guilty."

27th. A very melancholy and extraordinary transaction took place. Lord Charles Townshend, and his brother lord Frederick Townshend, sons to the marquis Townshend, had been to Great Yarmouth, for which place lord Charles had been just chosen representative; they arrived in town yesterday morning about six o'clock, and when they had reached Oxford-street, near the Pantheon, the post-boys stopped to enquire where the bishop of Bristol, to whose house they had been ordered to drive, lived; when lord Frederick jumped out of the chaise, and struck one of the boys, which gave rise to an altercation, that drew together several persons who were passing by. Among these was a coachman, to whom lord Frederick particularly addressed himself; insisting upon it that he knew where the bishop lived; and on the man protesting that he did not, his lordship abused him with great violence; and, with the most deplorable marks of insanity, threw off his coat, waistcoat, and shirt, and challenged him to fight. Unable to provoke the man to a contest, he walked leisurely away towards Hanover-square, when some persons who had been attentive to the whole scene, looked

into the carriage, and saw a lifeless body on the seat, which proved to be the corpse of lord Charles. Lord Frederick was immediately pursued, and being taken near the end of Swallow-street, was conducted to a neighbouring watch-house, whither the body of his brother was also conveyed. As soon as the magistrates at the police-office in Marlborough-street were apprised of the circumstance, they ordered lord Frederick to be brought before them, together with the postillions who drove him to town. His lordship, when interrogated on the melancholy subject, betrayed the most unequivocal symptoms of mental derangement, and it became necessary for the magistrates to apply to the postillions for the information they wanted. From their evidence it appeared, that about seven miles from town, in the vicinity of Ilford, one of them had heard the report of a pistol, when, looking round, he saw lord Frederick throw a pistol out of the chaise window; but he did not stop to inquire the cause of it. This was all that could be collected till the evening, when the agitation of lord Frederick had subsided, and he had recovered a considerable degree of composure. Lord Frederick then, on being asked concerning his brother's death, said, they had been discussing a religious subject, and lord Charles took a pistol and blew out his own brains, and that he had endeavoured to destroy himself, but his pistol failed. The mayor of Yarmouth was present, and declared that their lordships' conduct at that place appeared that of madmen, which induced him to follow them to town, being fearful some accident might happen.

The evidence of the servants, respecting the conduct of their lordships, was similar to the above. A pistol was found unloaded in the carriage, which appeared to have been just fired. The pistol which had put an end to the life of lord Charles had been placed in his mouth, and loaded with two slugs or balls, one of which perforated the skull, and the other was extracted from the mouth. Neither the teeth nor tongue were injured, so that it is evident that no violence had been used in the introduction of the fatal instrument, and the death of lord Charles might not improbably be an act of his own, committed in a paroxysm of phrenzy. Last night the coroner's inquest sat on the body; when, after a long examination, the jury brought in a verdict—"That the deceased had been killed by a pistol-ball, but from whose hands unknown."

30th. Yesterday and this day there was a very heavy gale of wind from the south-west, which blew in gusts with uncommon violence. Much damage was sustained in many parts of the metropolis by the blowing down of chimneys, untiling houses, and in some of the environs of the town many trees were torn up by the roots. In Dean's yard, Westminster, part of the old ruinous buildings came down by the violence of the wind with a great crash. Luckily it had been some time since railed and paled in, so that no person was near enough to receive any damage. In St. James's Park more than a dozen large trees were torn up by the roots, and the foliage of others were scattered in every direction. The passage to Spring Gardens was as thickly

strewn with leaves as any orchard in autumn. A part of one of the stands, erected in Covent-Garden for the accommodation of the spectators of the election, was blown down: there were, however, no persons on it at the time, as from its elevation it was not considered safe. Part of the roof of a house at the corner of College-hill, Dowgate, was thrown down; which, falling upon a poor woman passing at the time, bruised her so severely, that she was carried to St. Bartholomew's hospital, without hopes of recovery. Several buildings in the neighbourhood of Houndsditch, Bishopsgate-street, &c. were also unroofed, and some trees in the quarter of Moorfields were torn up by the roots. In Lambeth-marsh, an empty house, condemned by the commissioners of the road, was blown down; as were the roofs from some of the buildings in the same quarter.

JUNE.

1st. At the final close of the poll for members of parliament for the city of London, at Guildhall, the numbers were, for

Mr. alderman Lushington	4379
The lord mayor - - -	4313
Mr. alderman Combe - -	3865
Mr. alderman Anderson	3170
Mr. alderman Pickett - -	2795
Sir Watkin Lewes - - -	2354

10th. An officer belonging to a party on the recruiting service at Brecon, took an opportunity, whilst a post-chaise was waiting for him at the door of an inn in the town of Hay, to shoot himself, and deliberately contrive to send the ball through his head in such

such a direction, that he instantly fell, and died without a groan.

Between 11 and 12 in the 13th. forenoon a fire broke out in the hay loft over the oil-mill of Messrs. Watts and Parsons in Turners hill, Marsh-lane, Chesunt; which in a short time consumed the whole premises, with fifty loads of oil ready to remove, not without suspicion of wilful mischief, the mill having been on fire a week before.

At the close of the poll 13th. for Westminster, the numbers were, for

Mr. Fox - - 5160

Admiral Gardner - 4814

Mr. Horne Tooke - 2819

Andrew Robinson Bowes, who was committed for an assault upon lady Strathmore, and who has been in prison eleven years, was brought up, and in consequence of the sign manual produced in court, containing his majesty's most gracious pardon, was discharged upon his own recogni zance.

Lord Kenyon, in summing up to the jury on a little wretched play debt, said, it is to be lamented, that gaming is so prevalent among the highest ranks of society, which have set the example to their inferiors, and who, it seems, are too great for the law. I wish they could be punished. "If any prosecutions are fairly brought before me, and the parties are justly convicted, whatever may be their rank or station in the country, though they be the first ladies in the land, they shall certainly exhibit themselves in the pillory."

Charlestown. On the 13th of June a most alarming fire broke out in Lodge-alley, which baffled all the exertions of a numerous concourse of citizens, who speedily

assembled to extinguish the devouring flames, till Tuesday morning, when a considerable part of the city was laid in ashes. Those acquainted with the city will conceive the damage done, on being told, that every house in Queen-street, from the bay to the corner of Church-street; all Union-street continued—two-thirds of Union-street—Church-street, from Broad-street, to St. Phillip's church, with only two exceptions—Chalmers's & Beresford's alleys—Kinloch's court—and the north side of Broad-street, from the state house of Mr. Jacks's, four doors below Church-street; and five houses on the Bay, from the corner of Queen-street, were burnt to the ground. The public buildings destroyed, are the French church, and several adjoining buildings. Phillip's church was on fire at different times, and ultimately must have been destroyed, if a spirited negro man had not ascended to the top of the cupola, next to the vane, and tore off the shingles. The private buildings destroyed, and the property they contained, are of immense amount. Five hundred chimnies, it is said, have been counted, from which the buildings are burnt; and 150,000l. sterling, is supposed to be a sum far short of the value of those buildings. The goods and furniture destroyed are probably nearly equal to this sum.

23d. The new college at Hackney, with 18 acres of land, was this day knocked down at 5700l. whether to a real or fictitious bidder we have not heard. The adjoining house, inhabited by Dr. Rees, as president of the college, was bought by him, or in his name, for 1050l. The fate of this building, on which the proprietors

prietors acknowledge immense sums have been expended in building, and for which more than twice the sum it now fetched had been refused, and the fate of the institution itself, affords a striking proof that the people of this country are not disposed to encourage the modern philosophers in their attempts to undermine the constitution. That seminary was instituted under the most favourable auspices. The most wealthy and respectable part of the dissenters were disposed to support the institution; but, that support having been withdrawn, the building is brought to the hammer. Whether it shall be converted into barracks, being not farther from the east than those in Hyde-park from the western extremity of the capital, or into a country settlement of any capital public and more constitutional school in London, or serve as a supplement to Bedlam, already too crowded to receive more inhabitants, time must shew.

27th. The following melancholy accident happened yesterday morning in Houghton-street, Clare-market:—Two houses suddenly gave way, and buried in their ruins sixteen unfortunate inhabitants. At noon, thirteen were got out and conveyed to the parish workhouse in Portugal-street. Of these, three had been dug out, shockingly mangled, without the least symptoms of life: two children, apparently dead, were restored to life by the means prescribed by the humane society in cases of suffocation; the rest received some of them slight and others severe contusions. But what rendered their situation the more deplorable was that they recognized, or ex-

pected to recognize, in every individual who was brought in, a relative or a friend.

The landlord of one of the houses, it is reported, received notice of the insecurity of his house two days ago, but did not apprise the lodgers of their danger for fear of losing them.

28th. A duel was fought in a field within three miles of Hamburg, between Lord Valentia and Henry Gawler, esq. They left England with their seconds and surgeons for the express purpose of fighting. They fired together. Mr. Gawler's ball took place; it entered his lordship's breast-bone, and lodged near the neck; it was extracted on the field, and he is considered to be out of danger. Lord Valentia's ball passed through Mr. Gawler's hat. The affair between Mr. Gawler and lady Valentia was the subject of the dispute.

DIED.—At Bedwell-park, Herts, in his 76th year, Samuel Whitbread, esq.; whose abilities, integrity, benevolence, and public spirit, will transmit his character with respect to posterity. His father was a yeoman of Bedfordshire, who lived at the Barns at Cardington, in that county, on an estate of about 200*l.* per annum, which devolved to his eldest son, who much improved it by building, and spent much of his time at it after he purchased Bedwell-park. He is said to have died worth a million at least; the bulk of which he has bequeathed to his son. He was half-brother to Ives Whitbread, esq. hardwareman, of Cannon-street, and sheriff of London with Mr. Beckford, in 1755. By his first wife, Harriet, daughter of — Haytor, an eminent attorney, of London,

JULY.

son; whom he married in 1757, and who died in 1764, he has left issue a son, Samuel, gentleman-commoner of Christ church, Oxford, and representative of the town of Bedford in several parliaments after his father gave it up, and two daughters; the eldest married, in 1789, to James Gordon, jun. esq. of More-park, Herts; the younger Emma, to Henry Beauchamp lord St. John of Bletso, 1780. Mr. Whitbread, married to his second wife, 1769, lady Mary, youngest daughter of the late earl, and sister to the present marquis Cornwallis, who died in 1770, in childbed of an only daughter, married, in June, 1795, to capt. George Grey, late of the Boyne man of war, of 98 guns, third son of sir Charles Grey, K. B. and nephew of sir Harry Grey, bart. whose sister was married in 1788 to the present Mr. Whitbread, and by whom he has several children. His extensive establishments in the brewery were long unrivalled, and perhaps, to a certain point, remain so still, and excited the envy even of a poet (Dr. Walcot) who spares not royalty, though in this instance of his satire, he has perpetuated a compliment to the sovereign and the man of malt by coupling them together. Mr. Whitbread's liberal charity will be witnessed by every parish where he had property, and in the distribution of his private benevolence, which is said to have exceeded 3000*l.* per annum; for no proper application met with a repulse; and to his honour let it here be recorded, that, several years before his death, he settled on St. Luke's hospital for lunatics a perpetual rent-charge of one hundred guineas, payable out of his extensive premises in Chiswell-street.

At the Old Bailey, Mary 1st. Nott was capitally convicted, for the wilful murder of M. le Marquis de Gripier de Moncroie de Laval, a French emigrant nobleman, on the 29th of May last, at his lodgings in Monmouth-court, Whitcomb-street, of which house she had the care; and received sentence to be executed on Monday.

Richard Ludman, Ann 2d. Rhodes, Eleanor Hughes, and Mary Baker, were tried for the murder of George Hebbner.—This murder was committed in King-street, East Smithfield, in one of those obscure receptacles of debauchery with which this metropolis abounds. The body of the deceased was found on the morning of Sunday the 22d of May, suspended by the neck from a bed-post, in a room on the second floor, with his hands tied behind his back. This unfortunate man was a taylor, and had, it seems, been in very distressed circumstances, which produced a propensity to intoxication; when much in liquor, his widow said, he slept so sound, that it was almost impossible to wake him. It was proved that the four prisoners were in the house (which belonged to Eleanor Hughes) on the evening of Saturday the 21st, and next morning. They were seen, and some of their conversation heard, by two women who lived in an adjoining house; this house was separated from that in which the body was found by only a lath partition, perforated in several places, and the holes and crevices affording a distinct view of almost all the apartments of the latter. The manner in which the hands of the deceased were

were bound with a piece of tape was described in court. The knot that had been used was what seamen call a timber hitch, and it was obviously such as could not be done by himself. There was no direct and positive proof as to the guilt of the prisoners; but there was a chain of most suspicious circumstances pointing against Ludman and Hughes. The lord chief baron of the exchequer summed up the evidence with great precision, candour, and humanity. It was on the expressions used by the prisoners that the proof chiefly rested, and his lordship nicely discriminated between those that seemed to arise from surprise, on the discovery of the situation of the deceased, and those which could only be supposed to proceed from a knowledge of the murder.—The jury retired for about an hour, and returned with a verdict, finding Richard Ludman and Eleanor Hughes guilty.—Ann Rhodes and Mary Baker not guilty. Sentence of death was immediately pronounced on Ludman and Hughes, by the recorder.

4th. Mary Nott, Richard Ludman, and Eleanor Hughes were executed before Newgate.

6th. This morning Henry Weston for forgery, and John Roberts, alias Colin Reculist, also for forgery, were executed pursuant to their sentence, opposite the debtors' door, in the Old Bailey.

8th. Was tried, in the court of king's bench, Guildhall, before lord Kenyon and a special jury, an information filed by the attorney general against D. I. Eaton, a bookseller in Newgate-street, for a libel in publishing a book, which defined the words "a king" to im-

ply "cunning and craft, which would soon be in disrepute in this country:" "a niggard" to mean, "a king who had defrauded his subjects of nine millions of money.—Oh! Mr. Guelph, where do you expect to go when you die?" and that the guillotine should be introduced into this country, as a more merciful mode of punishing kings and queens than by the ax, &c.

Lord Kenyon concluded his charge to the jury with observing, that the king was entitled to the same protection of the laws with other men; and they would consider whether any part of the king's conduct called for such observations as those which had been read to them from the book published by the defendant. His lordship thought his majesty, like the judge of Israel (Samuel), might appeal to the jury and say, "Whose ox have I taken? Whose ass have I taken? Whom have I defrauded? Whom have I oppressed?" The jury, after 15 minutes consideration, returned a verdict—guilty.

9th. A cause was tried in the court of king's bench, Guildhall, between the proprietors of a newspaper called the *Telegraph*, plaintiffs, and the proprietors of the *Morning Post*, defendants. It was proved, that in the month of February last, the defendants had contrived to forward to the office of the *Telegraph*, from Canterbury, a spurious French newspaper, containing a pretended renewal of the armistice, and preliminaries of peace between the emperor and the French republic. The proprietors of the *Telegraph* being thus imposed on to give as *true* a translation of this *false fabricated* intelligence, and thereby sustaining much

discredit with the public, and a diminution in the sale of their paper, brought the present action against the defendants as authors of such discredit, loss, &c. The case being made out, the jury gave a verdict with 100*l.* damages. The forged paper was printed in London.

10th. This day at noon, Miss Mackenzie, of Salisbury-street, in the Strand, accompanied by a Mr. Winders, of the exchequer, hired a boat, and proceeded from Blackfriars bridge to Greenwich; on their return to town the lady fell overboard, and was drowned. She was immediately dragged for, and every means made use of to recover the body, without effect. On Monday morning at the dropping of the tide, the body was discovered lying on Duke's Shore, below Rotherhithe church. A Coroner's jury was immediately summoned; verdict accidental death.

17th. *Weymouth.* We had, on Friday afternoon, the severest storm of wind, hail, rain, thunder and lightning, that has been for many years. It lasted for a great length of time; and the hail-stones were of an immense size, only a few miles distance. Earl Digby was in his phaeton, in his park near Sherborne, at the time. The horses took fright and ran furiously away; upset the carriage, and his lordship had the misfortune to have one of his legs broke.

18th. A cause of some importance to the interest of the established church was on Monday decided in the court of Arches, Doctors Commons. The rev. W. Percy, a clergyman of the established church, had been accustomed to read prayers, preach, administer the sacrament, and occasionally to church women,

and baptize children, according to the rites of the church of England, in the parish of Woolwich, in a building (improperly called a chapel) neither consecrated nor licensed for such purposes, but originally appropriated to dissenters. Mr. Percy made no defence; but, being condemned in costs, personally petitioned the court for a mitigation of the costs, on the plea of not having baptized children privately in houses, as set forth in the 6th article, which was accordingly withdrawn; but having, by his own confession, incurred the penalty of the other five articles, the court rejected his petition. He was consequently condemned in the whole costs, amounting to about 15 guineas, and admonished, by the judge who presided, to desist in future from such irregular and illegal practices as were a gross abuse of the toleration-act.

20th. *Margate.* An erection is just completed here, for the reception of 30 poor persons from the hospitals, whose cases render sea bathing necessary. The building is constructed in a very commodious manner; it is situated near the beach, between Margate and Dandelion, and the expence is defrayed by subscription. It will be fit to receive patients in a few days: they will have medical assistance, and a bathing machine has been build for their sole use.

22d. At the assizes for Devon, an action of ejectment was tried, between one Bastin, plaintiff, and one Arthur and his wife, defendants, for the recovery of lands in Devonshire, claimed by the plaintiff as heir of one John Noseworthy, an idiot from birth to his death, at the age of sixty one years.

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The defendants claimed those lands under this idiot's will. In support of the plaintiff's case upwards of twenty witnesses clearly proved his idiocy, from his not knowing the value of money, or any other article of life; and many instances of gross inaposition on him; and among others, that he never received one shilling of the rent of his lands; that he was exempted from all offices, and particularly from serving in the militia, on account of his incapacity; and it was proved that he was taken from his sister, the plaintiff's mother, and married to a woman whom he scarcely knew, and that a fortnight after his marriage he did not know he was married; that his wife often corrected him, when he would cry, and behave like a child. All the witnesses on the part of the plaintiff gave testimony of the testator's idiocy. On the part of the defendants many witnesses were examined, who all proved, in the same words, that he was a man of sense, without giving a single instance of it, except that he could read, write his name, kept his church, remembered the texts, and other passages of scripture. The curate of the parish of Ashcombe, where the idiot lived and died, in support of the will, proved the idiot to be a great divine, philosopher, and historian; that he was timid and shy to strangers at first; yet, when he became acquainted, and any person had gained his confidence, he was very conversible, and all persons acquainted with him must court his company. After a hearing of nearly ten hours, the jury, without a moment's hesitation, gave a verdict against the will, in favour of the plaintiff Bastin, to the satisfaction

of the court, and a crowded audience.

At *Bodmin* assizes 16 persons were tried, three of whom were capital-ly convicted, viz. William Sampson and John Hoskin, for violently assaulting Samuel Phillips; and William Barnes, for stealing out of the house of David Jones, in Truro, certain pieces of gold and silver value 40s. and upwards; and they received sentence of death.

At *Leicester* assizes, John 24th. Dawes Ross, jun. and Thro. Bankart, tried on a charge of manslaughter, on the body of Mr. Robert Hall, during the late contested election, were both found guilty; the former to suffer four and the latter ten months imprisonment. (The sentence of Ross has been since remitted.)

Leeds. Last Thursday, as 25th. the workmen at the new church at Halifax were erecting one of the main bindings of the roof, the temporary prop gave way; the balk thereof was broken by the weight of the scaffolding, and the internal parts of the binding pressed upon it; in consequence of which the men fell down, and some of them were materially bruised, but no lives were lost.

At the *Surrey* assizes, Edwards, late of Pleasant-place, and Doctor Gale, were tried for fraudulently signing and counterfeiting certain certificates, attestations, &c. of recruits. Edwards kept a recruiting house, which was burnt by the mob. The Doctor, being a good actor, occasionally played the characters of captain, surgeon and magistrate. When a recruit was brought in, he stripped and examined him as surgeon; approved of him in another place and dress as captain; and

and finally signed his attestation as magistrate. Of all these ingenious acts of his, and Mr. Edward's employing him, and giving currency to his impositions, the jury found them both guilty.

At the same assizes, an indictment was tried, which reflects no small degree of discredit on the person indicted. Theophilus Bridges, a button-maker, of Temple-street, St. George's fields, was indicted for the murder of his apprentice, Elizabeth Monk, in January, 1795. The deceased was one of seven apprentices, all taken from the Asylum; and by the evidence of three of the surviving apprentices, it appeared that Bridges was a very passionate and severe man, and had frequently beat and kicked the deceased; and that she died after an illness of some continuance, caused, as they conceived, by such ill usage; together with spare diet and hard work. A surgeon was called; but who having seen the deceased only a few hours before her death, and being told she was ill of a consumption, and merely having felt her pulse, as he perceived she was very near death, could not speak to any circumstance to criminate Bridges. He was therefore acquitted.

27th. *Shrewsbury.* Yesterday was tried at the assizes here, by a most respectable special jury, before the honourable Mr. justice Heath, a cause against the bp. of Bangor; the rev. Dr. Owen; the rev. Mr. Roberts archdeacon of Merioneth; the rev. Mr. Williams; and Mr Thomas Jones; for unlawfully disturbing Mr. Samuel Grindley, in the registrar's office at Bangor on the 8th of January last. It appeared that, in 1792, Mr.

Grindley, an attorney, had, by means of the bishop being appointed deputy registrar of the consistorial court of his diocese, his lordship's nephew being the principal registrar; that, on the 6th of January last, whilst the office was shut, the bishop sent for the key of it; which was refused by order of Mr. Grindley; that on the 7th of January, by his lordship's order, the lock of the office was taken off and a new one put on, the key of which was delivered to the bishop, who the same day informed Mr Grindley thereof. That, on the 8th of January, Mr. Grindley, with a blacksmith and four other persons, broke open the office. That the defendants being alarmed at this, went to the office unarmed (after Mr. Grindley had taken possession of it) and expostulated with him, and were excited to shew some marks of anger at this violent conduct; for he was armed with pistols, and had forced one person down the steps and threatened to shoot another. It also appeared that the bishop sent for a magistrate; and his lordship and the other defendants soon afterwards departed, leaving Mr. Grindley in the office. A pamphlet was produced in court to Mr. Grindley, containing some confidential letters from the bishop to him during the time he had been his lordship's agent; which letters Mr. Grindley owned he had delivered into the hands of a Mr. Williams of Treflos. The defendant's counsel said they had many witnesses; but that their case stood so clear, even on the plaintiff's evidence, they did not think it necessary to call a single witness on the part of the defendants; and the jury immediately, without leaving the court,

court, acquitted all the defendants. Mr. Adam from London, as leading counsel for the plaintiff, had a fee of 300 guineas; and Mr Erskine the like for the defendants.

DIED. 21.—At Dumfries, after a lingering illness, Robert Burns, who excited so much interest by the peculiarity of the circumstances under which he came forward to public notice, and the genius discovered in his poetical compositions. Burns was literally a ploughman, but neither in that state of servile dependence or degrading ignorance which the situation might bespeak in this country. He had the common education of a Scotch peasant, perhaps something more, and that spirit of independence, which in that country is sometimes to be found in a high degree in the humblest classes in society. He had genius, starting beyond the obstacles of poverty, and which would have distinguished itself in any situation. His early days were occupied in procuring bread by the labour of his own hands, in the honourable task of cultivating the earth; but his nights were devoted to books and the muse, except when they were wasted in those haunts of village festivity, and the indulgencies of the social bowl, to which the poet was but too immoderately attached in every period of his life. He wrote, not with a view to encounter the public eye, or in the hope to procure fame by his productions, but to give vent to the feelings of his own genius—to indulge the impulse of an ardent and poetical mind. Burns, from that restless activity, which is the peculiar characteristic of his countrymen, proposed to emigrate to Jamaica, in order to seek his

fortune by the exertion of those talents of which he felt himself possessed. It was upon this occasion that one of his friends suggested to him the idea of publishing his poems, in order to raise a few pounds to defray the expences of his passage. The idea was eagerly embraced. A coarse edition of his poems was first published at Ayr. They were soon noticed by the gentlemen in the neighbourhood. Proofs of such uncommon genius in a situation so humble made the acquaintance of the author eagerly sought after. His poems found their way to Edinburgh; some extracts and an account of the author were inserted in a periodical paper, *The Lounger*, which was at that time in the course of publication. The voyage of the author was delayed in the hope that a suitable provision would be made for him by the generosity of the public. A subscription was set on foot for a new edition of his works, and was forwarded by the exertions of some of the first characters of Scotland. The subscription list contains a greater number of respectable names than almost have ever appeared to any similar production; but, as the book was at a low price, the return to the author was inconsiderable. Burns was brought to Edinburgh for a few months, every where invited and caressed; and at last one of his patrons procured him the situation of an Exciseman, and an income of somewhat less than 50*l.* a year. We know not whether any steps were taken to better this humble income. Probably he was not qualified to fill a superior situation to that which was assigned him. We know that his manners refused to partake the polish

polish of genteel society, that his talents were often obscured and finally impaired by excess, and that his private circumstances were embittered by pecuniary distress. Such, we believe, is the candid account of a man, who, in his compositions, has discovered the force of native humour, the warmth and tenderness of passion, the glowing touches of a descriptive pencil—a man who was the pupil of nature, the poet of inspiration, and who possessed in an extraordinary degree the powers and failings of genius. Of the former, his works will remain a lasting monument; of the latter, we are afraid that his conduct and his fate afford but too melancholy proofs. Though he died at an early age, his mind was previously exhausted; and the apprehensions of a distempered imagination concurred with indigence and sickness to embitter the last moments of his life. He has left behind him a wife, with five infant children, and in the hourly expectation of a sixth, without any resource but what she may hope from public sympathy.

In the 64th year of his age, David Rittenhouse, the American philosopher. His history is curious, from the admiration in which his character was held. Rittenhouse was a native of America; and, in the earlier part of his life, he mingled the pursuits of science with the active employments of a farmer and a watchmaker. In 1769 he was invited by the American philosophical society to join a number of gentlemen who were then occupied in making some astronomical observations, when he particularly distinguished himself by the accuracy of his calculations and the

comprehension of his mind. He afterwards constructed an observatory, which he superintended in person, and which was the source of many important discoveries, as well as greatly tending to the general diffusion of science in the western world. During the American war, he was an active assertor of the cause of independence. Since the conclusion of the peace, he successively filled the offices of treasurer of the state of Pennsylvania, and director of the national mint, in both of which capacities he was alike distinguished for strength of judgment and integrity of heart. He succeeded the illustrious Franklin in the office of president of the philosophical society; a situation which the bent of his mind and the course of his studies had rendered him eminently calculated to fill; and towards the close of his days he retired from public life to the enjoyment of domestic happiness, when he formed a circle of private friends, who will continue to admire his virtues as a man, while the world will applaud his talents as a philosopher.

AUGUST.

3d. The count de Montmorin arrived in town, being charged with dispatches from Louis XVIIIth to the count d'Artois, at Edinburgh. This nobleman brings advice, that on Wednesday the 19th of July, at ten o'clock at night, as the king of France was looking out of the window of an inn, at a town belonging to the elector of Treves, called Dillingen, near Ulm, on the Danube, he was wounded in the upper

upper part of his forehead by a ball, supposed to have been fired from a horse pistol on the opposite side of the street, which was about 25 yards wide. The ball took an oblique direction, and made a singular wound of three inches long, without penetrating the skull; no surgeon being immediately at hand, one of the gentlemen of his suite cut off the hair, and applied the first thing he met with in order to stop the bleeding. The confusion was great, by which means the perpetrator of this inhuman deed made his escape; he is supposed to be a Frenchman from the Republican army, bribed for this purpose, and connected with others who facilitated his escape. The town has a wall round it, but perhaps not more than four feet high in many places. This assassin must have been particularly acquainted with the king's person, as the duke de Fleurs was standing close by him at the time, in a narrow window, and is nearly as corpulent in his person. The ball was found on the floor, flattened by having struck the wall afterwards. The king was not materially hurt, and in three days afterwards pursued his journey to Ingoldstadt, in his way to Saxony.

4th. Early this morning, an elderly man, decently dressed, blew his brains out in a field between Brompton and Chelsea, with a large horse-pistol, the muzzle of which, it is thought, he had put into his mouth, as a large piece of the back part of his skull was found at several yards distance from the body. He had no money about him, nor any thing which could lead to discover who he was. A letter was found in his pocket un-

finished, in which he addresses himself to a Mr. Graham, painting, in the most pathetic language, the distress that he laboured under, both as to his circumstances and bodily afflictions. The horrors he experienced when asleep, he says, cannot be equalled by any human distress; at such times he was a prey to the most frightful apprehensions. To lull his disordered senses, he had daily taken a large dose of laudanum, which at length turning his brain, occasioned his exit.

At Stafford assizes an extraordinary incident took place: One of the prisoners (Wm. Cottrell) was indicted for a burglary and robbery in the house of Mr. Forman, of Handsworth, to which he pleaded *guilty*; nor could he be persuaded to offer any other plea, until the Judge threatened, in case he persisted, to order him for a speedy execution—He then pleaded *not guilty*, and his trial proceeded. However, sufficient evidence not appearing to convict him, he was, of course (though very unexpectedly), acquitted.

9th. A cricket-match was played by eleven Greenwich pensioners with one leg, against eleven with one arm, for one thousand guineas, at the new cricket ground, Montpellier gardens, Walworth. About nine o'clock the men arrived in three Greenwich stages; about twelve the wickets were pitched, and the match commenced. Those with but one leg had the first innings, and got ninety three runs; those with one arm got but forty-two runs during their innings. The one-legs commenced their second innings, and six were bowled out after they got sixty runs, so that they left off one hundred and eleven

eleven more than those with one arm. Next morning the match was played out, and the men with one leg beat the one arms by 103 runnings. After the match was finished, the eleven one-legged men run a sweepstakes of one hundred yards distance, for twenty guineas, and the three first had prizes.

10th. On Wednesday morning, about eleven o'clock, one of the Dartford powder mills, about half a mile distant from the place, blew up with a dreadful explosion. Four persons lost their lives.

11th. This afternoon, a gentleman going down Gray's-inn-lane in a whiskey, the horse took fright and set off full speed; his servant, seeing his master in such a situation, unfortunately for him, came up to the horse, and seized the bridle, but was not capable of stopping him. The beast turned up a narrow passage by Chads Wells; the servant still running and holding. In turning round the passage the rear shaft caught the man in the body, which it clearly run through, and was stooped by the wall. The gentleman was thrown violently from the carriage, but not much hurt. The servant was killed.

12th. A dreadful earthquake has nearly destroyed the city of Lattaïque in Syria. The first shock was May 16th, which lasted about eighty-six seconds. Upwards of three thousand persons were buried in the ruins of the houses. A great part of the mosques are destroyed. The small town of Gibellet is also totally destroyed, and several houses thrown down at Tortosa and Tripoli.

20th. This morning a duel was fought in Hyde-Park, be-

tween Mr. William Carpenter and Mr. John Pride, both Americans, in which Mr. Carpenter received his antagonist's ball in the side, which penetrated nearly through his body; and, notwithstanding it was immediately extracted, he died on Monday morning. The coroner's jury sat on the body, and brought in their verdict wilful murder.

27th. Nantz. A fire took place in our superb theatre during the third act of *Zemire et Azor*; which caught the transparency in the apartments of *Zemire*, at the moment when the mechanist and his assistants were busy repairing the bust of *Azor*, which had met with an accident in coming up a trap not sufficiently open. The flames spread with such astonishing rapidity, that in five minutes the whole theatre was in flames, and this superb monument of the decorative talents of *Cruci*, the town architect, was soon a heap of deplorable ruins. The walls alone remain. The wardrobe and other decorations were totally consumed, and some persons lost their lives. Among the audience, however, a few bruises, inevitable from the confusion, were all the damage, except a pregnant woman, who is stated to have been borne down by the crowd, and shockingly trampled upon. Those behind the scenes were in a dreadful condition. Three persons much burnt, have been drawn out from the flames. The tocsin was sounding at the moment of the account departing, the interior part still burning, and the sight of new victims was perpetually feared.

This morning about four o'clock, some villains got into a house in Fludyer street, occupied by sir Rich-

ard Glode, who was out of town, and had packed up every article of value that was portable. The sheriff's dress, clothes, liveries, &c. were ready for removal; when the thieves were fortunately heard by Mrs. Johnson, the proprietor of the house; who, with great spirit, went up stairs, where she met one of them. She gave an alarm; but no watchman or patrol was to be found. At length she succeeded in getting down stairs, in spite of the opposition made by the thief, and opened the street door. Part of the neighbours were by this time alarmed and at the door; they had found out a patrol and watchman, to whom Mrs. Johnson delivered her prisoner. A number of pick-lock keys were found, and every lock in the house had been opened. On attending at the Public-office, Queen-square, to prosecute, the prisoner was of course called for; but the watchman and patrol had been overpowered by him, in some way or other, and he had escaped.

DIED.—Thomas Yates, esq. a lieutenant in the navy (to which rank he was admitted June 24, 1782) and an artist of some merit, having published prints from drawings by himself of two celebrated naval actions. He was great nephew to the late celebrated comedian, but by whom he had for some years been unaccountably neglected; and he has now lost his life in consequence of a dispute with Miss Jones relative to the possession of the theatrical veteran's house in Stafford-row, which Miss Jones considered to be her property; and in which, for some little time, they both resided. On the 18th of August, Mr. John Sellers was brought

into the house, to protect Miss Jones and her property; and, on the 21st, Richard Footner was introduced for the same purpose. On the 22d, the wife of Mr. Yates being absent, he dined alone about three o'clock; and walked after dinner into the garden at the back of the house. On his return, the door being fastened, his servant, Mary Thompson, attempted to get him in at the kitchen window. One of the persons who had fastened him out, finding that he was likely to gain admittance, fired a pistol, the ball from which entered the right side of Mr. Yates. The noise giving an alarm, some neighbours climbed over the garden-wall, where they found Mr. Yates bleeding. Dr. Cruikshanks attended him twice the same evening, and had great hopes; but next morning, at nine, pronouncing the wound mortal, Mr. Yates made his will, and expired about noon, leaving five children, and a widow pregnant with a sixth. (Mrs. Yates is very elegant in her person, and made her appearance last season at Covent-garden theatre, in the character of the Grecian daughter.) In consequence of the coroner's inquest, Sellers, Footner, and Elizabeth Jones, after a regular examination at the public-office in Bow-street, have been committed on a charge of wilful murder. Two gentlemen of great respectability, who had never before seen Miss Jones, offered bail for her to any amount; which the magistrates refused. On a second examination, August 29, the idea of premeditated guilt was in a great degree removed; but the prisoners were again fully committed. Mr. Sellers formerly kept a Staffordshire warehouse on Garlick-

lick-hill, in which business he failed, and afterwards embarked in the linen-trade. Miss Jones, towards the latter end of 1793, performed the character of Imogen at Covent-garden theatre for one night only.

S E P T E M B E R.

1st. *Scarborough.* On Sunday last, three gentlemen from Horsforth, in the west-riding, went on the water in a pleasure-boat, rowed by a man named Laycock; and, in returning, the strength of the wind, and violence of the waves, driving them amongst the breakers, threw them ten yards from the vessel; and unable to regain either the boat or shore, they all perished in sight of a great multitude of spectators, who exerted themselves in vain for their relief. The bodies of the three former have been found; the latter has left a wife and child.

2d. At Chevely, near Newmarket, one of the duke of Rutland's seats, a boy, named Tweed, employed in keeping birds off a field of corn, placed his gun against a post with the muzzle upwards, which unhappily went off, and, lodging its contents in the boy's throat, instantly killed him.

4th. A large box, containing a quantity of rope, of the thickness of two inches, spun by the convicts, has been brought to the secretary of state's office from Botany Bay, being the first proof of their manufacture and production; it is as white as flax, and its fineness cannot be excelled by the spinners in this country.

16th. A dreadful fire happened at a small village called East Whitton, on the estate of the earl

of Aylesbury, in the north riding of the county of York. The flames broke out at the workhouse, in the middle of the day, when most of the inhabitants were in the fields reaping. The buildings being chiefly covered with thatch, and the wind strong at S. W. the fire burnt with such irresistible fury as in the course of a few hours totally ruined near a dozen families, burning sixteen dwelling-houses and out-buildings, with a large quantity of corn and farming-utensils, all of which were uninsured.

16th. This day John Sellers, William Footner, and Elizabeth Jones, were put to the bar at the Old Bailey; the former upon the charge of having wilfully and maliciously wounded Mr. Thomas Yates, with a pistol ball, of which wound he died, and the two latter for aiding and abetting in the said murder. The evidence of the servant, Mary Thompson, varied from her former deposition before the magistrates, before whom she swore that Mr. Yates pushed away the pistol with his hand when presented by Sellers; but contradicted herself in this particular on the trial, that Mr. Yates did not touch the pistol, nor was it possible for him to reach it, though on her first examination she had sworn that Mr. Yates had hold of it, and was struggling with it at the moment it went off. It came out in evidence that Mr. Yates behaved in a vindictive quarrelsome manner in the house, having threatened Miss Jones with personal violence. Sellers, in his defence, denied all intention of killing Mr. Yates, but said that the pistol went off, owing to Yates taking hold of it; and that he had desired to be furnished with

the pistols for his personal defence, as Mr. Yates had repeatedly threatened to bring in several persons to turn them out by force. He had only been shut out for the purpose of keeping him out till the attorney, who had been sent for, should arrive, and that his taking the pistol was the impulse of the moment, and was only intended to have intimidated him; and that Mr. Yates himself seized hold of the pistol to wrest it from him. Miss Jones in her defence, went into the particulars of her first engagement with the late Mr Richard Yates, and of her performing at the Birmingham theatre; of the will in her favour, and of the turbulent behaviour of the deceased; disclaiming all idea of his murder, and that she would have willingly resigned every shilling of the property to have saved Mr. Yates's life. Footner said little more than accounting for his being in the house in the way Sellers had previously related, merely calling as an acquaintance of Sellers. Evidence to character was only called in favour of Sellers; several persons proved him a quiet, humane, inoffensive man. The learned judge, Rook, then proceeded to sum up the evidence, and to point out the most striking parts to the jury. He thought Miss Jones and Mr. Footner ought clearly to be acquitted of wilful murder, as they did not know that Sellers had the pistol, and it was not intended to keep Mr. Yates out by violence. With regard to Sellers, the jury should consider whether he fired the pistol wilfully; if he did, he was guilty of murder; if the pistol went off by accident it was only

manslaughter; short of that it could not be. The jury retired for a few minutes, and brought in their verdict, John Sellers, not guilty of the murder, but guilty of manslaughter; Elizabeth Jones and Richard Footner not guilty. Sellers was sentenced to pay a fine of one shilling, and be imprisoned six months. There are five wills, or testamentary papers, each of which are uniformly in favour of Miss Jones, one a regular drawn will in 1789.

Liverpool. This morning 17th. a little before one o'clock, a most dreadful fire broke out in a large warehouse, belonging to Mr. Hervey in Cheapside; which, notwithstanding every possible exertion, could not be got under till the whole warehouse, with all its valuable contents, were consumed. The top part was occupied by Mr. Middleton, as a cotton manufactory, when the fire broke out, occasioned, as is supposed, by the friction of one of the wheels employed in the works. In the lower part were eleven thousand measures of wheat, belonging to Messrs. Corrie, Gladstone and co. which, with a large quantity of hides, rum, brandy and other spirits, were entirely destroyed. About three o'clock, the front part of the warehouse fell into the street, directly upon one of the fire-engines that was then working, which occasioned a scene of horror impossible to be described; three men were crushed to pieces on the spot; ten more were carried to the infirmary in a dreadful situation, two of whom died immediately; and it is thought that many will be found among the ruins.

19th. William Clark, the driver of the Newmarket mail was indicted for wilful murder. It appeared that the prisoner was driving the mail coach at a very furious rate along Bishopsgate-street, where he ran over a boy and killed him on the spot. The prisoner drove on, not knowing of the accident, but was soon afterwards stopped. He alledged, in his defence, that his employers were under contract to perform the journey within a certain period, and therefore he thought it his duty to drive so fast. The judge, in summing up the evidence, observed, "no contract could justify a man for driving in such a manner as to endanger the lives of others." The jury retired, and were absent two hours; when they returned, and found the prisoner, not guilty.

23d. This afternoon the coroner's jury sat on the body of a lady in the neighbourhood of Holborn, who died in consequence of a wound from her daughter, the preceding day. While the family were preparing for dinner, the young lady, in a fit of insanity, seized a case knife lying on the table, and in a menacing manner pursued a little girl, her apprentice, round the room. On the eager calls of her helpless, infirm mother, to forbear, she renounced her first object, and, with loud shrieks, approached her parent. The child, by her cries, quickly brought up the landlord of the house, but too late; the dreadful scene presented to him the mother lifeless on a chair, pierced to the heart; her daughter yet wildly standing over her with the fatal knife; and the venerable old man, her father, weeping by

her side, himself bleeding at the forehead, from the effects of a blow he received from one of the forks she had been madly hurling about the room. For a few days prior to this, the family had discovered some symptoms of lunacy in her, which had so much increased on the Wednesday evening, that her brother, early the next morning, went in quest of Dr. Pitcairn; had that gentleman been providentially met with the fatal catastrophe had, probably, been prevented. She had once before, in the earlier part of her life, been deranged, from the harrassing fatigues of too much business. As her carriage towards her mother had been ever affectionate in the extreme, it is believed, that to her increased attentiveness to her, as her infirmities called for it, is to be ascribed the loss of her reason at this time. The jury, without hesitating, brought in their verdict,—Lunacy.

24th. The melancholy account of the blowing up of the Amphion frigate, at Plymouth, was received at the Admiralty from Sir Richard King, by which it appears that Captain Pellew, the first lieutenant, and fifteen of the crew, out of 220, are the only survivors left to relate the dismal catastrophe; Captain Swaffield, of the Dutch prize, is among the unfortunate victims. The accident happened at a quarter past four on Thursday afternoon, while the captain and his friends were at dinner. Mr. Pellew is dangerously wounded. Every exertion that could be used was rendered by the ships boats in the harbour.

28th. This morning a convocation was held at St. Paul's Cathedral. This is a ceremony which

which takes place upon the meeting of every new parliament. His grace the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London, the bishop of Rochester, and several other dignitaries of the church, assisted. The procession consisted, first, of the choristers and gentlemen of the cathedral, the archbishop and bishops, the judges and civilians, of Doctors Commons, with the proctors in their full robes. The whole was conducted with great solemnity. Prayers (according to the usual custom) were read in Latin, by bp. Horsley, and a Latin sermon was preached by doctor Radcliffe. Two anthems were performed in English. The ceremony lasted about two hours, and was attended by a numerous and elegant company.

OCTOBER.

6th. The cotton mills at Hunslet, near Leeds, belonging to Messrs. Beverley, Cross, and co. were discovered to be on fire, which raged with such fury as to destroy the works and buildings in little more than 40 minutes. The damage is estimated at 100,000*l*. The premises and stock were insured in the Sun and London insurance offices, for only 8000*l*.

10th. *Plymouth*. The Court martial which was held last Saturday on board the admiral's ship Cambridge, to enquire into the cause of the loss of his majesty's ship Amphion, which blew up on the 22d of last month, in this harbour, after an examination of all the surviving crew, very honourably acquitted both the captain and officers of every idea of remissness or neglect upon that occasion. It

must have been particularly gratifying to capt. Pellew, after the court martial was over, at the request made to him by the whole of the ship's company which survived this unhappy affair, that he would suffer them to be partners of his future fortune, when he should obtain a ship, having so long sailed with him; one of the best testimonies this to the character of an officer.

12th. About nine o'clock at night the house of Richard Timson, of Halleton, Leicestershire, was discovered to be on fire, which, with four others, was entirely consumed before any assistance could be procured: but the fury of the flames was happily checked by the activity of the inhabitants, who stripped off the roofs of the two adjoining houses.

16th. This evening a very melancholy accident happened at Ilfracombe: a ship called the London, from St. Kitt's, having on board a considerable number of blacks, (French prisoners,) was driven on the rocks, near the entrance of the pier, during a violent gale of wind, by which about fifty of the prisoners were drowned; those who got on shore exhibited a most wretched spectacle; and the scene altogether was too shocking for description. The wind was blowing directly fair for the harbour.

20th. Mr. Macpherson put an end to his existence on Enfield chace. Dragged by the rude hands of a runner and a constable before a justice of peace as a French spy, it appeared, on a short examination, that he had been an usher in several schools, which was confirmed by letters and bills found in his

his pocket, but had for several days in vain solicited relief or lodging in the town and neighbourhood for want of money to pay for them. He was dismissed with an order to quit the parish; and the constable having in vain applied for a lodging at the public houses, instead of lodging him at the watch-house or work-house for the night, left him to shift for himself, and find his way in the dark to Barnet, over the Chace, where he was next morning found hanging on a tree, and hardly cold. About three weeks before, there had been found in a wood behind Bowes Farm, in Edmonton parish, another unfortunate wretch hanging by his stockings on a tree, but in so putrid a state that his head and feet separated from his body. He had on a good great coat and a kerseymere waistcoat, and in his pocket only sixpence and some halfpence.

The university of Oxford has lately printed, at its own expence, to be distributed gratis among the French clergy who have taken refuge in Great Britain, (*ad usum Cleri Gallicani in Angliæ exulantis*, as the title states), 2000 copies of the vulgate and of the new Testament.

The marquis of Buckingham, distinguished for his munificence towards the clergy, has likewise caused to be printed, at his expence, 2000 copies at the same press and for the same use. The university of Oxford has sent its copies to the venerable bishop of St. Pol de Léon for distribution, accompanied by a letter, analogous to the generous sentiments which dictate this honourable mark of esteem for the French clergy, who are fully sensible of the value of the gift.

DIED.—In his 87th year, Tho.

Reid, D. D. professor of moral philosophy at the university of Glasgow. He was a wonderful example of early proficiency in mathematics, since he was master of sir Isaac Newton's Principia at the age of twenty. He wrote some papers in the philosophical transactions on mathematical subjects, which do him much honour. But his fame chiefly rests on his metaphysical writings, in which he maintains the doctrine of common sense against sceptics, and severely arraigns the philosophy of Locke, whom he considers as the great promoter, though unintentionally, of modern scepticism. His works are: 1. An enquiry into the human mind, on the principles of common sense. 8vo. 1764. 2. Essays on the intellectual powers of man. 4to. 1785.

16. At Turin, in his 70th year, and 23d of his reign, Victor Amadeus Maria, of Savoy, king of Sardinia. He was born June 26, 1726; and married Maria Antoinetta Ferdinanda, of Spain, sister to the present emperor, who died 1785.—On the night of the 13th his majesty was seized with an apoplectic fit, which for some time deprived him of his speech. The immediate application of blisters and bleeding brought his majesty to his senses the next morning, and his speech, though imperfectly, was recovered. During this interval the sacraments were administered. Towards the evening alarming symptoms returned, and recourse was had to a third bleeding in the foot; which not proving efficacious, the extreme unction was administered. His majesty lay speechless, and with one side wholly palsied, during the night. At five in the morning of the 15th he was pronounced to be

D 4

à l'agonie,

à l'agonie, and it was not imagined he could outlive the day. His majesty, however, lingered till near noon the following day, when he expired, as sincerely lamented by all his subjects as he had constantly lived beloved and respected by them, during a reign of upwards of 22 years. This melancholy event has plunged all the royal family into the deepest affliction. The prince of Piedmont, his son, who succeeds him, is 45 years of age, being born 1751; and married, 1775, to Maria Adelaide, sister of Louis XVI. king of France, whose brothers, the count of Provence and the count D'Artois, married his two sisters.

NOVEMBER.

4th. Tuesday last, in Lincoln's inn-hall, the lord chancellor, after hearing the exceptions to it argued, confirmed the master's report in the Downing cause. The master has reported, that the present annual value of the estates devised to the college amounts to 4500l. This preliminary point being at length obtained, after a contest of many years, an application will immediately be made to the crown, to grant a charter for the incorporation of Downing college, in the university of Cambridge.

5th. When the house of commons was on the point of rising to day, a man in the front of the gallery held forth a paper to the house, and exclaimed in a loud voice, "treason! treason! I wish to denounce treason to the house, whatever may be the consequences to myself." The speaker immediately ordered the gallery to be clear-

ed, and the man, whose name is said to be Matthews, was taken into custody by the messengers; but upon its evidently appearing that he was insane, he was instantly discharged.

An awful and singular hail-storm occurred in Norwich. Two very vivid flashes of lightning illumined the southern and northern hemispheres, succeeded by heavy peals of thunder, while the hail, which fell profusely, appeared impregnated with fire.

Boston. Information being 8.h. given, upon oath, to the magistrates at Boston, that preparations were making in some of the neighbouring villages to obstruct, by force, the deputy-lieutenants, in the execution of the militia-laws, on the following days, expresses were immediately dispatched to Joshua Scrope, esq. captain commandant of the South Holland squadron of loyal Lincolnshire gentlemen, and yeomen cavalry, and to Thomas Wilson, esq. captain of the Spalding troop, to request their assistance in repelling any unlawful force, and in maintaining the public peace. Although the commanding officers received this message very late in the evening, and many of the volunteers in their respective troops live at a great distance from each other, yet such was the zeal and alertness displayed in collecting them, that they arrived at Boston on Wednesday morning about 10 o'clock. A few minutes afterwards the rioters entered the town in a large body, blowing horns, and armed with staves, having forced into their company a great number of servants and labourers in husbandry: but, seeing the cavalry drawn up in the market-place in military order, they were

were deterred from committing any act of violence whatever. The business of the day (which was to receive and examine the lists of persons liable to serve in the present militia) then proceeded, and was completed amidst the most perfect tranquillity; the volunteers, headed by their respective officers, parading the town during the greatest part of the day. Happily no violent measures were at all necessary, and no harm was done to any person. The cool and resolute conduct of the troops cannot be spoken of in too high terms of commendation.

9th. The lord mayor's day was observed with the usual form. The procession by water was nearly the same as usual; but that by land much less splendid. Among the company who dined at Guildhall were many of prime distinction; the duke of York, prince Ernest, the prince of Orange, the lord chancellor, and almost all the great officers of state, many foreign ambassadors and general officers, Mr. Fox, &c. &c. The Tunisian ambassador, by his own desire, was present, but did not dine in the hall. He drank coffee and smoked tobacco, in a room by himself, while the company were at dinner.

10th. A terrible affray happened this night at the Sun public-house in Cow Cross, Smithfield. A riot in the house the night before having greatly disturbed the neighbourhood, the constables ordered the house to be cleared of the company, which consisted of a club of disorderly persons, who regularly met there. The fellows, expecting they would not be suffered to stay to their usual hour, had provided themselves with bludgeons and other offensive weapons,

with which, on the officers demanding entrance, they sallied out, knocking down and ill-treating every one who came in their way. Seven persons were taken to St. Bartholomew's hospital; one of whom, a beadle, is since dead of his wounds. Three of the ring-leaders were next day committed to Clerkenwell bridewell for examination.

30th. The following letter was this day transmitted to all the admirals and captains, whose names were mentioned in the Gazette by earl Howe, as having signalized themselves in the action of the 1st of June, 1794, accompanying the medal which has been presented to them.

“ My Lord, (or Sir),

“ The king having been pleased to order a certain number of gold medals to be struck, in commemoration of the victory obtained by his majesty's fleet under the command of earl Howe, over that of the enemy, in the actions of the 28th and 29th of May, and 1st of June, 1794, I am commanded by his majesty to present to your lordship one of the medals above mentioned; and to signify his majesty's pleasure that you should wear it when in your uniform, in the manner described by the directions which (together with the medal and ribband belonging to it) I have the honour to transmit to you. I am also commanded by his majesty to acquaint your lordship, that, had it been possible for all the officers on whom his majesty is pleased to confer this mark of his approbation, to attend personally in London, his majesty would have presented the medal to each of them in person; but that being, from various causes, at this time

time impossible; his majesty, in order to obviate all further delay, has therefore been pleased to direct them to be forwarded in this manner. Allow me to express the great satisfaction I feel in being made the channel of communicating to your lordship so distinguished a mark of his majesty's approbation. I have the honour to be, my lord, (or sir,

Your lordship's most obedient
humble servant, "SPENCER."
Admiralty, 30th Nov. 1796.

[The admirals to wear the medal suspended by a ribband round their necks. The captains to wear the medals suspended to a ribband, but fastened through the third and fourth button hole, on the left side. The colour of the ribband blue and white.]

In lord Grenville's grounds 30th at Dropmore, Bucks, some labourers, in digging for a fish pond, have found a great number of oaks buried in the earth, twelve or fourteen feet deep; they are uncommonly large, some of them fifty feet long, and the greater part perfectly sound. They were all laid close together, and nearly in one direction. If they have been deposited there by some great inundation, which is the general conjecture, it is rather singular; for the place where they have been found is by far the highest spot in Buckinghamshire.

DIED, 17.—Catharine II. empress of all the Russias. She had been indisposed several days previous to the 16th, but on the morning of that day was very cheerful, and took her coffee as usual to breakfast. She afterwards went to the water closet, where she already had been twice in the course of the

morning, and as she stayed an unusual time, her attendants became extremely alarmed. At length one of her pages went to the door to listen, and not hearing the least motion, called one of her principal female attendants, who opened the door, and found the empress extended on her back, with her feet towards the door, in an apoplectic fit. Medical assistance was instantly sent for; but three quarters of an hour elapsed before her chief physician, Dr. Rogerson, arrived. She was then bled twice, and appeared to be much relieved, but never spoke afterwards. She remained in this state till the following evening. The pulsation of the heart was perceptible till nine o'clock; but a quarter before ten the physicians pronounced her dead. When opened, two stones were found in the gall bladder, one of which weighed an ounce, and the other half an ounce, Russian weight, which is one third less than the English weight. The empress was daughter of Christian Augustus, prince of Anhalt Zerbst, born May 2, 1729, married Sept. 1, 1745, to Peter III. grandson of Peter the Great, who being deposed July 9, 1762, she was proclaimed sole empress of all the Russias. In 1768, she established a new code of laws through her dominions; and the same year she submitted to the hazard of inoculation for the benefit of her dominions, where it was unknown; and the experiment, under Baron Dimsdale, succeeded perfectly; and was commemorated by an annual thanksgiving. The first war in which she engaged was with the Turks in 1769, which continued five years; and July 21, 1774, peace was signed, whereby the

the Crimea was declared independent of the Porte, a large tract of country between the Bog and the Dnieper, was ceded to Russia, besides several islands restored, with free navigation in all the Turkish seas, including the passage of the Dardanelles, privileges granted to the most favoured nations, and stipulations in favour of the inhabitants of Moldavia and Wallachia. In 1782, she concluded a commercial treaty with Portugal; and, in 1783, with the Danes; and, 1782, founded the order of Wladimir. In 1783, she opened a communication with both Indies. In 1784, she granted free trade to the coasts of the Euxine sea, and took a journey to the Crimea. In 1787, she endeavoured to establish an East-India trade, ordered the geography of her empire to be explored; established three new universities 1786; and, among other exertions in favour of the arts, purchased the Houghton collection of pictures 1779, and Mr. Lyde Brown's collection of antique statues. War was again declared with the Porte 1787. She had an interview with the emperor of Germany at Cherson, and with the king of Poland at Kiow, the same year: the former joined her in the war with the Turks. In 1788, war was declared against Sweden; and the Russian troops entered Poland by force, and demanded quarters and forage. In this war her Imperial majesty possessed herself of Ocza-kow, with the slaughter of only 12,000 men. The war between Russia and the Porte still continuing, Great Britain, whose mediation had been rejected by the former, began to arm in 1791, in defence of the latter. Peace was at length signed that year between

the two rival powers, the Porte making large cessions of territory to the empress; and between Russia and Sweden 1791. After the attack of the Thuilleries, and deposition of Louis XVI. on 10th Aug. 1792, the empress recalled her ambassador from France, and ordered the French ambassador to quit her capital in eight days. Whatever be the moral character of this great princess, she always exerted the most surprising talents and abilities: Russia has been exalted to a pitch of grandeur and cultivation which Peter the Great can only be said to have begun. Her rapid progress from weakness and barbarism to civilization and a mighty state, with dominions extended by every effort of political skill and artifice, has been most astonishing. Providence, whose ways are beyond the reach of human reason or conjecture, permitted Catharine II. to make this use of her usurped dominion, and to anticipate, by the removal of a weak consort, by means unwarranted by every principle of justice and humanity, that most important of all revolutions in the history of human kind, the civilization of so large a portion of the human race, and the cultivation of the wildest and most untrodden deserts. For whom of her successors it may be reserved to annihilate the Ottoman power is not for us to say. Her only son and successor to the crown, Paul Petrowitz, was born Oct. 1, 1754, married Oct. 1, 1776, to the princess Sophia Dorothea of Wirtemberg Stutgard, who, after her conversion to the Greek religion, took the name of Maria Federowna, and by whom he has three children.

When

When the empress was taken ill, the present emperor was at Gat-china, a country palace, about 28 English miles from St. Petersburg. He reached the capital about eight in the evening; and, immediately after his mother's decease, was proclaimed before the palace in the usual form; and the whole court, which was there assembled in anxious expectation from the morning of the empress's accident to the moment of her death, immediately took the oath of allegiance to the new sovereign, as did also the four regiments of guards; and every thing passed with the greatest order and tranquillity.

20th. At the George inn, Northampton, on his journey from Buxton to London, that respectable veteran of the bar, Edward Bearcroft, esq. M. P. for Saltash, chief-justice for Chester, and a king's counsel; whose memory will belong and sincerely respected by all who had the honour of his friendship, or enjoyed the pleasure of his society.

Mr. Bearcroft was an example of industry and perseverance at the bar. Many years he had hardly practice enough to support him with the severest æconomy, and thought of relinquishing the law in despair; but, in time, his good sense and knowledge of the law excited confidence, and, till his hearing was affected, he was one of the most successful of its professors, particularly in cases where legal opinions were requisite.

DECEMBER.

3d. This day the tide in every part of the Thames was very high. In Tooley-street the inha-

bitants were taken out in boats; and a large quantity of foreign wheat, upon the ground floors of the warehouses, was much damaged.

5th. The following mode of raising the loan of 18 millions was proposed and recommended by the bank directors on Wednesday last. One million was subscribed by the bank in their corporate capacity, and four hundred thousand pounds by the directors individually; and before the close of the books the first day, five millions were subscribed by different merchants and others. At ten o'clock this morning the parlour doors at the bank were opened, before which time the lobby was crowded. Numbers could not get near the books at all; while others, to testify their zeal, called to the persons at the books then signing, to put down their names for them, as they were fearful of being shut out. At about twenty minutes past eleven, the subscription was declared to be completely full, and hundreds in the room were reluctantly obliged to go away. By the post innumerable orders came from the country for subscriptions to be put down, scarcely one of which could be executed. And long after the subscription was closed, persons continued coming, and were obliged to depart disappointed. It is a curious fact, and well worth stating, that the subscription completely filled in fifteen hours and twenty minutes: Two hours on Thursday, six ditto on Friday, six ditto on Saturday, and one ditto and twenty minutes on Monday—fifteen hours, twenty minutes.

The duke of Bridgewater actually

tually tendered a draft at sight on his banker, for the 100,000*l.* which he subscribed to the new loan ! which of course could not be accepted, as the act is not yet passed.

Francis Dunn was indicted 9th. for the wilful murder of David Brewer, by giving him several wounds on the head, and in the side, with a clasp knife, on Thursday the 10th of November, and William Arnold and William Ryan, for aiding and abetting him in the said murder. On the night of Wednesday the 9th of November, the patrols observed two men go up Pipe-maker's alley, near Cow Cross, and, following them up, observed one of them, which proved to be Dunn, with a knife in his hand. They interrogated him as to what he was doing with it ; but he refusing to satisfy them, they took him to the watch-house, of which the deceased, Mr. Brewer, was the keeper : however, as they had no charge against them, and a publican appearing in their behalf, they were discharged. The next night there was a club held at the Sun, Cow Cross, at which, among others, was a witness of the name of Toombs, who stated that, on his refusing to sing, several persons insulted him ; and that the prisoner, Dunn, even went so far as to tear his coat, on which he went down, and brought up three watchmen. On their coming into the room, and one of them proposing to secure the door, they all, to the amount of twenty-five or twenty-six, began to attack the watchmen. Dunn knocked one of them down, and they were glad to get out of the house, in doing which they were followed by the whole that were in the room. From one Har-

ris, another of the club, it appeared, that when they got into the street, they missed one of their party, whereupon they returned to the Sun, and, finding the door fastened, Dunn and Ryan got in at the window, and then opened the door for the rest ; but not finding their companion, one of them suggested he might be taken to the watch-house, to which Dunn went first, Williams next, then Arnold, and the rest followed. Another witness, and the deceased, Brewer, seeing them coming, shut to the upper part of the door, it shutting with a hatch ; this they soon forced open, and three of them entered ; when two women swore to seeing one of them strike Mr. Brewer over the head, and another punching him on the side. They then came out, and being met by another party, Dunn said to them, " Damn him, I've cut his bloody eyes out." Dunn at this time had a knife in his hand, which, as he came out of the watch-house, he was noticed to wipe on his coat ; Arnold also had a knife in his hand ; and it was proved by several witnesses, and two accomplices, that the whole party proceeded in a riotous manner, knocking down several watchmen, and that Dunn in particular kept his knife in his hand, and seeing one of the patrols at the corner of the street in their way, he ran up to him, and cut him under the chin, and his coat behind ; and after this he made a thrust at a gentleman whom they met as he was turning up Saffron-hill. After they left the watch-house, Mr. Brewer came to the door, wiping his face, and standing, as the witnesses termed it, in his blood ; he was afterwards taken

to St. Bartholomew's hospital, and on the Saturday evening he expired; previous to which, however, he said to one Willey, and to Coleman, that he was a dead man, and that he believed the man whom they brought to the watch-house the night before with a knife, was one of them that had cut him, and the cutting drove another.—On being asked if they meant Arnold, they said, yes. The surgeon described Mr. Brewer to have received three wounds, one at the top of the head through the skull; another in the left temple down to the chin, which went the whole length to the bone; and a third under the blade-bone of the right shoulder, three inches long, and one inch deep; these wounds brought on an inflammation, that inflammation a fever, and were consequently the cause of his death. Arnold was taken the next day in Smithfield, Ryan a few days after on board the Sans-Pareil at Spithead, and Dunn in the neighbourhood of Cow-Cross. Being called upon for their defence, Ryan said, conscious of his own innocence with respect to the murder, he should leave it with his counsel. Mr. Justice Grose then summed up the evidence, and explained the law upon the case, particularizing the different points as far as they were corroborated against either or all the prisoners; observing also the difference, as it appeared to him, there was in the guilt of the prisoners.

The jury, after remaining out of court about twenty minutes, brought in their verdict—Dunn and Arnold, guilty.—Ryan, not guilty.

As the recorder was proceeding to pass sentence on them, Dunn said he had a favour to beg of the

court, which was, that as but one life had been lost, the law would be satisfied with one as an atonement. He sought not to save his own life, for he had unfortunately for the last ten years committed innumerable offences; and therefore, if mercy could be shewn, his fellow sufferer was more deserving of it than himself; all he could hope for was the indulgence of a little more time than was commonly allowed in these cases, to make his peace with God. The recorder declared that it was not in his power to grant either, and then pronounced the sentence to be, that they be executed on Monday following, and that their bodies be delivered to the surgeons for dissection; which was executed accordingly.

5th. Such quantities of ice came down the river this day with the land-waters on the ebb-tide, as to block up some of the arches of London-bridge. The navigation of the river above bridge is already much impeded thereby. Such an accumulation, on so short a frost, is rather rare in this country.

14th. At a common hall, the livery of London instructed their representatives in parliament to move or support a motion in the house of commons, for censuring the ministers, for having taken upon themselves to send the money of the people of Great Britain to the emperor of Germany, during the sitting of parliament, without the consent of parliament.

21st. This morning, when the turnkeys of Newgate were preparing to remove the convicts sentenced to Botany Bay, among whom was the celebrated major Semple, who, it seems, had flattered himself with the hopes of pardon,

pardon, he requested permission to return to his cell, which was granted. Under pretence of searching for some necessaries, in the presence of Mr. Kirby, jun. he suddenly drew a knife, and stabbed himself in the body. He now lies extremely ill, refuses every kind of sustenance, and declares he is determined to put an end to his existence.

27th. *Dublin.* The following are copies of letters received by the right hon. the lord mayor.

" My Lord,

" I am directed by my lord-lieutenant to acquaint your lordship, that his excellency has received intelligence from lieutenant-general Dalrymple, stating, that a fleet had been seen steering for Bantry Bay, which it was supposed was French, also, that the Kangaroo sloop of war had passed through the said fleet the 21st instant, and having reported to vice-admiral Kingsmill that it appeared to belong to the enemy, had sailed for England, to give information to the admiralty."

" Under these circumstances, his excellency has thought it expedient to take all precautionary measures in case the enemy should attempt a landing, and his excellency has the fullest reliance on the zeal and loyalty of the citizens and inhabitants of Dublin, which have already been so conspicuous, to second and facilitate the measures which, in case of emergency, it will be necessary for the government to adopt.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

THOMAS PELHAM."

To the right honourable the lord mayor, &c.

Dublin-Castle, 29th Dec. 1796.

" My Lord,

" The last accounts from general Dalrymple are by his aid-de-camp, captain Gordon, who left Bantry at ten o'clock on Tuesday, A. M. and arrived here this morning. Seventeen sail of French ships were at that time at anchor on the lower part of Bear island, but at such a distance that their force could not be ascertained. A lieutenant of a French frigate was driven on shore in his boat, in attempting to quit his vessel, which was dismasted, to the admiral. He confirms the account of the fleet being French, with hostile views to this country, but does not appear to know whether the whole fleet, which consisted of about seventeen sail of the line, fifteen frigates, and, including transports and luggers, amounted to fifty sail, were all to re-assemble off Bantry. General Hoche was on board, commanding a considerable force.

I have the honour to be,

my lord, your lordship's
most obedient servant,

T. PELHAM."

29th. This afternoon lord Malmesbury arrived in town from France; the negotiation at Paris having been abruptly broken off by an order for his quitting Paris in 48 hours.

30th. *Cork.* In consequence of the horses coming to market being seized for the use of the army, the citizens are likely to suffer the greatest inconvenience; for now no persons will venture to town with their cattle or provisions; hence the necessity of applying to gentlemen of large studs, whose immediate duty and interest it is to come forward at this season, not only

only with their lives and fortunes, but also with their cattle.

To obviate this inconvenience, the mayor has published to the following effect:

“The mayor desires that the countrymen will bring in, as usual, to the markets of Cork, all kinds of corn, potatoes, milk, and butter, and every other supply of provisions. He declares and assures to them, their horses, cars, &c. &c. will not be taken, or be molested in the least.

“The horses that have been given, and taken for the use of the army, are well fed with hay and oats, and proper attention paid to them, and the owners will be entitled to five shillings per day for each horse, and each man one shilling, while out on duty.

“The mayor requests and calls on all gentlemen of the city, who have not already sent their horses on duty, to send him in their numbers, that, in case more be wanted, he may know where to call for them.

Wednesday, December 28.”

Gross produce of the revenue of the post-office for three years, to April 5, 1795:

The year ending April 5, £. s. d.		
1793,	- -	627,592 12 0
1794,	- -	691,268 11 9
1795,	- -	705,319 10 9

The gross produce for the year ending April 5, 1796, as near as can be taken, amounts to 787,304l.

The Norwich bills of mortality for the last year stand thus: christened, males 467, females 430; buried, males 477, females 570. Thirty-one fewer births than in the year 1795, and a decrease in burials of fifty-one.

The hop duty of the last year, rough puffing, amounts only to 77,241l. as appears by the following correct returns from the several districts; viz.

Kent	- -	45,563
Sussex	- -	13,100
Worcester	- -	10,050
Farnham	- -	4,501
Essex, North Clays, &c.		4,027

Total, £. 77,241.

The exports of British and foreign manufactures and merchandize from this country in the year 1795, amounted to 27,123,338l.— and in 1796, to 29,904,635l.— Majority in favour of the last year, 1,781,297l.

The quantity of Porter, brewed by the first twelve houses in the London Porter Brewery, for the last two years, ending on the 5th instant each year, is as follows:

	1795.	1796.
Barrels.	Barrels.	
Whitbread	158800	202000
Thrale	122300	137800
Shum	101700	110700
Hanbury	99000	109100
Goodwin	70500	97500
Calvert (F)	83400	97900
Meux	121000	96600
Calvert (J)	56600	67000
Elliot	46700	58200
Clowes	40000	55700
Stevenson	39400	45800
Phillips	38800	42600

The increase of the quantity of porter, brewed since the beginning of the present reign, is immense.

During the year ending in 1761 the quantity brewed in London amounted to 975,217 barrels of thirty-six gallons each. The number

ber of brewers was then fifty two. But in the year ending July, 1795, the quantity brewed by only twelve brewers exceeded the above by 1890 barrels.

The number of Bankrupts since the commencement of the present war, is nearly as great as during the whole period of the American war. From 1775 to 1782 inclusive, there were 3742; from 1793 to 1796 inclusive, 3608. The difference is therefore only 134.

Naval Officers. — The number of officers of his majesty's fleet, under the description of admirals, captains, masters and commanders, and lieutenants, made up to the end of this year, and just published under the direction of the admiralty board, is,

Admirals of different ranks	-	97
Captains	-	494
Masters and commanders	-	289
Lieutenants	-	1960

Total 2840

There has been no promotion of admirals since June 1795; 52 post-captains have been made in the course of the last year, 92 masters and commanders, and 225 lieutenants.

The following is a list of vessels, of different nations, that have paid the Sound duties, from Dec. 31, 1795, to Dec. 31, 1796:—

British	—	4455
Danish	—	2157
Swedish	—	2505
Prussians	—	1773
Pappenburgers	—	232
Dantzic	—	249
Hamburgh	—	40
Oldenburgh	—	120
Bremen	—	98
Rostock	—	193
Lubeck	—	70

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Courland	—	10
Russia	—	7
America	—	169
Portuguese	—	14
Spaniards	—	25
Dutch	—	1

. Total — 12,113 ships.

From the Sound list for the years 1792, 3, 4, 5, and 6, it appears that the commerce of Europe to the northern states has fluctuated every year for these five years past; but at last seems to have so far recovered itself; that, in 1795, it has arrived to the same pitch as in 1772; there being only one ship more in the latter period than the former. It also appears that the commerce of Europe to those states was less by 300 ships in 1795 than in any former year since 1792, which must be attributed to the hard winter and long frost, which must be severely felt in the northern seas. The British commerce has still kept up its prosperity, and all the five years is at the head of the list; while those of the Dutch, which used to be next, has dwindled from 2181 to none in 1795, and only one in 1796; and the French, from 128 in 1790, to 25 in 1792, and not one ship any year after.

BIRTHS in the Year 1796.

Jan. 4. Countess of Aboyne, a daughter.

7. Princess of Wales, a princess.

14. Lady of Richard Brinsley Sheridan, esq. M. P. a son.

Lady of col. Gérard Noel Edwards, M. P. a daughter.

Feb. 16. Lady of Samuel Whitbread, jun. esq. M. P. a son.

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Mon.

Hon. Mrs. Leigh, of Addelstrop, Oxfordshire, a daughter.

18. Lady Brownlow, a daughter.

19. Lady of sir William Elliot, of Stobbs, bart. a son.

27. Lady Le Despencer, a daughter.

28. Lady of lord Kilmaine, a daughter.

March 1. Lady of sir James Bland Burges, bart. a son.

18. Lady Eliz. Spencer, a son.

Lady of William Cunliffe Shawe, esq. M. P. a son.

Hon. Mrs. Vaughan, lady of Dr. Vaughan, a daughter.

22. Countess of Oxford, a daughter.

25. Viscountess Fielding, a son and heir.

27. Lady of sir Gilbert Heathcote, bart. a son.

30. Lady of George Sumner, esq. M. P. a son.

31. Duchess of Leinster, a son.

April 4. Lady of sir John Turner bart. a son.

Lady of sir John Dryden, bart. 2 son.

9. Lady of the hon. lieut. col. Forbes, a son.

12. Lady of sir William Smith, bart. a daughter.

Lately, lady of Reginald Pole Carew, M. P. a daughter.

May 6. Lady of Alexander Alardyce, M. P. a daughter.

9. Countess of Cassilis, a daughter.

15. Lady of sir Thomas Whichcote, bart. a daughter.

18. Marchion. of Blandford, a son.

31. Countess of Darnley, a daughter.

June 11. Lady of Richard Aldworth Neville, esq. a son.

16. Lady of sir John Sinclair, bart. a daughter.

21. Lady Susan Ryder, a daughter.

July 1. Mrs. Ainsworth, wife of Mr. Thomas Ainsworth, of Layland, in Lancashire, of her twenty-ninth child.

29. Lady Charlotte Duncombe, a son.

Countess Paulett, a son.

Lady of Charles Duncombe, esq. M. P. a son and heir.

Aug. 1. Lady Rous, a son.

5. Viscountess Milsingtoun, a son.

10. Lady Sondes, a son.

11. Lady of sir William Rowley, bart. a son.

16. Countess of Dalkeith, a daughter.

21. Marchioness of Titchfield, a son and heir.

25. Lady of sir Thomas Turton, bart. a daughter.

31. Lady Cuningham, a daughter.

Hon. Mrs. Temple, a son.

Sept. 13. Lady Augusta Clavering, a son.

20. Lady Elizabeth Loftus, a son.

22. Lady Catheart, a daughter.

30. Lady of sir James Sander-son, bart. a daughter.

Dowager countess Winterton, a son.

Oct. 2. Lady George Murray, a son.

3. Lady of Thomas Anson, esq. M. P. a son.

16. Lady of sir Montague Burgoyne, bart. a son and heir.

26. Countess of Breadalbane, a son.

Nov. 3. Lady of the right hon. Henry Addington, speaker of the house of commons, a daughter.

7. Lady of William Manning, esq. M. P. a son.

9. Lady of sir Charles Oakley, bart. a son.

MARRIAGES *in the Year 1796.*

Jan. 6. George Henry Rose, esq. M. P. for Southampton, and son of George Rose, esq. secretary of the treasury, and M. P. for Christchurch, to miss Duncombe, daughter and co-heiress of the late Thomas Duncombe esq.

10. Lady Wilson, relict of the late judge Wilson, to captain Griffiths of the navy.

Feb. 6. Thomas Gardiner Bramston, esq. eldest son of Thomas Berney Bramston, esq. M. P. for Essex, to miss Blaauw, daughter of William Blaauw, esq.

9. Earl of Powerscourt, to miss Brownlow.

Robert Liston, esq. ambassador to the Sublime Porte, to miss Henrietta Marchant, of Antigua.

28. Earl of Guildford, to miss Coutts, daughter of Thomas Coutts, esq. banker, in the Strand.

March 1. Henry Thornton, esq. M. P. to miss Sykes, daughter of Joseph Sykes, esq. of West Ella, Yorkshire.

Lately, James Dalrymple, esq. to the countess dowager of Haddington.

16. Hon. Thomas Parker, brother to the earl of Macclesfield, to miss Edwards, daughter of Lewis Edwards, esq. of Talgerth, Merionethshire.

29. Sir Robert Wilmot, bart. to miss Grimston, daughter of the late Robert Grimston, esq. of Neswick, Yorkshire.

April 16. Earl Temple, to lady Anne Elizabeth Brydges, daughter of the late duke of Chandos.

19. Edward Wilbraham Bootle, esq. M. P. to miss Taylor, daughter

of the rev. Edward Taylor, of Bifrons, Kent.

27. Sir Thomas Henry Liddell, bart. to miss Maria Simpson, daughter of the late John Simpson, esq. of Bradley.

26. Mr. Taylor, surgeon, at Sevenoaks, to lady Louisa Stanhope, daughter of earl Stanhope.

Lord Porchester, son of the earl of Carnarvon, to miss Ackland, daughter of Lady Harriet Ackland.

Lately, capt. Talbot, to Lady Elizabeth Strangeways, daughter of the earl of Ilchester.

May 3. Hon. and right rev. dr. William Stuart, bishop of St. David's, to miss Penn, daughter of the late hon. Thomas Penn, esq. proprietor of Pennsylvania.

11. Sir Edmund Head, bart. to miss Western, of Cokethorpe, Oxfordshire.

Thomas Sherlock Gooch, esq. eldest son of sir Thomas Gooch, bart. to miss Whittaker, sister of Abraham Whittaker, esq. of Lyston-house, Herefordshire.

14. Hugh Dillon Massey, esq. eldest son of sir Hugh Massey, bart. to miss S. Hankey, daughter of the late Thomas Hankey, esq.

June 3. George Wright, esq. only son of sir James Wright, bart. to miss Maclane, only daughter and heiress to the late Charles Maclane, esq. of Oakingham.

11. Sir George Glyn, bart. to miss Catharine Powell, daughter and co-heiress of the late rev. Gervas Powell, of Linbara, in Glamorganshire.

25. Sir Richard Gamon, bart. M. P. to Lady Amelia Cooke.

Sir Nigel Bowyer Gresley, bart. to miss Garway of Worcester.

27. Rev. Charles Talbot, second son of the hon. and rev. Charles Tal-

bot, to lady Elizabeth Somerset, daughter of the duke of Beaufort.

30. Hon. William Leeson, brother of the earl of Miltown, to miss Buchanan.

July 4. Lord Andover, to miss Coke, daughter of Thomas William Coke, esq. of Holkham, Norfolk, M. P.

Lieutenant Sloper, son of general sir Robert Sloper, K. B. to miss Kent, daughter of Thomas Kent, esq. Ipswich.

5. Lord Blayney, to the hon. miss Alexander, daughter of lord Caledon.

16. Dr. Spenser Madan, bishop of Peterborough, to miss Vyse, sister of general Vyse.

25. Lieutenant-colonel Pigott, to miss Mary Monckton, daughter of the hon. John Monckton.

26. William Wingfield, esq. to lady Charlotte Digby, sister of the earl of Digby.

Aug. 3. Hon. William Hay Carr, brother to the earl of Errol, to miss Elliot, daughter of Samuel Elliot, esq. of Antigua.

6. Lieutenant-colonel Denzil Onslow, to the hon. miss Petre, daughter of lord Petre.

9. Joseph Mawbey, esq. son of sir Joseph Mawbey, bart. to miss Henchman, daughter of Thomas Henchman, esq. of new Burlington-street.

12. Sir William Ramsey, of Banff, bart. to miss Biscœe, of Edward-street, Portman-square.

11. Francis John Brown esq. M. P. for Dorset, to miss Francis Richards, daughter of the rev. John Richards, of Langbridge, Dorset.

30. Robert Dundas, esq. son of the right hon. Henry Dundas, to miss Saunders, daughter of the late admiral sir Charles Saunders.

Sept. 2. Sir Thomas Parkyns,

bart. to miss Boultkees, of Leicester.

6. Sir John Davis, bart. to miss Lemon, daughter of sir William Lemon, bart.

22. Edmund Hornby, esq. to lady Catharine Stanley, daughter of the earl of Derby.

29. Sir Thomas Gage, bart. to miss Charlotte Campbell, cousin to lord Cawdor.

Oct. 1. Rev. Samuel Wilson Warneford, of Broughton, Oxfordshire, to miss Loveden, daughter of Edward Loveden Loveden esq. of Buscot Park, Berks.

7. Lord Templetown, to lady Mary Montagu, daughter of the earl of Sandwich.

11. John Thomas Stanley, esq. eldest son of sir John Stanley, bart. to the hon. miss Holroyd, daughter of lord Sheffield.

Nov. 18. John Wodehouse, esq. eldest son of sir John Wodehouse, bart. to miss Norris, only daughter of the late John Norris, esq. of Wilton Park, Norfolk.

24. His excellency count de Bruhl, to miss Chowne, heiress of the late Thomas Chowne, esq.

Dec. 10. Hon. Cropley Ashley, brother to the earl of Shaftsbury, to lady Anne Spencer, daughter of the duke of Marlborough.

PROMOTIONS in the Year 1796.

Jan. 16. Major-general Prince Edward—a lieutenant-general.

Feb. 27. John earl of Bute—viscount Mountjoy, earl of Windsor, and marquis of the county of Bute.

20. Walter Farquhar, M. D.—a bart.

Rear admiral Hugh Cloberry Christain—K. B.

27. David

27. David Smyth, esq. of Methven—one of the commissioners of justiciary in Scotland.

Allan Machonochies, esq.—one of the lords of session in Scotland.

March 10. Robert Liston, esq. ambassador to the Sublime Porte—envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the United States of America.

Edward Thornton, esq.—secretary of legation to the said United States.

12. Earl Howe—admiral of the fleet and general of marines.

Lord Bridport—vice-admiral of Great Britain.

Hon. William Cornwallis—rear-admiral of Great Britain.

Capt. sir Edward Pellew, knt.—a baronet.

18. Captain Charles Mitchel—a knt.

21. William Bellingham, esq.—a bart.

23. William Watson, esq.—a knt.

24. Samuel lord Hood—master of Greenwich hospital, and one of the commissioners or governors thereof.

April 6. George Pownall, esq.—a knt.

16. George earl of Stamford—baron Delamere and earl of Warrington.

29. Earl of Kinnoul and sir Grey Cooper, bart.—privy-counsellors.

30. John Coxé Hippiusley, Whar-ton Amcotts, Edmund Cradock Hartopp, Thomas Turton and Robert Baker, esqrs.—baronets.

May 3. Earl of Leven and Melville—his majesty's commissioner to the general assembly of the church of Scotland.

11. Francis d'Ivernois, esq.—a knt.

18. Charles earl of Northampton

—lord-lieutenant of Northamptonshire.

14. Lieutenant-generals, sir D. Lindsay, bart. E. Maxwell Brown, Eyre Massey, George Warde, Flower Mocher, sir R. Sloper, K. B. Staates Long Morris, Ralph earl of Ross, sir R. Pigot, bart. sir J. Dal-ling, bart. Russel Manners, Thomas Hall, James Grant, sir W. Fawcett, K. B. William marquis of Lothian, K. T. sir C. Grey, K. B. sir Thomas Spencer Wilson, bart. George Mor-rison, Thomas Clarke, and Charles Rainsford to be generals in the army.

Major-generals Anthony George Martin, Benjamin Gordon, hon. Thomas Bruce, George Ainslie, James Adeane, Edward Smith, Thomas Bland, Felix Buckley, Charles William Lyon, Henry Wat-son Powell, Thomas Stirling, George Garth and Richard Grenville—to be lieutenant-generals in the army.

Colonels, George Bernard, of the 84th foot, George Nugent, of the 85th foot, John Bowater, of the marines, Thomas Ayerne, of the ma-rines, Thomas Duval, half-pay of the marines, James Barker, half-pay of the 56th foot, John Campbell, of the marines, Charles Tarrant, of the engineers in Ireland, William Lewis, of the marines, John Barclay of the marines, William Macormick half-pay, William Maddox Richard-son, of the 64th foot, John Freke, half-pay of the 39th foot, Richard England, of the 24th foot, William Keppel, of a West India regiment, John H. Hutchinson, of the 94th foot, John Hamilton, of the late 81st foot, Alexander Hay, of the 109th foot, Thomas Goldie, of the late 82d foot, Robert Douglas, of the 47th foot, Simon Fraser of the 3d foot, Thomas Davis, of the artillery, Robert Man-

ners, of the 3d foot guards, William Loftus, of the 24th dragoons, William Myers, of a West India regiment, Frederick George Mulcaster, of the engineers, Oliver Nicols, of a West India regiment, Alexander Mercer, of the engineers, George Hewitt, of the 92d foot, and James Hartley, of the 75th foot—to be major-generals in the army.

Colonels, Patrick Ross, John Erskine, Robert Stuart, Thomas Geils, Joseph Bilcliffe, Edward Ellerker, Gabriel Johnston, George Deare, William Sydenham, Edward Rawstorne, James Nichol, Charles Ware, and George Conyngham—to be major-generals in the East Indies only.

28. Charles lord Hawkesbury—earl of Liverpool.

28. Samuel baron Hood, of Ireland—viscount Hood of Great Britain.

31. Francis earl of Moray, of Ireland—baron Stuart of Castle Stuart, in Invernessshire.

John earl of Galloway—baron Steward of Garlies, in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright.

James earl of Courtown of Ireland—baron Saltersford, in Cheshire.

George earl of Macartney, in Ireland—baron Macartney of Parkhurst, in Surry.

John Christian Burton, viscount Downe of Ireland—baron Dawnay of Cowick, Yorkshire.

George viscount Middleton, of Ireland—baron Brodrick, of Peppes Harrow, Surry.

Alexander baron Bridport of Ireland—baron Bridport of Great Britain.

Sir John Rous, bart.—baron Rous.

Sir Henry Gough Calthorpe, bart.—baron Calthorpe.

Sir Peter Burrell, bart.—baron Gwydir.

Sir Francis Basset, bart.—baron De Dunstanville.

Edward Lascelles, esq.—baron Harewood.

John Rolle, esq.—baron Rolle.

John Campbell, esq.—lord Cawdor.

June 1. William Campbell, esq.—governor of the Bermuda Islands.

6. Edward Cooke, esq.—under secretary in the military department of the chief secretary's office in Ireland.

Barry earl of Farnham and Sackville Hamilton, esq.—privy-counsellors of Ireland.

July 12. Lady Willoughby de Eresby—lady of the bedchamber to the princess of Wales.

13. Captain Thomas Williams of the royal navy—a knight.

16. Sir Joshua Vanneck, bart.—baron Huntingfield, of the kingdom of Ireland.

Robert Smith, esq.—baron Carrington of the kingdom of Ireland.

Major-general Henry lord Mulgrave—governor of Scarborough Castle.

Major-general Thomas Musgrave governor of Gravesend and Tilbury.

Colonel William Goodday Strutt—deputy-governor of Stirling Castle.

20. Sir John Morshead, bart.—surveyor-general to the prince of Wales.

Sir William Cuninghame, bart.—one of the state council to the prince of Wales, for the principality of Wales.

Thomas Tyrwhitt, esq. private secretary to the prince of Wales—privy-seal and auditor of the duchy of Cornwall.

23. Francis James Jackson, esq.—ambassador to the Ottoman Port.

Charles

Charles Meadows Pierrepont—baron Pierrepont and viscount Newark.

Charles earl of Liverpool—to bear the arms of Liverpool, together with his family arms, by the express desire of the corporation of Liverpool.

Hon. John Rodney—commissioner of the victualling-office.

Marquis Townshend—governor of Jersey.

General sir William Fawcett, K. B.—governor of Chelsea Hospital.

Robert Cullen, esq.—lord of the session in Scotland.

The prince of Wales colonel of the 10th regiment of dragoons.

August 2. Generals John duke of Argyll, Jeffrey lord Amherst, Studholme Hodgson, George marquis Townshend, lord Frederick Cavendish, and Charles duke of Richmond—field-m Marshals.

20. Robert viscount Castlereagh—earl of Londonderry.

Sept. 1. Hon. Arthur Paget, secretary of embassy to the court of Madrid.

Benjamin Garlike, esq.—secretary of legation to the court of Berlin.

21. John earl of Chatham—president of the council.

30. Earl of Kinnoul, and lord Dupplin, his son—lord Lyon king at arms for Scotland.

Oct. 10. General Henry Lawes, earl of Carhampton—commander in chief of the forces in Ireland.

Nov. 3. Major-general sir Ralph Abercomby, K. B.—colonel of the 2d regiment of dragoons.

Major-general Welbore Ellis Doyle—colonel of the 53d regiment of foot.

Major-general Gerard Lake—colonel of the 73d regiment of foot.

General lord Adam Gordon—governor of Edinburgh Castle.

Lieutenant-general Charles Rainsford—governor of Timmouth Castle.

30. John duke of Roxburgh—a privy-counsellor.

30. Lieutenant-colonel Charles Green—governor of Grenada.

Dec. 3. Major-general John Graves Simcoe—governor of such parts of St. Domingo as are in the possession of the British.

3. Major-general the honourable Charles Stuart—general in Portugal only.

3. Major-general Simon Fraser—lieutenant-general in Portugal only.

3. Colonel sir James St. Clair Erskine, bart.—brigadier and adjutant general in Portugal only.

3. Colonel William Anne Villettes—brigadier-general in Portugal only.

3. Brevet-major Robert Stuart—deputy adjutant general and lieutenant colonel in Portugal only.

Lieutenant-colonel Hildebrand Oakes—quarter-master-general, with the rank of colonel in Portugal only.

15. William Eliot—minister plenipotentiary to the elector palatine, and minister to the diet of Ratisbon.

DEATHS in the Year 1796

Jan. 7. Frances viscountess Kenmore.

10. George, lord Harvey.

13. Mr. John Anderson, F. R. S. London and Edinburgh, and professor of natural philosophy in the university of Glasgow, in the 70th year of his age, and 41st of his professorship. He was author of

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many

many useful and ingenious inventions, and lived to see, besides other works, five editions of his valuable institutes of physics.

16. In his 56th year, Henry-William Portman, esq. of Bryanston-place, co. Dorset; whose large estates in the west of England, and in the county of Middlesex (comprising the ground-rents of Portman-square, and several streets in its neighbourhood), devolve to his only son, Henry Berkley P. esq. M. P. for the city of Wells.

Mr. Chas. Leving, bart.

18. Hon. Robert Fitzmaurice Deare.

19. Wm. lord Belhaven

Sir William Burrell, bart. LL. D. chancellor to the bishop of Worcester, 1764; F. R. and A. SS. 1754; and commissioner of excise, 1774. He was third son of Peter Burrell, esq. of Beckenham, Kent; admitted of St. John's college, Cambridge, where he studied the civil law and proceeded LL. B. 1775, and LL. D. 1780. He married, April 13, 1773, Sophia, daughter of Charles Raymond, esq. of Valentine-house, Essex, who was created a baronet May 3, 1774, with remainder, in default of male-issue, to William Burrell, esq. of Beckenham, and his heirs-male by Sophia his wife, by whom he has left two sons and two daughters.

27. At Limerick, in Ireland, in his 30th year, Samuel Crumpe, M. D. M. R. I. A. He was gifted with talents, and possessed of information, that promised to raise him to an high degree of eminence in his profession, and in the literary world. He had acquired no small celebrity, as an author, by the publication of "An inquiry into the Nature and Properties of Opium," and

of "An Essay on the best Means of providing Employment for the People;" which last was honoured with a prize-medal by the royal Irish academy, and procured him admission among the members of that body.

27. Sophia Maria Josepha, viscountess Southwell, of Ireland.

29. Dowager lady Throckmorton.

Lately, in his 80th year, Mr. John Fyfield, of Stanbridge, near Romsey, a man of a most eccentric turn of mind and great singularity of conduct; the manor of Stanbridge he inherited from his ancestors, and it had been many generations in his family. He was of a penurious disposition, yet would scarcely ever suffer any of the timber on his estate to be felled, though it abounded with the finest in the country, a great deal of which was yearly perishing; the price of 50 guineas had indeed once tempted him to part with his far-famed oak-tree, but he repented of his bargain, and was happy to repurchase it, almost immediately after, at a higher price. All repairs of his mansion were prohibited, as an useless extravagance that would bring him to poverty; and whilst such a superfluity of materials as would amply have repaid the expences, and rendered his habitation comfortable, were rotting at his door, he chose rather to reside in it with the roof open in many places to the heavens, with hardly an apartment that afforded shelter from the weather, and with the joist and floors rotting with the wet that entered: the out-buildings were in a similar state of decay, and their repair was alike prohibited. He was totally blind for many of the latter years of his life, when his chief enjoyment

ment was a pint of strong beer, which he usually quaffed twice or thrice a week at the Duke's Head, at Great Bridge (about a mile from his own house), whither he was led by a boy that constantly attended him. For a long series of time he had a strong antipathy to the making of a will, considering it as a prelude to a speedy death; but the arguments of his late wife, whose influence repressed or turned into an harmless channel many of his singularities, and her representations of the unprovided state of his younger children, at length prevailed over his prejudices, and induced him to leave them handsome legacies. With all his oddities, he had a heart open to friendship and has frequently given substantial proofs of his regard for those who could indulge him in them. His landed estates, which are pretty considerable, go to his eldest son, and are supposed to have sufficient timber on them, in want of felling, to pay the legacies.

Feb. 7. At Oxen-heath, Kent, in his 87th year, sir Francis Geary, bart. admiral of the white. He was created a baronet by the title of sir Francis Geary, of Polesden, Surrey, in consequence of his marrying Miss Bartholomew, a Kentish lady.

9. Viscountess Llandaff of Ireland.

13. Elizabeth, lady of sir John Smyth, bart. of Sydling St. Nicholas, in Dorsetshire; by whom she had several children, three only surviving her. She was the daughter and sole heiress of Robert Curtis, esq. of Willsthorpe, co. Lincoln, barrister at law, and niece of Matthew Wyldbore, esq. of Peterborough, member for that city.

Aged 81, his serene highness Henry-Augustus, reigning prince of Hohenloe Ingelfingen, chief of the illustrious house of that name. He was born July 11, 1715.

15. Thomas Arthur, viscount Southwell, of Ireland.

In his 64th year, Mr. Emanuel Elam, of Leeds, formerly a considerable American merchant, and one of the people called quakers. He had retired from business several years ago, with a fortune of nearly 200,000*l.* It was this gentleman and his brother Samuel who were the principal purchasers of the valuable estate which was sold in October last, belonging to the marquis of Salisbury, near Leeds, for 155,000*l.* The elder Mr. Thelusson offered 150,000*l.* and James Armitage, esq. of Hunslet, near Leeds, 154,000*l.* Mr. Leatham, of Barton, near Malton, and Mr. Dowker, one of the tenants, were the other purchasers.

17. Jas. Macpherson, esq. M. P.

Aged 51, M. Dombey, a celebrated French botanist, who was several years employed by the king of Spain, in collecting and describing the plants and other natural productions of Peru. After his return from that country he retired to Lyons, and continued to reside there till lately, when he was appointed by the national convention, to undertake another voyage to America, for the purposes of natural history. He accordingly embarked at Brest for Philadelphia; but the ship he was on board was taken by the English and carried into Antigua, where he died.

At Vienna, in his 77th year, count Trautmansdorff, the emperor's chamberlain.

March 8. Sir Wm. Chambers, knt. At

At Shrewsbury, Lady Knowles, widow of the late admiral sir Charles Knowles, bart.

10. The hon. John Forbes, aged 82, the oldest officer in the navy, and general of marines. He was appointed post-captain in 1736, rear admiral in 1747, and admiral in 1758. In 1781 he was appointed admiral of the fleet. He was remarkable, above all other men, for his extensive and universal knowledge of naval affairs, having studied them in all their branches, with a perseverance, and observed upon them with an acuteness and judgment altogether unparalleled. His mind was capable of embracing the greatest and most complicated objects; and, having bent it towards the study of that profession of which he was allowed, by the universal voice of his contemporaries, to be a principal ornament, he attained such a summit of nautical skill as rendered him the oracle of all those who were most eminent, whether in the direction of the fleets of this nation, or in the equally arduous task of superintending the civil departments of the different branches of the marine. In the earlier part of his life, he was peculiarly noticed as an able, enterprising, and intrepid officer. He served with much reputation under Sir John Norris, and was no less distinguished as captain of the Norfolk, of 80 guns, in the action of Matthews and Lestock with the combined fleets of France and Spain, when his gallantry contributed in a high degree to save his brave friend admiral Matthews, whose second he was in that engagement. So bright was his honour, and so clear his reputation in those turbulent days, that though his evidence

on the trial of the admirals went wholly against Admiral Lestock, yet that officer was often heard to declare, "that Mr. Forbes's testimony was given like an officer and a gentleman." In lord Chatham's war, admiral Forbes was selected as the ablest assistant the first lord could have in the management of the Admiralty, and conducted himself in a manner highly creditable to his abilities, and eminently serviceable to his country. When the warrant for executing the unfortunate admiral Byng was offered for signature at the Admiralty Board, admiral Forbes refused to sign it, at the same time humbly laying at his late majesty's feet his objections. A copy of the paper given by the admiral to his majesty on that occasion, may be seen in Smollet's History of England.

During a late administration it was thought expedient to offer a noble lord, very high in the naval profession, and very deservedly a favourite of his sovereign and his country, the office of general of the marines held by admiral Forbes, and spontaneously conferred upon him by his majesty as a reward for his many and long services. A message was sent by the ministers, to say it would forward the king's service if he would resign: and that he should be no loser by his accommodating the government, as they proposed recommending to the king to give him a pension in Ireland of 3000*l.* per ann, and a peerage, to descend to his daughter. To this admiral Forbes sent an immediate answer; he told the ministers, the generalship of the marines was a military employment, given him by his majesty as a reward for his services; that

that he thanked God he had never been a burthen to his country, which he had served during a long life to the best of his ability; and that he would not condescend to accept of a pension or bargain for a peerage. He concluded by laying his generalship of the marines, together with his rank in the navy, at the king's feet, entreating him to take both away if they could forward his service: and, at the same time assuring his majesty, he would never prove himself unworthy of the former honours he had received, by ending the remnant of a long life as a pensioner, or accepting of a peerage obtained by political arrangement. His gracious master applauded his manly spirit, ever after continued him in his high military honours, and, to the day of his death, condescended to shew him strong marks of his regard.

11. At her house in Kildare-street, Dublin, after a lingering illness, in her 90th year, the countess dowager of Aldborough.

13. At her house in great Cumberland-street, lady Bridget Tollemache, relict of Mr. Tollemache (brother to the Earl of Dysart) and mother of major Tollemache, who lost his life in the service of his country, at the siege of Valenciennes. Lady Bridget was a daughter of chancellor earl Northington, and successively the wife of Mr. George Fox Lane and the hon. Mr. Tollemache, who was a captain in the navy, and fell in an unfortunate rencontre at New-York, with major-general, then captain Pennington of the guards. By Mr. Tollemache she had an only son, Lionel-Robert, who fell honourably in the trenches before Valenciennes. Lady Bridget struggled under this severe stroke nearly

two years, with all the fortitude that a great mind could call forth, and at length expired the victim of her parental affections. The character of this accomplished woman naturally took its various colouring from the strange vicissitudes of her fortune. Her mind, however, was always elevated and commanding; and, though she sacrificed somewhat to fashionable life, she ever kept aloof from those vices which have so long disgraced it. To a strength of intellect, which she derived from her noble sire, she added a delicacy of imagination and a brilliancy of wit peculiar to herself.

15. Countess of Ludlow.

17. Suddenly, in Manchester-square, the marchioness of Winchester, wife of George Powlett, esq. who on the death of the late duke of Bolton, succeeded to the title of marquis of Winchester.

19. At his house in Lincoln's-inn fields, of a rheumatic fever, George Bond, esq. one of his majesty's serjeants at law; whose professional eminence was deservedly acquired by presevering industry in the laborious pursuit of legal knowledge.

Of the gout in his stomach, in his 33d year, Mr. Stephen Storace, whose abilities as a composer are sufficiently known by those original airs in the dramas of "The Haunted Tower," "No Song No Supper," "My Grandmother," &c. &c. Few men in any province of genius have more rapidly ascended to fame and independence. His style of composition was formed upon the Italian model; and, in his airs for many voices, and in choral energy, he followed the musicians of Italy with great success. He was distinguished in private life for shrewdness, penetration, and knowledge

of

of mankind. His first composition for Drury-lane theatre was "The Doctor and Apothecary," which was performed on the day of his death.

19. Sir Hugh Palliser, bart. admiral of the white.

21. In his 77th year, sir Thomas Rookwood Gage, bart. of Hengrave, co. Suffolk, and of Coldhamhall. He was the eldest of the two sons of John, second son of sir William Gage, bart. by his wife Elizabeth daughter of Thomas Rookwood, esq. of Coldham-hall. On the death of her father she became sole heiress of all his estate. Sir Thomas married, 1747, Lucy daughter of William Knight, of Kingesby, co. Lincoln, esq. by whom he has issue a son, Thomas, his successor, and three daughters.

22. Lady of sir Thomas Parkyns, bart.

25. At Ranelagh the countess of Crequy Canaples, widow of Hugues comte de Crequy Canaples, of Orville, in the province of Artois. She was daughter of Edward Comerford, of Leeds, Yorkshire, M. D.

28. Lady Mildmay.

At Berne, in Switzerland, where he had long been retired from motives of æconomy, after considerable expenditure on parliamentary elections, and afterwards, by preference of situation, for health, Spencer Compton, eighth earl of Northampton, in which title he succeeded his brother, in 1763. He married first Jane, daughter of Henry Lawton, esq. of Northamptonshire, who died in 1767, leaving issue a son Charles, born 1760, and a daughter, Frances, born 1758. His second lady was Miss Anne Hougham. His lordship was appointed one of the

grooms of his majesty's bed-chamber, Nov. 25, 1760; elected recorder of Northampton, Nov. 1. 1763; and constituted lord-lieutenant and custos rotulorum of the county of Northampton, July 19, 1771; and president of the General Hospital and Preservative Society of the county. He is succeeded by his only son, Charles, ninth earl.

Much lamented, the rev. Benjamin Sowden, minister of the English Episcopal Church at Amsterdam. He was justly esteemed for his learning, his extensive acquaintance with science, and the amiable qualities of his heart. A discussion of his father's having written or published lady W. Montague's letters, which he only possessed, may be seen in the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. LXIV. His father printed five sermons: 1. on the fast, 1747; 2. on the death of the prince of Orange, 1750; 3. at the funeral of the rev. Barthomew Loftus, 1751; 4. Ordination, 1752; 5. on the death of king George II. 1760.

April 3. At the Hague, countess de Welderen, sister to lord Howard, and Mrs. Parker, the wife of comte de Welderen, many years minister from Holland to this country.

10. Sir Archibald Edmonstone, bart.

12. At the George inn at Bridgewater, on her way to the Hotwells, aged 19, lady Anne-Maria Montague, daughter of the late and sister of the present duke of Manchester.

13. At his seat at Whitwell, co. York, aged 31, sir Bellingham Graham, bart. He was son of the late sir Bellingham, and has a sister married, abroad, to col. Greville.

16. Suddenly, James, 10th lord Somerville

Somerville, one of the sixteen peers for Scotland. He succeeded his father, James, 1766; and is succeeded in title and estates by his nephew, son of his brother Hugh.

At Aberdeen, in his 77th year, George Campbell, D. D. F. R. S. Edin. late principal and professor of divinity in the Marischal college and university of Aberdeen.

May 3. The right hon. lady Gertrude Cromie.

At Hampton Court Palace, in her 71st year, Anna Catharina Rumpsfoon Warmen-huyen, dowager baroness du Tour, mother-in-law to Baron Nagel.

13. At Drumsheugh, near Edinburgh, the hon. James Erskine of Alva, one of the senators of the College of Justice. He was admitted an advocate, Dec. 4, 1743, appointed one of the barons of the Exchequer, May 27, 1754, and on the 20th May, 1761, was appointed one of the lords of the session, and took the title of lord Barjarg, which title he afterwards altered to lord Alva.

19. At her house in Hertford-street, lady Charlotte Finch, eldest daughter of Daniel seventh earl of Winchelsea and third earl of Nottingham. She formerly enjoyed the place of governess of the royal nursery, with an appointment of 600*l.* per annum.

22. At the White Lion inn at Bath. Henry Thomas Cary, visc. Falkland, and Baron Cary in Scotland. He had reached Melksham, on his way to London, but being too ill to proceed, returned to Bath. He was born in 1766, and succeeded his grandfather, the late viscount, in 1785. Dying without issue, his brother, the hon. Charles John Cary, succeeds him.

At Chesterfield, aged 48, the hon. Eliz. Horton, eldest sister of the Earl of Derby, and lady of the rev. Thomas Horton, rector of Bradsworth, co. York.

At Woolwich, Gen. Broome, of the artillery. He rose from the situation of a private to the high rank of a general officer, merely by his personal merit. He was a captain of artillery at the time of the trial of lord George Sackville, in which he appeared as a principal evidence against his lordship.

31. Aged 64, in Harcourt place Dublin, the right hon. William Burton Conyngham, one of his majesty's most hon. privy council, teller of the exchequer, and one of the commissioners for executing the office of high treasurer in Ireland, treasurer of the Royal Irish Academy, F. A. S. Lond. brother of the late Francis Pierpoint Burton, baron Conyngham (father of the present viscount Conyngham) and nephew of Henry earl Conyngham, in compliance of whose will he took the name of Conyngham; and uncle to the present lord, to whom his estates devolve. Our readers will recollect him as the munificent patron of Mr. Murphy, in his journey to, and description of, the monastery of Batalha, which Mr. Conyngham had himself visited, and made some sketches of, with two other gentlemen who accompanied him in his travels through Portugal, 1783. "These sketches, which are very correct representations of the original, gave Mr. Murphy so high an idea of that building as to excite in him an earnest desire to visit it; and Mr. Conyngham having generously offered him his patronage and support, he set out from Dublin,

in a trading vessel, and arrived at Oporto in January, 1789." Mr. Murphy concludes his preface with "acknowledging his obligations to this gentleman, by whose munificence he was enabled to carry on his work. The Portuguese have too much gratitude not to add their acknowledgments to him also for having made known the merits of this inimitable structure. The person who presented it to the world was a private gentleman, a native of Ireland, who, induced by no other motive than a love of the fine arts, and a wish for the advancement of science, has expended upwards of 1000*l.* in rescuing this noble edifice from the obscurity in which it has lain concealed for ages. I have taken the liberty to dedicate this work to him, in consideration of his exemplary liberality, and as an humble testimony of my everlasting gratitude and respect." To the dedication is prefixed a portrait of Mr. Conyngham painted by Stuart, and engraved by Schiavonetti. Mr. Conyngham subscribed for ten copies of the work. Ireland will feel itself indebted to Mr. Conyngham for the institution of a Society of Antiquaries, in 1780, consisting of himself as president, Mr. Archdall, author of the *Irish Monasticon* and *Peerage*, Mr. O'Connor the dissertator, colonel Vallancey the etymologist, Dr. Ellis, a physician, who created a Society of Natural History, Mr. Ledwich, and Mr. Beauford. Things went on very well till governor Pownall addressed a letter to them, which Mr. Ledwich answered in the "*Collectanea Hibernia*," No. XL; and by the lively, jocular way in which he then wrote, offended col.

Vallency who expatriated him from his *Collectanea*, and from a society which immediately ceased. Had this society held together, we might have expected it to have engraved and illustrated that fund of drawings of Irish antiquities from the time of the Druids to the Reformation, which Mr. Conyngham was then making at a great expence, which he was ready to communicate to every person whose pursuits were congenial with his own, and which we hope he has taken some measures to render perpetual.

June 6. At her house in Sloane-street, Knightsbridge, of a cancer in her breast, the countess of Sussex, second wife to the present earl, and daughter of Jn. Vaughan, esq. of Bristol.

In his 70th year the rev. Thomas Cole, L. L. B. and vicar of Dulverton. He was of Queen's college, Cambridge, where he took the degree of L. L. B. in 1751. He was author of "*The arbour, or the rural philosopher*," 4to. 1756, reprinted in Dodsley's collection of Poems; "*Discourses on luxury, infidelity, and enthusiasm*," 12mo. 1760, at which time he was assistant preacher at St. Paul's Covent Garden; and "*The life of Hubert, a narrative, descriptive, and didactic poem*," book I. 8vo. 1795.

Of the yellow fever, at sea, on board the *Majestic*, of 74 guns, in which he was coming home from the West Indies, two days before she made the land, sir John Laforey, admiral of the blue. He was made a post-captain in 1758; a rear admiral in 1789; a vice admiral in 1793; a baronet in 1794; and an admiral in 1795. On the 21st his remains were interred at Plymouth

Plymouth with grand military honours.

At Madrid, aged 80, the duke de Crillon Mahon, captain-general of the Spanish armies. It is calculated that he had been in 68 different engagements. He commanded the Spanish armies with the greatest success in the war of 1780, against the English, and in that war took the island of Minorca from them. After having served long in France, his native country, at the conclusion of the seven years war he passed, with the approbation of the French government, into the service of Spain, where he acquired the first military rank. Not having taken any part in the last war of the Spaniards against the French, he had a very active share in the conclusion of the peace which terminated it. The title of duke of Mahon, destined to perpetuate the remembrance of his victories, has passed to the youngest of his sons by a third marriage. The two eldest sons of the duke de Crillon were both members of the constituent assembly of France.

At Donauschitz, in his 39th year, the reigning prince of Furstenberg.

11. At Madrid, much lamented, the right hon. countess of Traquair, daughter of the late George Ravenscroft, esq. of Spalding, co. Lincoln.

16. At his house in Grosvenor-square, after a long and painful illness, sincerely regretted by all his friends, and particularly by those of the profession he belonged to, for which he had always stood forward a zealous advocate and sincere friend, field-marshal the rt. hon. sir George Howard, k. b. one of his majesty's most honourable privy

council, colonel of the first or king's regiment of dragoon guards, governor of Jersey, and M. P. for Stamford.

16. In Upper Brook-street, in his 69th year, the right hon. William Gerrard Hamilton, formerly secretary in Ireland. By his death there lapses an Irish pension of 2000*l.* a year; and the bulk of his fortune goes to William Hamilton, esq. of Lincoln's-inn-fields. He was usually denominated single speech Hamilton.

At his seat at Kentchurch, co. Hereford, in his 68th year, John Scudamore, esq. a few weeks before elected, for the sixth time, to represent the city of Hereford in parliament, by the unanimous voice of the citizens. His death was occasioned by a cold, caught, after hunting in his park, by the too sudden check of perspiration; every effort of the ablest of the faculty to preserve his life was ineffectual.

At Paris, the duke de Chatelet. This unfortunate peer, after securing some part of his property in England, returned to France with the hope of rescuing more; but, before he could attain his object, was discovered, and arrested by the deputy on mission in the department de la Somme. He had, however, taken such precautions, that his emigration could not be traced; and might, perhaps, have escaped, had not a Jacobin, whose brother was cook in an English nobleman's family, produced a letter, which stated the duke's having dined with lord—— on a particular day, and even the other company who were present, and the conversation which passed attable. Mons. de Chatelet, surprised, un-

prepared

prepared for such evidence, and unable to refute it, was sent to Paris, and guillotined; and in his fate were involved several innocent people, one of them a young English lady, because she happened to be in a house where the duke slept one night.

August 2. After a long and painful illness, in his 77th year, at his seat at Patshull, co. Staff. General sir Robert Pigot, bart. He is succeeded in title and estate by his eldest son, lieut. col. George Pigot.

5. At Little Chelsea, lady Gordon, daughter of Thomas Alsop, of Loughborough, gent. and second wife of Samuel Philips, of Gerendon-hall, co. Leic. esq. Mr. Philips, who concluded the too short-lived race of a most respectable and worthy family, March 16, 1774, at the age of 65, left his noble mansion at Gerendon, with an income of 7000*l.* a year, to his widow; who was afterwards married to Sir Will. Gordon, K. B.; but, on the death of this lady, the estates descend, agreeably to the will of Mr. Philips, to Thomas March, esq. of More Critchell, co. Dorset, his maternal cousin, who has just obtained the royal licence to assume the surname and arms of Philips, in addition to those of March.

Wm. Johnson Temple, LL. B. of Trinity-hall, Cambridge, 1766, formerly rector of Mamhead, co. Devon, to which he was presented by the earl of Lisburne, and exchanged it for St. Gluvias. He published "An Essay on the Clergy, their Studies, Recreations, Doctrines, Influence, &c. 1774," 8vo; and wrote the character of Gray, which has had the honour to be adopted both by Mr. Mason and

Dr. Johnson in their accounts of that poet.

After a long illness, at the Bell inn, Northfield, being then on his way to Abergavenny, in Wales, Sir Joseph Brooke, bart. of Seaton, in Yorkshire. His brother, Samuel Brooke, esq. of the city of Dublin, succeeds to the title and estate. Sir Richard, the late baronet, died in his 38th year, at Norton priory, in Cheshire, March 11, 1795.

At his house in Grosvenor-square, Wm. Drake, of Shardeloes, co. Bucks, esq. lord of the borough, and patron of the rectory of Agmondesham, or Amersham, in that county, LL. D. (William Drake appears as member for that borough in 1661.) He married, Feb. 9, 1747, Miss Raworth, of Sambroke-court, Basinghall-street, with 100,000*l.* She died many years since. They had issue, 1. Wm. Drake, LL. D. M. P. for Amersham, who died May 19, 1795. He married, Feb. 17, 1778, the sole daughter and heiress of William Hussey, esq. M. P. for Salisbury, by his wife, daughter and co-heiress (with the wife of Mr. Alderman Kirkman) of Robert Marsh, esq. some time governor of the bank. She died in about a year, aged 20, without issue. He married, 2dly, Aug. 21, 1781, Rachael, sole daughter and heiress of Jeremiah Ives, esq. alderman of Norwich, with 100,000*l.* She died in a few years, leaving two daughters. 2. Thomas Drake Tyrwhitt, esq. succeeded his brother as member in the last parliament for Amersham, and is now re-chosen. He married Miss Wickham, by whom he has 11 children, and now possesses Shardeloes. 3. Rev. John Drake, LL. D. rector of Amersham,

ham, married Miss Wickham, sister to the former. 4. Charles Drake Gerrard, esq. chosen with his brother, at the last election, M. P. for Amersham. 5. A daughter, married to the rev. Mr. Francke, of Suffolk. 6. A daughter, unmarried.

Sept. 1. At Brighthelmstone, in the 68th year of his age, the Right Hon. David Murray, earl of Mansfield, president of the council, justice-general of Scotland, keeper of Scone, chancellor of Mareschal-college, Aberdeen, joint clerk of the court of king's bench, LL. D. and K. T. and formerly a member of the university of Oxford. His lordship was the only son of lord viscount Stormont (elder brother to that distinguished character the first earl of Mansfield), and bore that title till his late uncle's death, when he succeeded to his fortune and the earldom. He had resigned the office of lord justice general of Scotland, on being appointed lord president of the council. His estates in Scotland do not exceed 6000*l.* a year; but the property he inherited from the great earl, and the accumulations arising from rigid œconomy in his own expences, are immense. A green ribband becomes vacant by his death; who was, except the duke of Queensbury, the oldest knight of the most ancient order of the thistle. He was educated at Westminster school; and from the college there was elected, in 1744, student of Christ-church, Oxford. His proficiency in classical knowledge at both those seminaries of learning, and his distinguished reputation as a scholar, are well known to his contemporaries. Many of his Latin compositions still remain, and prove his taste and

mastery in that language. He continued through life, notwithstanding his constant employment in business, to cultivate at his leisure hours the learned languages, and with such diligence, that it is thought he has left few better, or more critical, Greek scholars behind him. Upon the death of his father, in 1748, which happened not very long after he had finished his studies at Oxford, he travelled abroad for several years; and, soon after his return, was elected one of the sixteen peers for Scotland. In 1756, he was appointed envoy to the court of Dresden, and remained at that court during its residence at Warsaw, and till he was named one of the three ambassadors for the intended congress of Augsburg. He returned to England in 1762, and the next year was appointed ambassador to the court of Vienna, where he continued till 1772. In 1772, he was appointed ambassador to the court of France, where he continued till the war. In 1779, his majesty was graciously pleased to name him secretary of state for the northern department. He held the seals till the change of administration in 1782; and in 1783 returned into office, with a part of the administration he had acted with before, as president of the council. He quitted, with his friends, at the end of the same year, and again returned with them into power in 1784, in his former situation of president of the council.

His remains were brought in funeral state, and, on the 9th, according to his own express desire, privately interred in the same vault with his uncle and aunt, the late earl and countess of Mansfield, in

the north aisle of Westminster-abbey. His heart is carried to Kumlinton, the family seat of his lordship, in the county of Dumfries.—On the arrival of the cavalcade at the church, two of the bearers having got the coffin on their shoulders, the horses of the hearse took fright by the pressure of the multitude; by which means, the other men not been prepared, the weight became too preponderant for those in front, and the coffin fell with great violence on the ground; the foot part of which bilged, part fell out with a number of the nails and embellishments, and the concussion was so great that the leaded receptacle was much shattered, and a quantity of water issued from it.—His lordship was twice married; first to a Saxon lady, Henrietta, countess of Bunan, at Warsaw, in 1759, by whom there is now no issue living but lady Elizabeth, married to Geo. Finch Hatton, esq. in 1785; secondly, to Louisa, third daughter to the late lord Cathcart, in 1776; by whom he has left four sons and a daughter. He is succeeded in his honours and estates by his eldest son, David-William, born March 7, 1777, the present earl, who but lately set out on his travels, and is now at the university of Leipsic.

17. Mr. J. W. Dodd, of Drury-lane theatre, an excellent actor. He began his theatrical career in the North of England, afterwards was the principal performer on the Norwich stage, and on 3d October, 1765, appeared the first time at Drury-lane, in the character of Faddle, in *The Foundling*. Since that period he had uniformly been engaged at the same theatre.

21. At Bath, sir John Danvers,

of Swithland, in the county of Leicester, bart. He has bequeathed his immense landed estates and personal property to his only child, the Hon. Mrs. Butler, wife of the Hon. Augustus Butler (second son of the countess of Lanesborough) who has taken the name of Danvers. Sir John's real estates in Leicestershire and other counties, amount in old rents to near 10,000*l.* per ann. in which the property of timber is immense: the personal estate consists of near 200,000*l.* in funded money, cash, and bank bills. By a former will, the family of the male branch of the Danvers were made sole heirs; but this was lately revoked soon after the birth of his daughter's son.

22. At Fareham, the Right Hon. James lord Cranston. His lordship was lately appointed governor of Grenada, and was preparing to take his departure for his government.

Rev. and right hon. John earl of Glencairn.

27. At Edinburgh, in his 76th year, Mr. John Medina, limner, grandson to sir John Medina, an eminent historical and portrait painter of Scotland, in the last and beginning of this century. His peculiar talent was the rescuing from decay and ruin some of the best collections of pictures in Scotland; a recent instance of which was afforded in the collection of Kings in the palace of Holyrood-house, the renovation of which will long appear a monument of his merit, if it be meritorious to restore fictitious likenesses.

Oct. 6. After a long and severe illness, lady Dashwood, the lady of sir Henry Dashwood, bart. of Kirtlington park, co. Oxford, lady of the

the bed-chamber to the princesses and governess of the royal nursery, Carlton-house. She was the eldest daughter of the late Mr. Graham, formerly a member of the council in Bengal, and niece to the late lord Newhaven; and married at Gatton park, July 17, 1780, Sir Henry Dashwood, by whom she had several children, of whom the eldest was appointed a page at court.

10. Juliana Maria, dowager queen of Denmark.

14. In a very advanced age, sir John Hopkins, kt. alderman of the ward of Castle-Baynard. Having formerly been in the common council, he was the father of the corporation. He was elected alderman in 1782; sheriff in 1784; lord mayor in 1792.

20. At Edinburgh, John, 5th lord Ballenden, heritable usher of the court of Exchequer in Scotland. He was presumptive heir to the dukedom of Roxburgh, and the extensive possessions belonging to his grace the present duke, who has no issue. Lord Ballenden married a mulatto woman, Mrs. Sarah Cuming, from Montego-bay, Jamaica; but by her, who died about a twelvemonth ago, had no children.

31. Archibald earl of Eglington.

Nov. 7. At Goodwood, Sussex, Mary, duchess of Richmond; a woman whom neither titles could dazzle nor pains depress; who bore her honours so modestly upon her, that, while her dignity enforced respect, her gentleness inspired love. She was only daughter of Charles Bruce, 3d earl of Aylesbury, by his wife Caroline, daughter of gen. John Campbell,

afterwards duke of Argyll. She was married 1747, but had no issue. She was interred in the family vault in the cathedral at Chichester.

16. At Castle ditch, co. Hereford, at the seat of his brother, lord Sommers, Thomas Sommers Cocks, esq. of Downing-street. He was 9th son of John Cocks, esq. of Castle ditch, born 1737, partner with his brother James in a capital banking house at Charing-cross, with Biddulph and Co. and married, 1768, Anne, daughter of Alexander Thistlethwayte, esq. of Southwiche, Hants; by whom he had issue.

19. Mrs. North, lady of the bishop of Winchester.

The most noble Thos. Thynne, marquis of Bath, knight of the garter, groom of the stole to his majesty. He was born Sept. 24, 1734, and married in 1759, to the lady Elizabeth Cavendish Bentinck, sister to the duke of Portland.

21. Sir William Dick, bart.
Sir Edmund Head, bart.

Dec. 12. After a tedious indisposition, heightened by severe domestic afflictions, which terminated in the dropsy in the chest, the right rev. Dr. William Buller, lord bishop of Exeter. Besides the gallant col. Buller, who was slain on the continent, he lost two sons by consumption. He was of Oriel college, Oxford, where he proceeded A. M. 1759; thence removed to Christ-church, where he took the degrees of B. and D. D. 1781; was appointed dean of Exeter; and, on the promotion of Dr. Horne, dean of Canterbury, in which he was installed June 22, 1790. On the death of Dr. John Ross, 1793;

he was advanced to the bishoprick of Exeter, and was consecrated Dec. 2, that year. His remains were privately interred on the 17th in Exeter cathedral.

17. In Weymouth street, Portland-place, William Pickett, esq. formerly partner with Mr. Theed, afterwards with Mr. Rundell, silversmith, on Ludgate hill, which business he carried on alone in Bond-street. He was elected alderman of Cornhill ward in May, 1783; and filled the office of sheriff in 1784, and lord-mayor in 1789.

At Dublin, aged 60, the right hon. baron Trimelstown. His lordship was second baron of the kingdom of Ireland.—He was, we believe, the 14th who held that title in lineal descent from Robert Barnewall, created baron Trimelstown, 1461, by Edward IV. for his good and faithful services in Ireland; and whose grandson John was chancellor of Ireland in 1534. Mr. Archdall's peerage, published 1789, does not mention the late lord, ending with his predecessor Thomas, 13th lord, who enrolled himself in the Irish volunteer army on the alarm of invasion 1779 and 1780, A younger branch of the Barnewall family had the title of viscount Kingsland, 1646.

Sir Rob. Hesketh Juxon, bart. of Rufford hall, Lancashire.

28. Prince Lewis, second son of the king of Prussia.

31. At his apartments in Newgate, the right hon. lord William Murray, 2d brother of his grace the duke of Athol.

Berks, Michael Anthony, of Shippon.

Bedfordshire, George Brooks, of Flitwick.

Bucks, Thomas Hibbert, of Chalfont house.

Cumberland, James Graham, of Barrock lodge, esq.

Cheshire, the hon. Booth Grey, of Wincham.

Cambridge and Huntingdon, J. Gardener, of Chatteris.

Cornwall, John Enys, of Enys, esq.

Devonshire, sir Bouchier Wray, of Tawstock, bart.

Dorsetshire, Thomas Bowyer Bowyer, of Iwern minster, esq.

Derbyshire, sir Robert Wilmot, of Osmaston, bart.

Essex, Jackson Barwis, of Marshalls.

Gloucestershire, Samuel Peach Peach, of Upper Torkington.

Hertfordshire, John Sowerby, of Lilley.

Herefordshire, Abraham Whitaker, of Liston.

Kent, John Mumford, of Sutton at Hone.

Leicestershire, James Richards, of Ashby-de-la-Zouch.

Lincolnshire, William Earl Welby, of Denton.

Monmouthshire, Henry Barnes, of Monmouth.

Northumberland, Adam Mansfield Lawson Decardonnell, of Chirton.

Northamptonshire, Allen Edward Young the younger, of Orillingbury.

Norfolk, Thomas Brown Evans, of Kirby Bedon.

Nottinghamshire, J. Wright, of Nottingham.

Oxfordshire, William Lowndes Stone, of Brightwell.

Rutlandshire,

SHERIFFS appointed for the Year 1796.

Rutlandshire, R. Tomlin, of Edith Weston.

Shropshire, Ralph Leake, of Longford.

Somersetshire, John Tyndale Warre, of Hestercombe.

Staffordshire, Henry Vernon, of Hilton,

Suffolk, John Clayton, of Sibton.

Southampton, H. Maxwell, of Ewshot-house.

Surry, Thomas Sutton, of Moulsey.

Sussex, John Fuller, of Rosehill.

Warwickshire, Edward Croxall, of Shustock.

Worcestershire, T. Hill the younger, of Broom.

Wilts, Gilbert Trowe Beckett Turner, of Penleigh.

Yorkshire, Godfrey Wentworth Wentworth, of Hickleton, esq.

SOUTH WALES.

Caermarthen, J. William Hughes, of Tregyth.

Pembroke, Nathaniel Philips, of Slebetch.

Cardigan, Edward Warren Jones, of Llanina.

Glamorgan, Herbert Hurst, of Gabalva.

Brecon, P. Champion Crespigny, of Tallyllyr.

Radnor, John Pritchard, of Dolyvelin, esq.

NORTH WALES

Merioneth, Thomas Lloyd, of Cumbusion.

Anglesea, J. Morris Conway, of Cellening.

Carnarvon, J. William Lenthall, of Mainan.

Montgomery, John Dickin, of Welch Pool.

Denbighshire, J. Hughes, of Horseley-hall, esq.

Flint, Sir E. Pryce Lloyd, of Pengwern-place, bart.

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE,

From the London Gazette.

Letter from Major General Whyte
to Sir R. Abercromby.

SIR, *Demerary.*

In obedience to your excellency's commands, I left Barbadoes on the 15th instant, with a detachment of the artillery, and part of the 39th, 93d, and 99th regiments, amounting to 1200 men, escorted by the Malabar, Undaunted, la Picque, and Babet frigates, with the Granada transport, and five schooners and sloops, and on the 21st made the land, when the Scipio joined the fleet. That evening, when the tide made, the Babet and la Picque frigates, with the Granada transport, passed the bar, with the schooners and boats of the fleet, and came to anchor, within random shot of the fort, at the entrance of the river; and having, during the night, prepared every thing for attack, at day-light appeared in force, when I sent a flag of truce by lieutenant-colonel Hislop of the 39th regiment, summoning the governor to surrender the colony and its dependencies to his Britannic majesty's forces, agreeable to the terms which I have the honour to inclose, and which the governor and council accepted. The unanimity with which the service was carried on between the

fleet and army was pleasing to all concerned, and Mr. Higgins acquitted himself with much propriety and utility. Captain Parr, who commanded the fleet, has assisted and supplied us from the fleet liberally: and I have the satisfaction to inform your excellency, that from every information I have received, and from above seventy ships being actually loaded with the produce of the country, now in the river, (most of which will be sent to England) and from every account of the fertility of the soil, it is a most important acquisition to Great Britain.

The colony of Bernice, adjoining to this, being a separate government, I shall direct my attention to it without delay: and I shall leave lieutenant-colonel Hislop in the command here, agreeable to your excellency's directions.

The Thetis, a Dutch frigate of 24 guns, and a cutter of 12 guns, are added to the fleet; and captain Parr has given directions for destroying or bringing down the river a French brig privateer of force,

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) JOHN WHYTE, maj. gen.

Sir Ralph Abercromby, K. B.

&c. &c. &c.

By major-general John Whyte,
commander of his Britannic majesty's land forces, &c. &c. &c.
and

and captain Thomas Parr, commander of his Britannic majesty's ships, &c. &c. &c.

him, the sum of one hundred guilders.

The officers to receive, under the same conditions, the allowance of two hundred days bat, baggage, and forage money, as paid to the British officers.

The officers and men of the marine forces cannot be taken into the British service until his majesty's pleasure shall be known, but shall receive pay according to their rank, and every indulgence that can be allowed.

That the governor and all civil officers, after having taken the oaths of allegiance to his majesty, which will be administered by major-general Whyte, are (if they chuse) to remain in their respective situations, (excepting those who have shewn a decided partiality to the French interest) the governor only resigning the military command. Should such liberal terms be refused, the governor, council, and all concerned, must be answerable for the consequences, as an immediate attack will be made by the land and sea forces, which will render every resistance vain.

Major general Whyte and capt. Parr give the governor one hour, and no more, from the delivery of this by lieutenant-colonel Hislop, to accept or not.

(Signed) JOHN WHYTE, maj. gen.
THOMAS PARR, captain
royal navy.

*Dated on board his majesty's ship
Babet, off the river Demerary,
April 20, 1796.*

A true copy, JOHN WHYTE.

GENTLEMEN,

It is out of my power as yet to give a decisive answer to your summons,

These are requiring you, the governor and council, military and naval forces, of the colony of Demerary and its dependencies, to surrender the said colony to his Britannic majesty's forces under our command, and to place the said colony under his majesty's protection, and quietly and peaceably to submit to his majesty's government.

In which case the inhabitants shall enjoy full security to their persons, and the free exercise of their religion, with the full and immediate enjoyment of all private property, whether on shore or afloat (excepting such as may appear to belong to the subjects of the French republic) according to their ancient laws and usages, or such other as may be determined upon previous to the colony's being placed under his majesty's government, upon the most liberal and beneficial terms.

That in the event of the colony's remaining under the British government at the conclusion of a general peace, it shall enjoy such commercial rights and privileges as are enjoyed by the British colonies in the West Indies. With regard to the military and naval forces, that the officers and men of the land forces shall, if agreeable to themselves, be received into the British pay, with leave, at the restoration of the Stadtholder, to return into his service. Each non-commissioned officer and soldier shall receive, upon taking the oath of allegiance to his Britannic majesty to serve him faithfully during the war, where it may be thought proper to employ

mons, demanding the surrender of this colony to his Britannic majesty's forces, as my duty requires me to lay it before the council, to whom it is also addressed, but which is not assembled at this moment. I will, however, call the members present together, and return about twelve o'clock an answer.

I have the honour to remain, &c.
(Signed) ANTHONY BEAUJON,
governor of Demerary.

Demerary, 22d April, 1796.
To their excellencies general Whyte
and commodore Parr.

On board the Babet frigate,
Sir, *April 22, 1796.*

We have been honoured with your letter in answer to our's of yesterday's date, summoning the colony of Demerary to surrender to his Britannic majesty's arms, requesting, for the reasons therein mentioned, to have until twelve o'clock this forenoon to assemble the council to assist you in the determination.

The reasonableness of the request induces us to grant it; but you will be aware, that if an answer is not returned on or before that time, no further delay can be made, and you alone must be answerable for the consequences, and you will please also to observe, that, from the very liberal terms offered, no deviation whatever can be admitted.

We have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) JOHN WHYTE, maj. gen.
THOMAS PARR, captain
royal navy.

To his excellency the governor
of Demerary.

Fort William Frederick, Demerary,
22d April, 1796.

GENTLEMEN,

We, the governors, members of the council, and commanders of the military and naval forces of the colony, in council of war assembled, having attentively perused the summons, dated of yesterday, and addressed to us by your excellencies, demanding the surrender of said colony to his Britannic majesty's forces, also the terms thereunto annexed; have, after mature deliberation, resolved to accept said terms, and on them to surrender said colony and its dependencies as demanded, whereof we hereby give you notice; also that our colours will be struck on the landing of your forces; it will depend on the several officers and troops to decide for themselves as to the offers made them, and we have the honour to subscribe ourselves, &c.

(Signed) ANTHONY BEAUJON,
governor.
J. FRAN. WELL, maj.
C. FIZJCHER, com.
P. P. LUYHEN.
THOMAS CUMING.
A. MEEXTENS.

By order of the council,

M. SINNE, sec. ad int.
To their excellencies general Whyte
and commodore Parr, commanders
of his Britannic majesty's forces
off Demerary.

From the London Gazette, July, 2.

Admiralty Office, July, 1796.

Copy of a letter from vice admiral Onslow, commanding his majesty's ships and vessels at Plymouth, to Mr. Nepean, dated June 30, 1796

Herewith

Herewith I have the pleasure to inclose a letter from captain Tomlinson, of his majesty's sloop *La Suffisante*, containing particulars of his success in capturing the *Morgan* French privateer, and recapturing the six English merchant ships named in the inclosed list, that had been taken by her, and which you will be pleased to lay before my lords commissioners of the admiralty.

So complete a piece of service, performed by a vessel of such small force as the *Suffisante*, I am persuaded their lordships will admit, reflects great credit on captain Tomlinson, his officers, and men.

La Suffisante, Plymouth, June
30, 1796.

Sir,

I beg leave to acquaint you, that his majesty's sloop *La Suffisante*, under my command, has retaken two English merchant ships, on the 27th inst. near the isle de Bas (from Oporto, loaded with wine.) I gained intelligence from the prisoners, that the French privateer which they belong to, carried sixteen guns and ten swivels; and that on the preceding day she was to the northward of Scilly, in chace of several English vessels: I therefore immediately dispatched the prizes, with orders to go to Plymouth, and stood in for the French coast, between Ushant and the isle de Bas, in hopes of meeting her on her return, or any other prizes that she should send into Morlaix or Brest.

On the following morning I had the good fortune to discover the above mentioned privateer, and four loaded merchant ships, (her prizes) standing towards us; and, as I fetched within gun-shot of the privateer, we gave her several

broad-sides as we passed on opposite tacks; and, on our putting about to follow her, she made the signal for her prizes to disperse. They were then about seven miles from us to the N. W.

At one P. M. we fetched very near her lee quarter, and opened a well-directed fire of musquetry upon them from forward, which obliged them to strike before we could get alongside to bring our great guns to bear upon her.

As the greatest dispatch was necessary to enable us to overtake the prizes, which were endeavouring to escape by steering on different directions, I ordered lieutenant Pickford to take command of the privateer, to send the French captain and officers on board the *Suffisante* immediately, and then to make sail and assist me in taking the merchant ships, which service was performed very much to my satisfaction, he having taken two of them, one of which I had not the least hopes of his being able to come up with, as she was very far to the windward.

To the spirited and active behaviour of the officers and crew of the *Suffisante*, I consider myself in a great measure indebted for our success, which is as complete as I could wish it to be, for, exclusive of the privateer, which is a fine copper-bottom brig, capable of doing much mischief, we have likewise retaken six valuable English merchant ships, which are all that she had captured.

Inclosed, I have the honour to transmit you a list of the prizes, and their cargoes, and am,

Sir, &c.

NICHOLAS TOMLINSON.

To vice-admiral Onslow,
commander in chief at Plymouth.

List

List of vessels retaken by the *Sufisante*, Nicholas Tomlinson, esq. commander, on the 27th and 28th of June, 1796.

Draper, burthen 200 tons, of Dublin, from Oporto, bound to Dublin, laden with 400 pipes of wine, and 11 bales of cotton.

Brothers, burthen 180 tons, of Liverpool, from Oporto, bound to Liverpool, laden with 350 pipes and 30 hogsheads of wine, and 72 bales of cotton.

Mary Ann, burthen 170 tons, of Dublin, from Oporto, bound to Dublin, laden with 272 pipes of wine, 11 bags of cotton, and 5 casks of vinegar.

Ann, burthen 170 tons, of Dublin, from Oporto, bound to Dublin, laden with 303 pipes of wine, 15 boxes, and 20 baskets of lemons.

Vine, burthen 110 tons, of Lancaster, from Oporto, bound to Lancaster, laden with 108 pipes and four hogsheads of wine, 175 bags of cotton, three tons and a half of cork, lemons, &c.

Eliza, burthen 160 tons, of Dublin, from London, bound to Dublin, laden with 250 chests of tea, 250 barrels of porter, a quantity of steel, and other dry goods.

NICHOLAS TOMLINSON.

The London Gazette, July 2.

Articles of Capitulation of the Island of St. Lucia.

ART. 1. The island of St. Lucia, the Morne Fortune and its dependencies, together with all the effects belonging to the French Republic, shall be faithfully delivered to the generals of the British forces.

Ans. Agreed to.

2. Property and persons of every description shall be placed under the protection of the law; and passports shall be granted to such persons as may wish to leave the island.

Ans. All property and inhabitants will be subject to and under the protection of the English laws. Persons wishing to quit the island must obtain permission of the governor or commander of the island.

3. No inhabitant shall be disturbed, molested, or banished, on account of his opinions, or for having held any place under the French republic.

Ans. Agreed to, as answered in the second article.

4. The agent general, the commander in chief, and the forces of the republic, who have defended the island, shall march out with the honours of war, and delivered their arms; the officers only being allowed to keep their swords: they shall be treated as prisoners of war and sent back to France as soon as possible.

Ans. The first part of this article granted, but the troops must remain prisoners of war until exchanged.

5. The British forces shall take possession of the Morne Fortune at the hour which may be appointed for that purpose, and the French garrison shall march out with their arms and baggage, drums beating, and colours flying.

Ans. The fort to be put into the possession of the British troops to-morrow at noon; the garrison to march out of the fort in the manner desired. The garrison to occupy houses in the neighbourhood of the fort, until vessels shall be provided for their reception.

6. The garrison shall pile their arms at the place which may be appointed for that purpose, and shall immediately be sent to France. The officers shall be allowed to take with them their wives and children.

Ans. The arms to be piled on the glacis without the fort. Answer has already been given as to the disposal of the garrison. The officers may dispose of their wives and children as they please.

7. The agent general of the executive directory, his aides-de-camp, secretary, and other persons attached to him, shall be allowed to keep all papers and effects belonging to his office. The same favour shall be granted to the commander in chief and all the officers of the garrison.

Ans. Agreed to; but all papers relating to the state of the island, public works, and all plans and maps to be given up.

8. The volunteers serving with the French forces shall be allowed to keep their knapsacks.

Ans. Agreed to, according to the return given in by the commander in chief.

9. No person shall be plundered or insulted, on account of the opinions he has hitherto professed.

Ans. Agreed to.

10. Two vessels of the republic, lying in the harbour, shall be granted to the agent of the executive directory, to serve as covered boats. The crews of these two vessels shall, however, be considered as prisoners of war.

Ans. Refused; but every accommodation that can be desired by the agent general of the executive directory shall be granted.

11. The inhabitants, of every colour, shall be allowed to return immediately to their respective homes, without insult or molestation.

Ans. Agreed to.

12. The sick and wounded of the garrison shall be taken care of in the same manner as the English, and, on their recovery, shall be entitled to the same terms as the other prisoners.

Ans. Agreed to.

13. All the articles of this capitulation shall be faithfully and strictly observed by both parties.

Ans. Agreed to.

Additional Articles.

Proper officers to be named by the agent general and commander in chief, to take the necessary orders for the surrender of Gros Islets, Souffriere, and Vieux Fort, and other posts that may be occupied in the island. The means of conveyance shall be found for the said officers. Stores and provisions of all kinds to be delivered by the French commissaries to the British commissaries authorised to receive them on the surrender of the different posts.

(Signed) RALPH ABERCROMBY.

HUGH C. CHRISTIAN.

GOTTENS.

GOYRAND.

Marne Duchasseaux St.

Lucia, May 25, 1796.

Articles of Capitulation of Colombo, in the island of Ceylon.

Preliminary Article.—John Gerard Van Angelbeck, counsellor of India, governor and director of the Dutch possessions in the island of Ceylon, offers to deliver up to colonel

colonel Stuart, and captain Gardner, commanding the English troops, the fortress of Colombo; upon the following conditions, at the expiration of three days.

Ans. Major Patrick Alexander Agnew adjutant-general of the British troops in the island of Ceylon, by virtue of the powers delegated to him by colonel James Stuart, commanding the British army, and Alan Hyde Gardner, esq. captain of his majesty's ship *Heroine*, and senior officer of the naval force before Colombo, consents to accept of the surrender of the fort Colombo, on the under-mentioned terms, provided the capitulation is signed this evening, and the fort delivered to the British troops to-morrow morning at ten o'clock, in the manner stipulated in the following articles.

Art. I. In this capitulation shall be included the town of Gale, and the fort of Caliture, with all their dependencies, lands, domains, &c. of the hon. Dutch East India Company; and the governor shall issue orders to the commander and council of Gale, and the commandant of Caliture, for the actual surrender, according to the contents of this capitulation.

Ans. Granted.

Art. 2. The fort, with all its dependencies, artillery, ammunition, stores, provisions, and all other effects belonging to the company, with the plan and papers relative to the fortifications, shall bona fide be delivered up, without concealing or keeping back any thing.

Ans. Granted. The surveys of the districts of the island of Ceylon, and its coasts, with all the other public plans to be included.

Art. 3. And as the banks at Colom-

bo, as well as Gale, are two years in arrear, the delivery shall take place according to the balances now actually existing, and a reasonable time be allotted to the commercial servants here, and at Gale, with their assistants, to finish their books; and they shall during that time receive the pay and emoluments fixed for their services. As the smith, cooper, house carpenter, the overseer of the arsenal, and the brick-maker, receive every thing by indent, their accounts shall be examined by our accountants, and paid by the English: on the other hand, the above mentioned artificers and overseers are responsible for the articles issued to them.

Ans. One year, or eighteen months, if absolutely necessary, shall be allowed, for the purpose of arranging the books; during which time a reasonable salary shall be paid to the servants of the Dutch company necessarily employed in this department. The accounts of the artizans shall be examined and liquidated.

Art. 4. All public papers shall also be faithfully delivered over; but attested copies of all the public and secret consultations held during his short government, and which he has not had an opportunity of forwarding to Holland or Batavia, shall be given to governor Van Angelbeck, to enable him to answer for his conduct, according to the existing circumstances.

Ans. Granted.

Art. 5. The returns and merchandise of the company, which are partly laden on board the ships *Berlicum* and *Ensegezenheid*, now lying in the roads and partly stored in private houses, as well as those at Gale, shall also be faithfully delivered by the

the commissaries, who shall be appointed by the governor, to major Agnew, who is authorized by the government of Madras to receive them.

Ans. All merchandize, stores, and public property, of every description, either laden on board the ships now anchored under the guns of the fort, deposited in public-stores, or distributed in the houses of individuals; as well as all public property placed in a similar manner at Gale, Caliture, or any other part of the island of Ceylon, depending on these governments, shall be delivered up by the commissaries, who shall be named by the governor Van Angelbeck to major Agnew, the major appointed by the government of Madras to receive them, in three weeks from this date.

Art. 6. But as the company has of late borrowed money upon interest, of their servants and inhabitants, and, when in want of ready money, have issued (kredict breeven) promissory notes, to the amount of about five lacks of rix-dollars, of which, however, at least one half is in the treasury, with a promise to realize the same; and as several servants have their pay and emoluments in the hands of the company, for which they have no other security but their property, the above mentioned debts shall be paid out of them, and the notes discharged, which can occasion the less consideration, as the returns alone, taking the fine cinnamon at only three rupees a pound, the pepper at one hundred rupees per candy, the cardamoms at one rupee a pound, and the piece goods and other merchandize at the invoice price, will amount to about twenty-five lacks

of rupees, and all the debts, pay, and notes in circulation not above six lacks. The copper doodees shall continue current for one silver.

Ans. As Mr. Van Angelbeck has assured the officers commanding his majesty's naval and land forces before Colombo, that a refusal to comply with the demand contained in the 6th article, will be attended with the total ruin of the colony, they consent to the following arrangements regarding the paper currency of this island, provided the public property of the Dutch company is found to be conformable to the statement contained in this article. The English government of Ceylon will take up the promissory notes of the Dutch government which are still in circulation, provided they do not exceed the sum of 50,000, sterling, and issue certificates for the amount, bearing an interest of three per cent. per annum payable half yearly, which certificates shall be in force so long as the districts of Ceylon, extending from Matura to Chilau, shall be in possession of the English, and no longer. Should these districts be restored to the Dutch, the responsibility of payment will necessarily revert to them, in which event the original notes of the Dutch government shall be restored to the proprietors, in exchange for the certificates granted by the British government. The officers commanding the British forces are not authorized to provide for the payment of the arrears due to the servants of the company. This must be left to the future determination of his Britannic majesty.

The copper coin of this island must find its own value in the course of exchange.

Art. 7.

Art. 7. All private property, without exception, shall be secured to the proprietors.

Ans. Granted, with the exception of all military and naval stores, which, in every instance, must be deemed public property.

Art. 8. In which is expressly included the funds of the orphan house, or the college for the administration of the effects of infant children, and of the committee for managing the poor funds, as also the two ships now in the roads (Berlicum and Ensgezindheid) which belong to individuals in Holland, and are chartered by the company, as shall be proved.

Ans. Granted, with exception of the ships, which must be deemed public property.

Art. 9. The garrison shall march out with the honours of war; pile their arms, by command of their own officers, on the esplanade, and again return to their barracks. The officers to keep up their side-arms; the cleavangs and crees of the non-commissioned officers and private Malays to be locked up in chests; and on their departure, on being set on shore, to be returned to them.

Ans. Granted.

Art. 10. The European officers, non-commissioned and privates of the battalion of the Dutch troops, and the detachment of the Wirtemberg regiment, doing duty with it; as well as the artillery and seamen, shall be transported in English ships from hence to Europe or batavia, according to their choice, with permission to carry along with them their women, children, necessary servants, and baggage. None of the officers, however, shall be moved from hence against

their will, as many of them are married, and have their property here; and in case any of them wishing to depart, time shall be allowed them to arrange their affairs to go where they please, on their parole of honour not to serve in this war against England, until they shall be exchanged.

Ans. The European officers, non-commissioned officers and privates; as well of the Dutch battalion, of the regiment of Wirtemberg, the artillery, engineers, and marine, must be considered as prisoners of war, and as such they will be treated with that attention which the British government has ever shewn to those whom the fortune of war has placed in its power. The whole shall be sent to Madras. Such of the officers as desire to return to Ceylon, for the reasons mentioned in this article, will have permission to do so, on giving their parole of honour not to serve during the present war against the English. Those who may desire to return to Europe shall be permitted so to do, on the same conditions, but without any claim on the British government for pay and allowance of any description.

Art. 11. As there are some native born French in garrison, they shall be transported to the French islands if they choose it.

Ans. The French of the garrison will be considered as prisoners of war and sent to Madras.

Art. 12. The Malays that do not choose to remain here, shall be transported in English ships, with their women and children, to the island of Java.

Ans. The Malay troops shall be sent from hence, with their wives and children, to Tutacoren, and from

from hence by easy marches to Madras. They shall be subsisted while they remain prisoner, and if not taken into the British service, shall, at a convenient time, be sent to the island of Java, at the expence of the British government.

Art. 13. These transportations shall take place at the expence of the English, and until that time the military, Europeans as well as Malays, shall continue to enjoy their pay, as well as emoluments, as was customary in the company's service. None of the military shall be forced, or even persuaded, to enter into the service of his majesty, or the honourable English company.

Ans. The military officers, European and native, shall receive the same pay allowed to them in the Dutch service. The noncommissioned and privates shall be subsisted according to the regulations of the British government for the prisoners of war. None shall be forced to enter the service of Great Britain against their consent.

Art. 14. The Sepoys and Moormen in the service shall have liberty to return to their birth place.

Ans. Granted.

Art. 15. The Chingaleese Lascars, being soldiers, according to the nature of their service, and the burghers and civil servants by the laws of the colony being obliged to take up arms for its defence, it shall not tend to prejudice those people.

Ans. Granted.

Art. 16. The governor Van Angelbeck, the commander of Gale, Fretz, and all the other political or commercial servants, not required in their official capacities for the purposes mentioned in article 3; shall have permission to remain as private individuals at Colombo, Gale, or other place on the island,

or to betake themselves elsewhere. In the first case, a reasonable means of subsistence shall be allowed to each, according to his rank. In the last, they shall be permitted to carry their effects along with them, without payment of any tax or duty whatever, but then all allowance to cease.

Ans. Granted, with this exception, that as the commanders of the British forces before Colombo are not authorized to grant the subsistence required, this subject must be referred to the decision of the government of Fort St. George.

Art. 17. The respective vendue masters here and at Gale shall be maintained during the collection of the outstanding balances, in right of the preference granted those people by the company.

Ans. Granted, for all balances now outstanding.

Art. 18. The clergy and other ecclesiastical servants shall continue in their functions, and receive the same pay and emoluments as they had from the company.

Ans. Granted under the same exception annexed to the 16th article.

Art. 19. The citizens and other inhabitants shall be allowed to follow their employments, and enjoy all the liberties and privileges as the subjects of his majesty.

Ans. Granted.

Art. 20. The native servants in the different departments shall be continued in their employments during their good behaviour.

Ans. Granted, subject to such regulations as the British government may hereafter judge necessary.

Art. 21. The eastern princes Tommogoms, and other men of rank here as state prisoners, and who

who receive a monthly subsistence, shall continue to receive it according to the list which shall be given in.

Ans. Granted while they remain in Ceylon.

Art. 22. All notarial papers, such as wills, bills of purchase and sales, obligations, securities, bonds, &c. shall continue in force, and the registers of them be presented by commissaries appointed on both sides for that purpose.

Ans. Granted.

Art. 23. All civil suits depending in the council of justice, shall be decided by the same council, according to our laws.

Ans. Granted; but they must be decided in twelve months from this date.

Art. 24. The deserters who are here shall be pardoned.

Ans. All deserters from the English service must be unconditionally given up.

Art. 25. The above articles of capitulation shall be faithfully fulfilled and confirmed by the signatures of the officers commanding his majesty's sea and land forces, Colonel James Stuart, and Captain Alan Hyde Gardner; and in case of any thing appearing obscure, it shall be faithfully cleared up; and if any doubts shall arise, it shall be construed for the benefit of the besieged.

Ans. Granted.

Art. The garrison shall march out, agreeably to the 9th article, at ten o'clock to-morrow morning, when the gate of Delft shall be delivered to a detachment of the British troops. The governor Van Angelbeck will order an officer to point out the public magazines, posts, and public stores, that guards may be placed for their se-

curity, and the preservation of order in the garrison.

Done in Colombo, this 15th day of February, 1796.

(Signed) J. GRAN. ANGELBECK.

(Signed) P. A. AGNEW, adj. gen.

Approved and confirmed,

(Signed) J. STUART.

A. H. GARDNER.

Articles of Capitulation which lieutenant-general sir Ralph Abercromby, K. B. commander in chief of his majesty's forces in the West Indies, grants to the French government in St. Vincent's, the 11th of June, 1796.

Art. 1. The garrison of the Vigie and its dependencies to march out this day at twelve o'clock, and lay down their arms.

2. The negroes, &c. are to return to their respective proprietors.

3 The rest of the garrison become prisoners of war. The officers are allowed to retain their swords, and all are allowed to keep their private effects.

4. Such persons as have been guilty of murders, or of burning houses or estates, must be subject to the judgment of the laws of the island.

5. The commandant of the French troops shall cause to be given up, as soon as possible, all the posts which the French troops are in possession of in this island; and the said troops are to become prisoners, upon the conditions granted to the garrison of the Vigie.

6. The commandant of the French troops shall be responsible that all artillery, ammunition, and stores, of every kind, shall be delivered up to the British troops in the order they are now in, and any injury or waste committed on them from this time will be considered as a breach of faith.

7. By

7. By the fourth article it is understood that all persons, except such as come under the meaning of that article, are for this time pardoned for having departed from their allegiance to his majesty.

8. In addition to the first article, the commander in chief consents that the garrison should march out with the honours of war.

(Signed) R. ABERCROMBY.

T. WOLLEY.

We, the undersigned, administrators of the French army in this island, accept the above articles of capitulation, subject to the sanction of the delegated commissary, and of the military committee.

CH. SUGUE, administrator.

(Signed)

G. AUDIBERT. BOUNY, commandant en second.

(For the commander in chief of the republican army, Marinier.)

D. VICTOR, aide-de-camp.

Terms of Capitulation agreed upon by major-general Oliver Nicolls, commanding his majesty's forces in the island of Grenada, and captain Jossey, commanding the troops of the French republic in the same island.

Art. 1. The posts under the command of the above commandant Jossey, viz. Mabonia, or Dugaldstone, the Vigie, or the hill of Gouyave, and Dalincourt, shall be surrendered to the arms of his Britannic majesty.

2. The battalion, of which the said captain Jossey is commandant, the artillery, and the commissariat

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of the French republic, comprehending, however, no person not formerly free, shall be prisoners of war, and remain so till exchanged.

3. The garrison of each post shall march out with the honours of war, and lay down their arms in such place as will be pointed out to them, after which they will be conducted to the most convenient place till they can be embarked.

4. All guns, ordnance stores, commissary's stores, public papers, and effects, belonging to the French republic, or actually in the posts occupied by their troops, are to be delivered up faithfully to the proper officers who will be sent to receive them.

5. The officers will retain their swords, and both officers and men their baggage.

6. The post of Mabonia will be taken possession of as soon as the capitulation is signed; and of Gouyave an hour afterwards; the post of Dalincourt at four o'clock this afternoon.

(Signed) OLIVER NICOLLS,
major-gen.
JOSSEY.

London Gazette Extraordinary.

Parliament-Street, Nov. 3, 1796.

A Dispatch, of which the following is a copy, was this day received by the right hon. Henry Dundas, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, from major-general Craig, commanding his majesty's troops at the Cape of Good Hope, dated Camp, on the shore of Saldanha Bay, August 19, 1796.

G

Sir,

I have great satisfaction in reporting to you the event of an attempt which has been made by the enemy, and which has terminated to the honour of his majesty's arms, in the entire capture of the squadron of Dutch ships of war, destined for the purpose of retaking this settlement.

Having made every arrangement within my means, by the establishment of a small post, and the laying the road by a sufficient number of the few men which I had been able to mount, for watching Saldanha Bay, I received a report on the 3d instant, transmitted in fourteen hours, that nine ships had appeared off that coast, on the preceding afternoon, which I immediately communicated to vice-admiral sir George Keith Elphinstone. By the same report there appeared to be the strongest probability that his majesty's brig the Hope had been captured by them; and as there was no further account of them that day, I concluded that the information which they had received, by that means, of our strength here, had induced them to continue their route, and that they would stand far to the westward before they doubled the Cape, to avoid sir George's fleet, which had put to sea as soon as was possible after the receipt of the intelligence.

In order, however, to omit no precaution, I sent up Lieut. M'Nab, with a few mounted men, to watch the Bay more narrowly; and from him I received a report, on Saturday night the 6th instant, at twelve o'clock, that the same number of ships which had formerly been reported had anchored that morning

in the Bay, and that there was no doubt of their being enemies. I lost not a moment in sending directions to Simon's Town, from whence, by the general willingness and activity which prevailed amongst all ranks, five vessels were dispatched by nine o'clock, in quest of the admiral, with the information.

As it fortunately happened that the 25th and 27th light dragoons, with part of the 19th, and the whole of the 33rd regiments, were in Simon's Bay, I could be under no apprehension for the safety of the colony from any force which could be landed from nine ships of war. It became, however, an object of infinite importance to the welfare of the settlement, to prevent any body of the enemy from throwing themselves into the country. At the same time the security of the Cape Town became an object of particular attention, both from the reasonable expectation, that the enemy would not have come with such a force, without a prospect of a junction with some other armament, and from the possibility of the admiral being prevented from doubling the Cape by the north westerly winds which usually prevail at this season, and which would carry the enemy in six hours from Saldanha to Table Bay. It was therefore with particular satisfaction that I found myself possessed of a force adequate to both these objects.

No time was lost in making the necessary arrangements in a country totally unused to a movement of this nature. The troops began their march on Sunday morning, necessarily by divisions, on account of subsistence. The burgher se-

nate was assembled, to whom I exposed my intentions, to which they expressed the most ready compliance. Waggon's were every where demanded by them, and furnished with cheerfulness. Cavalry was necessary, but the appointments of the 28th were on board a ship which had sailed in quest of the admiral. Those of the 25th were also on board ship in Simon's Bay, and we had not above fifty horses. The appointments were brought up, and I did not scruple, on such an occasion, to require all saddle horses, without exception, to be brought in, which were valued by two members of the court of justice, and two officers of the 28th dragoons, and paid for on the spot, to the entire satisfaction of the owners.

By these means, sir, leaving major-general Doyle in the command of the troops at and about Cape Town, amounting to near 4000 men, and brigadier-general Campbell in the immediate command of the town, I, on the morning of the 16th instant, reached Saldanha Bay, at the head of the advanced guard, consisting of the light infantry, a body of Hottentots, and fifty of the 25th light dragoons, assisted by brigadier-general M'Kenzie, the remainder of whose corps, consisting of the grenadiers, the 78th and 80th battalions, fifty more of the 25th, and one hundred of the 28th light dragoons, in all about 25000 men, with two howitzers and nine field pieces, arrived there also in an hour after.

In the mean time, the admiral had returned to False Bay, and on there receiving the first accounts of the enemy being in Saldanha Bay, had put to sea again with the

utmost expedition; and we had the satisfaction, from the heights from whence we descended to the shores of the Bay, to see him, with all his sails crowded, advancing with a fair wind directly to the mouth of the harbour, though still at some distance. One of the enemy's frigates, which lay near the shore to cover their watering, cannonaded us very briskly as we descended the heights, though without effect, and we returned their fire with as little, having at that time only three-pounders with us; but a howitzer being brought up, a few shells were thrown with great precision by captain Robert, son, who probably would have destroyed her; but perceiving that our fleet was then entering the Bay, and that there was no possibility of her escaping, I desisted from firing, thinking it more for his majesty's interest that she should share the fate of the remainder of the squadron, the capture of which appeared to me to be inevitable, than that we should risk the destroying her, from a vain punctilio of obliging her to strike to us. We then employed ourselves in making the necessary dispositions for affording such assistance as might be in our power, in the event of the obstinacy of the enemy, obliging the admiral to attack them, as well as such as would be expedient in case they should run their ships on shore, neither of which, however, I thought probable. I was accordingly informed, by a letter from sir George the following morning, that the whole had surrendered themselves to him.

The means by which this event has been accomplished, sir, has not afforded any opportunity to his

majesty's

majesty's troops of displaying that bravery in his service, which I am confident they would have shewn, had the occasion presented itself; but if the utmost alacrity and cheerfulness, under almost every privation, except that of meat, during a march of ninety miles, through so barren a country that there exist but five houses in the whole line, have any merit, I can with truth present them to his majesty's troops.

This march, sir, has never yet, I believe, been attempted by any body of troops, however small, and, permit me to assure you, has been attended with such uncommon difficulties, that it never could have been accomplished but by the display of the qualities I have mentioned in the troops, and a union of extraordinary exertions in all the departments concerned. In these, all have equal claim to my acknowledgments; but I cannot dispense without particularising the intelligence and activity with which, regardless of the uncommon fatigue which attended it, Lieutenant M'Nab, of the 98th regiment, with about twenty of his mounted men, performed the service allotted to him of watching the enemy, and preventing any communication with them, from the first moment of their coming into the Bay, till our arrival.

It is, sir, with very particular satisfaction that I have further to report that I have received, on this occasion, every possible assistance from his majesty's subjects of the colony.

The burgher senate have discharged the duty imposed upon them with the greatest readiness, impartiality, and activity, whilst their

requisitions and orders on the inhabitants for their waggons, cattle, and horses, having been complied with with a cheerfulness which could, I am satisfied, only proceed from a conviction of the preference to be given to his majesty's mild and paternal government over the wild system of anarchy and confusion from which they were furnishing the means of being effectually defended.

This will be delivered to you, sir, by my aide de camp captain Baynes, who has been in this country, since the first arrival of his majesty's troops under my command, and to whose intelligence and active assistance I have been, on every occasion, highly indebted. I beg leave, sir, most humbly to recommend him to his majesty's notice.

I have the honour to be,

With the greatest respect,

Sir, &c. &c.

J. H. CRAIG.

Admiralty-Office, Nov. 3, 1796.

Dispatches, of which the following are copies, (brought by captain John Aylmer, of his majesty's ship Tremendous) were this day received from the hon. vice-admiral sir George Keith Elphinstone, K. B.

Monarch, Saldanha Bay

Sir, *Aug. 19, 1796.*

I have the honour to inclose a list of a Dutch squadron, under the command of rear-admiral Engelbertus Lucas, sent hither for the reduction of this colony, but which were compelled to surrender by capitulation, on the 17th instant, to the detachment of his majesty's ships under my command, named

in

in No. VII. on the terms also inclosed. For further particulars I beg leave to refer you to the accompanying detail of the proceedings of the squadron from the 4th to the 18th instant, and I hope the lords commissioners of the admiralty will approve the measures I have taken, so essential to the British commercial interests in the East.

The ships are all coppered, and in good condition, excepting the *Castor*, whose rudder is defective.

In justice to the officers and men I have the honour to command, it is my duty to observe, that, in consequence of the most violent tempestuous weather I ever beheld, and the very unpleasant situations in which the squadron was at times placed, they cheerfully, and much to their credit, underwent a degree of fatigue hardly credible.

Captain Aylmer will have the honour of presenting these dispatches. I beg leave to mention him to their lordships, as a respectable gentleman and an active officer.

I have the honour to be,
With great esteem, sir,
Your most obedient,
humble servant,

G. K. ELPHINSTONE.

Evan Npcun, Esq.

Monarch, Saldanha Bay,

Sir, *Aug. 19, 1796.*

I have the honour to inform you, that intelligence was received at Cape Town, on the 3d instant, of a number of ships having been seen in the offing, at Saldanha Bay, which was confirmed on the 5th. In consequence of this every preparation was made for putting to

sea immediately, with the squadron under my command; but from the Monarch's main-mast being out, and the tempestuous weather, I was not able to quit the anchorage in Simon's Bay until the 6th, when we proceeded to sea.

On getting under weigh an officer from the shore came on board to inform me, that a number of sails had been seen the preceding night in the offing, near False Bay; I then resolved to steer to the southward and west, in expectation of their having taken that course.

The squadron continued cruising in the most tempestuous weather I have ever experienced, which damaged many of the ships, and at one time the *Ruby* had five feet water in her hold: we were joined at sea by his majesty's ship *Stately*, *Rattlesnake*, and *Echo* sloops. On the 12th I returned, with a fresh breeze blowing from the south east, and, upon anchoring in Simon's Bay, the master attendant came off with information that the ships seen, consisting of nine sail, had put into Saldanha Bay on the 6th, the same day on which I had proceeded to sea; that they remained there by the last advice, and that four ships had been dispatched in quest of me to communicate this welcome intelligence.

I immediately made the signal to sail, but the *Crescent* had got ashore; the wind blew strong, and increased on the following day to a perfect tempest, in which the *Tremendous* parted two cables, drove, and was in great danger of being lost, so that, notwithstanding every exertion, and the most anxious moments of my life, we could not get out until the 15th.

On the 16th the squadron arrived

off Saldanha Bay at sun-set, and the Crescent, which had been ordered a-head to discover information and to report, made the signal for the enemy, consisting of three ships of the line, three frigates, and other ships, being moored in the Bay.

The squadron stood on into the Bay in the order of sailing, but the night coming on, and the rear being too far extended for action, I judged it expedient to come to an anchor within shot of the enemy's ships, and, perceiving their numbers very inconsiderable in comparison with the force under my command, I considered it my duty, and an incumbent act of humanity, to address the Dutch officer in command, and consequently forwarded the letter to him, of which the inclosure No. III. is a copy, by Lieutenant Coffin, of the Monarch, with a flag of truce; to this I received a verbal return, that a positive reply should be sent in the morning at day-break. I was fearful the enemy might attempt to injure the ships, and therefore ordered Lieutenant Coffin, to return immediately with my letter No. IV. to which he brought back the reply No. V.

On the 17th, at nine in the morning, a Dutch officer came on board with a flag, and presented proposals of terms for capitulation, which you will observe in the correspondence, with my remarks and definitive letter; and at five P. M. the terms contained in the inclosed copy were ultimately agreed upon, but it was impossible to take possession of the ships until the 18th, on account of the stormy weather.

It affords me the highest satisfaction, therefore, to communicate

to my lords commissioners of the admiralty, that a squadron of ships belonging to the United States, under the command of his excellency rear-admiral Engelbertus Lucas, has surrendered to the British force under my command, consisting of three ships of the line, two fine frigates, two of 28 guns, and a sloop of 18 guns, all completely coppered, stored, and victualled, together with a large laden store ship, the names of which are described in the inclosure No. VI. and the British ships, to whom they are prizes, in the inclosure No. VII.

The consequent joy of this fortunate event is much augmented from the consolatory reflection on its accomplishment without effusion of human blood, or injury to either of the enemy's or British ships, not a single shot having been fired.

I must, however, beg leave to observe, that any resistance on the part of the enemy could only have occasioned the wanton sacrifice of a few lives; and I doubt not, that had their numbers been adequate to the contention, their conduct would have confirmed the acknowledged merit at all times recorded to the martial spirit of subjects of the United States; and I can with similar confidence assure you, that the officers and men under my command, would have exhibited a conduct equally creditable to themselves.

The repeated advices communicated in your letters, respecting the enemy's forces destined to this quarter, agreed so correctly with the intelligence I obtained by other means, that I have long been expecting their arrival, and was thereby

thereby enabled to be perfectly prepared to receive them, and constantly to keep a vigilant lookout.

I have the honour to be,
With great esteem, sir,
Your most obedient,
Humble servant,
G. K. ELPHINSTONE.

Evan Nepean, Esq.

No. III.—To his excellency the admiral, or the officer commanding the ships of the United States now lying in Saldanha Bay.

Sir,

It is unnecessary for me to detail the force I have the honour to command, because it is in your view, and speaks for itself; but it is for you to consider the efficacy of a resistance with the force under your command.

Humanity is an incumbent duty on all men, therefore, to spare an effusion of human blood, I request a surrender of the ships under your command, otherwise it will be my duty to embrace the earliest moment of making a serious attack on them, the issue of which is not difficult for you to guess.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) G. K. ELPHINSTONE.

His majesty's ship Monarch, Saldanha Bay, Aug. 16, 1796.

No. IV.—To his Excellency the Rear-admiral, commander in chief of the Dutch ships lying in Saldanha Bay.

Sir,

I am this instant honoured with your verbal answer to my letter of this date, and delivered to me by lieutenant Coffin, of the Monarch.

If I understand him right, it is, that a flag of truce subsists between your excellency, on the part of the States General, and myself, on behalf of his Britannic majesty, and as was demonstrated by my displaying a flag of truce before I dispatched the first letter delivered to you by lieutenant Coffin, and which truce is to continue until day-light in the morning. It is, therefore, my duty to require a positive assurance, that no damage shall be done to any of the ships or vessels of war, public stores, or effects, that may be placed under your command, otherwise I shall not consider myself in duty bound to restrain an immediate attack, or to treat such prisoners as may fall into my hands in a manner suitable to my general inclinations or his majesty's orders in similar cases.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) G. K. ELPHINSTONE.

His majesty's ship Monarch, Saldanha Bay, Aug. 16, 1796.

No. V.—To his excellency admiral G. K. Elphinstone, commander in chief of his Britannic majesty's squadron.

Excellency,

The two letters delivered to me by your officer, from want of an interpreter, have taken a long time to translate.

Your excellency may rest assured of receiving a positive answer to-morrow morning, and that during this time no damage whatever shall be done to the vessels of my squadron, which I promise you upon my honour.

This time is necessary to call to my aid the captains of the frigates

detached at the bottom of the Bay, in order to hold a council of war, whom I am obliged to assemble on account of responsibility.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) ENGELBERTUS LUCAS.
On board the *Dortrecht*,
Aug. 16, 1796.

To his Excellency vice-admiral sir
G. K. Elphinstone, &c. &c. &c.

Excellency,

Agreeably to my promise, I send you a copy of terms of capitulation, which I doubt not you will grant. In this hope I am

Your excellency's obedient
servant,

(Signed) ENGELBERTUS LUCAS.

Dortrecht, at anchor in Saldanha Bay, Aug. 17, 1796, second year of the Batavian republican liberty.

Articles of capitulation agreed upon in Saldanha Bay this 17th of August, 1796, between his excellency Rear-admiral Engelbertus Lucas, commander in chief of the squadron of the United States now lying in Saldanha Bay, and the hon. sir George Keith Elphinstone knight of the most honourable and military order of the Bath, vice-admiral of the blue, and commander in chief of his Britannic majesty's ships and vessels in the Indian seas, at the Cape of Good Hope, and of those now lying in Saldanha Bay.

Art: 1. Rear-admiral Lucas will deliver up to vice-admiral Elphinstone the squadron under his com-

mand, upon the conditions of the capitulation underwritten.

Ans. The vice-admiral is actuated by principles of humanity to prevent the effusion of human blood, and considers the surrender of the Dutch squadron as a matter of necessity and not of choice.

2. The British admiral shall appoint two ships as cartels, the frigates the *Braave* and *Sirene*, in which the rear-admiral, his officers and midshipmen, and ship's crew, shall be permitted to proceed, without hindrance, to Holland, and the officers shall keep their side arms.

Ans. Inadmissible, by reason that the cartel ships sent from Toulon and various other places, under similar circumstances, have been detained, and their crews imprisoned, contrary to the laws and usage of war, and the general good faith of nations; but officers becoming prisoners shall be allowed to keep and wear their swords and side arms, so long as they behave with becoming propriety, and shall be treated with the respect due to their rank.

III. The Dutch admiral, his officers and crew, shall retain their private property without being searched, and the remainder of the crew who cannot be received on board the frigates are to be sent to Holland in such manner as the British admiral shall judge proper.

Ans. Private property of every denomination will be secured to the proprietors to the fullest extent, in consequence of British acts of parliament and his Britannic majesty's positive orders, as well as from the general known disposition of British officers to treat with the utmost liberality those who become their prisoners.

IV. They

IV. They shall be provided with such quantities of provisions as may be necessary for those who embark on board the two frigates, and to be so provided from the Dutch ships.

Ans. Answered by sixth article.

V. These cartel ships, on their arrival in Holland, shall be sent to England, and there delivered to his Britannic majesty.

Ans. Already answered by the second article.

VI. The crew shall be permitted to go on shore for refreshment after their long voyage.

Ans. This must depend upon the major-general commanding the troops on shore, but the commander in chief will use his utmost exertions to render the situation of every individual as comfortable as possible, as to victualling, lodging, and every accommodation, either on board or on shore, as can be procured or reasonably expected; and he will dispose of such as become prisoners as similarly to their inclinations as his duty to his sovereign and the interests of his country will admit.

The sick shall be received into his majesty's hospitals, and taken care of equally with the British sick.

It is furthermore the commander in chief's duty and inclination to send such to Europe as become prisoners, by the most speedy and convenient conveyances.

VII. The national flags of Batavia shall continue to be displayed on the Dutch ships so long as their crews remain on board.

Ans. The Batavian colours must be struck so soon as the ships are taken possession of by his Britannic majesty's officers.

(L.S.) G. K. ELPHINSTONE.

ENGELBERTUS LUCAS.

JOHN JACKSON, Secretary to the British commander in chief.

CLEMENS BENEDICTUS, secretary to the commander in chief of the Dutch squadron.

To his excellency rear-admiral Engelbertus Lucas, commander in chief of the squadron of the United States, now lying in Saldanha Bay.

Sir,

I have had the honour to receive your letter, with the proposals of capitulation, and I have now the honour to inclose you my letters and answers thereunto, which I hope will be acceptable. I have mentioned to captain Clarisse my inclination to accommodate your Excellency, and the other officers inclined to return to Europe upon their parole, with the *Maria* store ship, or in British vessels, of which there are many at the Cape; but any of the public armed ships I dare not presume to permit to depart.

Your excellency may rest assured of every good office within my reach. Should the inclosed articles not meet with your approbation, you will be pleased to order the flag of truce to be hauled down, as a signal that either party may commence hostilities.

I have the honour to be,

With great respect, sir,

Your most obedient,

Humble servant,

G. K. ELPHINSTONE.

His Britannic majesty's ship

Monarch, Saldanha Bay,

Aug. 17, 1796.

No VI.—A list of ships late belonging to the United States, under the command of his excellency rear-admiral Engelbertus Lucas, which surrendered on the 17th of August, 1796, to a detachment

tachment of the squadron of his majesty's ships under the command of the hon. sir George Keith Elphinstone, K. B. in Saldanha Bay.

Dortrecht, Rear-admiral Lucas, 66 guns, 370 men.

Revolution, captain Rhenebende, 66 guns, 400 men.

Admiral Tromp, captain Valkenburg, 54 guns, 280 men.

Castor, captain Clarisse, 44 guns, 240 men.

Braave, captain Zoetmans, 40 guns, 234 men.

Bellona, captain Valk, 28 guns, 130 men.

Sirene, captain De Ceri, 26 guns, 130 men.

Havik, captain Bezemer, 18 guns, 76 men.

Maria (storeship), ———, 112 men. ——— Total 341 guns, and 1972 men.

N. B. Many of the guns are brass, besides which they are well furnished with caronnades.

They have four field pieces of land artillery on board. The troops are under the command of the rear-admiral; lieut. colonel Henri is adjutant-general, and mons. Grandecourt, commandant of artillery.

G. K. ELPHINSTONE.

Monarch, Saldanha Bay,

August 19, 1796.

No. VII.—A list of his majesty's ships of the detachment of the squadron under the command of the hon. sir George Keith Elphinstone, K. B. to which the Dutch squadron, under the command of his excellency Engelbertus Lucas, surrendered on the 17th of August, 1796, in Saldanha Bay.

Monarch, 74 guns, 612 men, vice-admiral the hon. sir George Keith Elphinstone; K. B. captain John Elphinstone.

Tremendous, 74 guns, 590 men, rear-admiral Thomas Pringle: captain John Aylmer.

America, 64 guns, 491 men, commodore John Blanket.

Stately, 64 guns, 491 men, captain Billy Douglas.

Ruby 64 guns, 491 men, captain Jacob Waller.

Sceptre, 64 guns, 491 men, captain W. Essington.

Trident, 64 guns, 491 men, captain E. O. Osborne.

Jupiter, 50 guns, 343 men, captain George Lossack.

Crescent, 36 guns, 264 men, captain Edward Buller.

Sphinx, 24 guns, 155 men, captain Andrew Tod.

Mosell, 16 guns, 121 men, captain Charles Brisbane.

Rattlesnake, 16 guns, 121 men, captain Edward Ramage.

Echo, 16 guns, 121 men, captain John Turner.

Hope, sloop, captain Thomas Alexander.

Monarch, Saldanha Bay,
August 19, 1796.

London Gazette, Nov. 29, 1796.

Parliament-street, November 29.

A dispatch from the governor and Council of Madras, dated Fort St. George, June 22, 1796, of which the following is a copy, has been received by the Court of Directors of the East India Company, and by them communicated to the right hon. Henry Dundas, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state.

Honorable Sirs,
We have particular satisfaction in

in offering to you our sincere congratulations on the complete success which has attended the operations of rear-admiral Rainier in the eastern seas; and judging that an early communication of this event might be of material use to his majesty's ministers, we have determined to forward this letter by the route of Bussorah.

It appears by the rear admiral's dispatches, dated the 27th of March and 11th of April last, and which reached us on the 18th instant, by the Orpheus frigate, that the British troops were in possession of the islands of Amboyna and Banda, with their several dependencies, comprising, as it was thought, the whole of the Dutch islands, excepting Fornatè, yielding cloves, nutmegs, and mace. This acquisition has been attained without the smallest loss on our side.

Amboyna and its dependencies were delivered up on the 16th of February, and Banda and its dependencies on the 8th of March. Copies of the capitulations are inclosed.

The admiral speaks in the handsomest manner of the activity and alacrity with which every duty was performed by the forces under his command, both naval and military, and dwells particularly on the perfect harmony which all along subsisted between the officers and men in both services. It behoves us on this occasion to convey to you the high sense we entertain of the able and spirited conduct displayed by rear-admiral Rainier, whose hearty co-operation with us in every measure conducive to the public weal demands our warmest acknowledgments; and, whilst we feel assured of your entire approba-

tion of all the means employed by this government, to give effect to the arrangements framed by his majesty's ministers for securing the Dutch settlements in India, it is, nevertheless, incumbent upon us to declare, that the accomplishment of this great object has been chiefly obtained by the zealous and cheerful support which we have had the good fortune to experience from the officer entrusted with the execution of it.

We shall do ourselves the honour of transmitting, by the first sea conveyance, copies of all the papers received from the admiral, which will enable you to form an accurate opinion of the value of those islands. At present we can only give you a summary of his proceedings.

The admiral found in the treasury at Amboyna 81,112 rix dollars, and in store 515,940 pounds weight of cloves; in the treasure at Banda 66,675 rix dollars, and in store 84,777 pounds of nutmegs, and 19,587 pounds of mace, besides merchandize and other stores at each place, upon which no value had been then put.

We are preparing to send a reinforcement of troops for the better protection of those valuable islands; and, as the admiral has advised us that he is short of provisions, and in want of a supply of naval and military stores, it is our intention to forward an adequate stock of every necessary article.

We have great pleasure in acquainting you, that the company's possessions on this coast are in a state of perfect tranquillity; and that we have no reason to believe that any designs are in agitation

by

by the native powers hostile to your interests:

We have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) HOBART.

ALURED CLARKE.

EDW. SAUNDERS.

G. W. FALLOFIELD.

Capitulation of Amboyna, translated from the original Dutch, Feb. 16, 1796.

NOT finding ourselves equal to withstand the great force with which we have been surprised, we the undersigned governor and council do hereby give up this settlement, with all its dependencies, and place the same under the protection of his Britannic majesty, upon the conditions mentioned to us in the letter of the right hon. the governor of Madras; and that is, upon condition that we may keep all our private property, and be allowed a reasonable subsistence; that the inhabitants be guaranteed in the secure possession of their private properties; and that the senior and junior servants of the civil establishment, the clergy, the military, and marine, receive their usual pay.

It is upon the above conditions that we shall, to-morrow morning, give over all the guards of the fort to the troops of his Britannic majesty, after receiving the ratification of this instrument by his excellency the commodore.

Done at Amboyna, in the castle of Victoria, on the above date.

(Signed) A. CORNABE.

B. SMISSART.

(Dutch co-seal) T. OSTROWSKI.

ENEAS MACKAY.

ERON FYZABAL.

Approved of and acceded to,

(Signed) P. RAINIER.

(English seal) W. C. LENNON,
Secretary.

Capitulation agreed upon between his excellency Peter Rainier, esq. commodore, commanding the sea and land forces of his Britannic majesty in these seas, and F. Van Boeckholtz, governor of Banda, &c. &c.

IN consideration of our great want of provisions, and the great force with which the British have appeared before this settlement, and to resist which would bring destruction and desolation on the harmless inhabitants of this place, we therefore think it prudent, for the sake of humanity, and from our confidence in the honour and generosity of the English, to accept of the terms offered to us, and to deliver into their hands this fort and settlement, with all its dependencies, upon the following conditions, viz.

That private property be kept secure to every individual of this settlement, whether in or out of the company's service; that the servants of the company, civil and military, be kept in their respective stations; as far as may be thought necessary for the administration of justice; and the civil government of the place, the governor alone particularly excepted, as the government must, of course, be vested in the English; that the military continue to receive their pay, and are not to be forced into the British service contrary to their wishes; and the civil servants also to be continued on their present pay; and such an allowance made for the provision of the governor as his excellency the commander of the British forces may think adequate. The governor, however, and any other servants of the company,

pany, shall be permitted to retire from the service, either to Batavia or elsewhere, whenever a convenient opportunity shall offer.

Upon these conditions we, the undersigned, consent to deliver up Fort Nassau, the settlement of Banda, and all its dependencies, to the troops of his Britannic majesty tomorrow morning, upon receiving a copy of this capitulation, ratified and signed by his excellency the British commander. The keys of all the public property, and all accounts properly authenticated, shall be immediately delivered over to the British, and the government entirely vested in them.

Fort Nassau, Banda Neira, March 8, 1796.

(Signed) T. VAN BOECKHOLTZ.

A. H. VUEGE.

(L.S.) F. SAIGANG.

E. MAZEE.

(L.S.) P. D. HAAN.

M. WALLRLOO.

Approved and accepted of,

(Signed)

(L.S.) P. RAINIER.

True copies.

(Signed) W. C. JACKSON, Sec.

Copy of a circular letter to the lieutenants of counties on the sea coast, dated Whitehall, November 5, 1796.

My Lord,

As it would materially add to the difficulties which already oppose themselves to any attempts, which it is possible the enemy may be induced to make upon our coast, if the live and dead stock of individuals residing near the sea-coast was capable of being instantly removed and secured, for the benefit of the proprietors, I am command-

ed to recommend it to your lordship to exert your influence in causing to be made out, as speedily as possible, an account of live and dead stock, in such of the parishes of the county of Sussex as are within ten or twelve miles of the sea.

With respect to the mode of making out the account required, I take this opportunity of transmitting to your lordship the form in which it has been executed by the voluntary exertions of the gentlemen of the county of Dorset; and shall beg to submit it for your lordship's consideration and adoption, unless where it may be found necessary to deviate from it, in consequence of local circumstances and situations.

With respect to the mode in which it is proposed to remove such live and dead stock, in case it should be necessary, your lordship will communicate with the commander in chief of the district in which the county of Sussex lies, and will concert with him such previous measures for this purpose as may be judged requisite.

The meeting which I have desired your lordship to call on the subject of my circular letter of this day's date, will afford you an opportunity of submitting this letter to the consideration of the deputy-lieutenants and the magistracy of the county of Sussex, and will consequently lead to the immediate adoption of such measures as shall be necessary to enable the return to be made, which I am persuaded your lordship will be of opinion is so much to be wished for.

I am further to inform your lordship, that the lords commissioners of the treasury have received his majesty's pleasure, that they should

should take such previous measures as may be necessary for defraying any expences which may arise, in consequence of such possible removal of live and dead stock as I have supposed, as well as of any particular losses which may eventually be occasioned thereby.

Although this circumstance is such as must obviate every possible objection to the measure, I am nevertheless confident, that all those whom it may concern would, exclusively of every personal consideration or motive, join with the utmost alacrity in the execution of a measure which has for its object the general safety of the country.

I have the honour to be, &c.

PORTLAND.

Copy of a letter from the chancellor of the exchequer to the lord mayor.

Downing-street, 1st Dec.

My Lord,

I TAKE the liberty of transmitting to your lordship a copy of a letter which I have thought it my duty to write to the governor and deputy governor of the bank, and of the memorandum therein referred to, which it is their intention to lay before a court of proprietors this day. I have the satisfaction of thinking that the plan therein suggested is likely to receive the greatest countenance from many great mercantile bodies and respectable houses in the metropolis.

The repeated proofs which the citizens of London have given of their zeal and public spirit, leave me no doubt, that, if it appears likely to promote the interests of the country at this important crisis, it will receive their cheerful sup-

port in their individual capacity, as well as that of the corporate body, and of the different public companies. It is unnecessary for me to state the effect which such an example would produce throughout the kingdom. With this view I would request your lordship, if you see no impropriety in the measure, to take as speedily as possible such steps as you may think most advisable for bringing the subject under the consideration of the common council, and of the different public companies, and for ascertaining to what extent they may be inclined to contribute to the success of the plan, in the event of its receiving the approbation of parliament.

I have the honour, &c.

W. PITT.

Copy of the chancellor of the exchequer's letter read at the Bank.

THAT under the present circumstances it seemed peculiarly necessary that provision should be made for the services of the ensuing year, without having recourse to the accustomed way of raising money by a loan, at the present price of the funds. It was therefore in contemplation to propose to parliament that one-fourth of the income of individuals of a certain class should be applied to that purpose, to be repaid according to the terms specified in the inclosed memorandum. There were strong reasons to believe that many gentlemen would voluntarily subscribe a larger proportion than what might be required of them, but the extent of contribution greatly depended on the examples that might be given, particularly

OR

on that which might be held out by the bank of England. He therefore earnestly hoped that the court of directors of the governor and company of the bank of England, and the proprietors, impressed with that zeal which they had always manifested for the public good, and convinced of the importance of the present crisis, would be induced to take the lead in a measure so highly conducive to the maintenance of public credit, and which would strongly tend to the acceleration of a permanent and honourable peace.

Account of the total net produce of all the permanent taxes for one year, ending October 10th, 1796.

	£.	s.	d.
Customs	3,232,345	17	1½
Excise	6,461,908	10	7½
Stamps	1,212,669	7	6
	<u>£10,906,623</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>3</u>

INCIDENTS.

Consolidated letter money	—	—	156,000	0	0
— Duties on Salt	—	—	391,492	11	1½
Seizures since 25th October, 1760	—	—	6,333	17	0
Profers Do.	—	—	641	12	3
Letter money Do.	—	—	311,000	0	0
Alum mines Do.	—	—	960	0	0
Rent of a light house Do.	—	—	6	13	4
Alienation duty Do.	—	—	0	0	0
Compositions Do.	—	—	2	13	4
6d per lb. on pensions	—	—	40,905	0	1
1s. per lb. on do.	—	—	30,763	16	4
Houses and windows since 10th October, 1766	—	—	349,336	15	4½
Inhabited houses Ann. 1778	—	—	140,803	0	2
Hawkers and Pedlars, since 24th June, 1710	—	—	4,410	0	0
Hackney coaches Ann. 1711	—	—	10,700	0	0
Ditto — 1784	—	—	12,700	0	0
Male servants 1785	—	—	95,736	16	9½
Four wheel carriages Do.	—	—	161,727	7	3½
Two wheel do. Do.	—	—	41,621	4	9¼
Horses — Do.	—	—	120,811	8	3½
First fruits —	—	—	3,771	11	5
Tenths —	—	—	9,938	14	5½
Arrears of duties repealed	—	—	1,994	18	2
			<u>£. 1,891,703</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>11½</u>

DUTIES

DUTIES, ANNO 1791.

Sugars	—	—	—	—	194,470	8	10
British spirits	—	—	—	—	18,128	0	0
Foreign do.	—	—	—	—	123,718	0	0
Bills and receipts	—	—	—	—	177,171	3	9
Game duty	—	—	—	—	15,488	1	4
£. 10 per cent. on assessed taxes	—	—	—	—	86,123	12	4
Arrears of duty on malt							

£. 615,099 6 3

DUTIES, ANNO 1794.

British spirits	—	—	—	—	18,505	0	0
Foreign do.	—	—	—	—	127,795	0	0
Spirit licences	—	—	—	—	44,000	0	0
Glass	—	—	—	—	43,222	0	0
Brick and Tiles	(Customs)	—	—	—	245	11	7
Ditto	(Excise)	—	—	—	59,345	0	0
Paper	(Customs)	—	—	—	4,383	14	3
Ditto	(Excise)	—	—	—	167,975	0	0
Slates and Stones	—	—	—	—	16,756	12	8
Attorneys articles	—	—	—	—	18,574	2	9

£. 500,802 1 3

DUTIES, ANNO 1795.

British spirits	—	—	—	—	20,396	0	0
Foreign do.	—	—	—	—	128,485	0	0
Wines	—	—	—	—	541,897	0	0
Tea	—	—	—	—	205,999	0	0
Cocoa and Coffee	—	—	—	—	14,394	0	0
Fruit, Silk, &c.	—	—	—	—	111,764	4	6
Stamps	—	—	—	—	46,404	13	7
Ship policies	—	—	—	—	91,543	4	1
Hair powder certificates	—	—	—	—	183,736	3	0
Sweets	—	—	—	—	9,726	0	0
Receipts	—	—	—	—	7,051	6	1
Coals	—	—	—	—	11,060	7	7

£. 1,372,366 18 10

DUTIES, ANNO 1796.

Tobacco and Snuffs	—	—	—	—	119,378	0	0
Salt	—	—	—	—	24,000	0	0
Horse dealers' licences	—	—	—	—	589	12	0
							Additional

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. [97]

Additional 10l. per cent.	—	—	L. 20,355	0	0
Wines (Customs)	—	—	44,270	3	1½
Do. (Excise)	—	—	851	0	0
Sweets	—	—	1,340	0	0
Legacies	—	—	1,894	0	0
Horses	—	—	400	0	0
2s. duty on ditto	—	—	1,300	0	0
Hats	—	—	1,395	0	0
			£. 215,772	15	1½

Total in the Year, ending Oct. 10, 1796.

Of customs	—	—	3,232,345	17	1½
Of excise	—	—	6,461,608	10	7½
Of stamps	—	—	1,212,669	7	6
Of incidents	—	—	1,891,703	19	11½
Of duties 1791	—	—	615,099	6	3
Of do. 1794	—	—	500,802	1	3
Of do. 1795	—	—	1,372,366	18	10
			L. 15,286,596	1	6½
Of duties 1796	—	—	215,772	15	1½

Exchequer, Oct. 17, 1796.

JAMES FISHER.

In order to shew a comparative state of the above duties, with those of the year ending on the 10th of October, 1795, we subjoin the totals of that year.

TOTAL OF DUTIES IN 1795.

			L.	s.	d.
Of customs	—	—	3,157,645	11	4½
Of excise	—	—	7,166,635	11	9¼
Of stamps	—	—	1,207,551	12	7
Of incidents	—	—	1,821,740	15	8½
Of duties 1791	—	—	699,954	14	9½
Of do. 1794	—	—	596,648	15	3½
Of do. 1795	—	—	1,015,696	10	11½
			L. 15,665,873	12	0

A comparative View of certain public Circumstances in the respective Periods of 1783-4 and 1795-6.

Price of the 3 per cent. Consols	Jan. 27, 1784,	55
Ditto.	May 2, 1796,	66
Vol. XXXVIII.	H	Price

98] ANNUAL REGISTER, 1796.

Price of India stock,	—	Jan. 27, 1784,	L	121
Ditto.	—	May 2, 1796,		209
Total value of imports,	—	1783,		13,325,000
Ditto (including prize-goods to the amount of L. 907,000)	—	1795,		22,175,000
Total value of exports,	—	1783,		14,741,000
Ditto,	—	1795,		27,270,000
Value of British manufactures exported,	—	1783,		10,409,000
Ditto,	—	1795,		16,526,000
Foreign produce exported,	—	1783,		4,332,000
Ditto,	—	1795,		10,743,000
Cotton-wool imported, on the average of five years, to 1783 inclusive,	—		£.	5,000,000
Ditto, to 1795 inclusive,	—			30,000,000
Value of British merchandise exported to the East Indies,	—	1783,	£	621,921
Ditto,	—	1795,		2,229,444
Nett revenues of the different settlements of the East India company above the charges,	1783,			None.
Ditto,	1795,			2,600,000
Amount of East India company's sales,	1783,			3,363,800
Ditto,	1795,			6,191,894
		<i>Vessels,</i>	<i>Tons.</i>	
British ships entered inwards,	1783,	7,690		812,960
Ditto,	1795,	10,174		1,262,568
British ships cleared outwards,	1783,	7,729		870,270
Ditto,	1795,	10,133		1,164,910
Total number of ships belonging to the British empire,	1783,	14,310	<i>Vessels,</i> <i>Tons,</i>	<i>Men.</i>
Ditto,	1794,	16,802	1,395,074	108,962
Amount of permanent taxes on a three years' average, to the 5th of January, 1784	—			L.
Amount of the same taxes, after making all allowances for the intermediate changes and arrangements of the revenue, on a three years' average, to 5th of Janu- ary, 1795,	—			9,876,000
Navy-debt, outstanding and unprovided,	Dec. 1783,			12,381,000
Ditto,	May 2, 1796,			15,510,767
Bank advances, April 5, 17783,	—			2,300,000
Ditto, May 2, 1796,	L. 11,132,000			61,279,000
Of which last sum provision has actually been made for funding	—	5,030,000		
				6,102,000

Amount of out-standing debts and demands, and floating and unfunded debt, in January, 1784, (exclusive of two millions to American sufferers, the debentures for which have since been discharged),—	27,000,000
Ditto, May 2, 1796, — — —	None.
Sinking Fund, — — — 1783,	None.
Ditto — — — May 2, 1796,	2,400,000
Amount of revenue (including the land and malt) below the computed expenditure, on a peace-establishment of 15 millions, in 1783. — — —	2,000,000
Amount of revenue (including the land and malt) above the computed expenditure, on a similar peace-establishment, with the addition of increased charges for the debt incurred by the present war, in 1795,—	3,400,000

An Account of all the Wheat sold in the Corn Market, in Mark-Lane, from Christmas 1795, to Christmas 1796.

From Jan. 7. to	English. Qrs.	Foreign. Qrs.
Sept. 26.	104,011	287,772
Oct. 3.	2,695	6,385
10.	1,981	5,046
17.	3,710	6,061
24.	1,894	4,732
31.	3,477	1,751
Nov. 7.	3,991	1,728
14.	4,089	2,161
21.	3,184	5,418
28.	4,444	2,322
Dec. 5.	3,526	1,511
12.	5,290	525
19.	4,000	941
26.	338	190
Wednesdays and Fridays. }	28,510	27,411
	175,140	354,954
		175,140

Total 530,094 Qrs. sold in the year 1796.
Prices

Prices of Bread per Quartern Loaf, during 1796.

January.				July.			
		s.	d.			s.	d.
7	—	—	1 3	7	—	—	0 11
14	—	—	1 3	14	—	—	0 11
21	—	—	1 3	21	—	—	0 10 $\frac{3}{4}$
28	—	—	1 3	28	—	—	0 10 $\frac{3}{4}$
February.				August.			
4	—	—	1 3	4	—	—	0 10 $\frac{3}{4}$
11	—	—	1 3	11	—	—	0 10 $\frac{3}{4}$
18	—	—	1 3	18	—	—	0 10 $\frac{3}{4}$
25	—	—	1 3	25	—	—	0 9 $\frac{3}{4}$
March.				September.			
10	—	—	1 3	8	—	—	0 8 $\frac{1}{4}$
17	—	—	1 3	15	—	—	0 8 $\frac{1}{4}$
24	—	—	1 3	22	—	—	0 8 $\frac{1}{4}$
31	—	—	1 3	29	—	—	0 8 $\frac{1}{4}$
April.				October.			
7	—	—	1 2	6	—	—	0 8 $\frac{3}{4}$
14	—	—	1 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	13	—	—	0 8 $\frac{3}{4}$
21	—	—	0 10	20	—	—	0 8 $\frac{1}{4}$
28	—	—	0 10	27	—	—	0 8 $\frac{1}{4}$
May.				November.			
5	—	—	0 10	3	—	—	0 8 $\frac{1}{4}$
12	—	—	0 10	10	—	—	0 8 $\frac{1}{4}$
19	—	—	0 10	17	—	—	0 8 $\frac{1}{4}$
26	—	—	0 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	24	—	—	0 8 $\frac{1}{4}$
June.				December.			
2	—	—	0 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	—	—	0 8 $\frac{1}{4}$
9	—	—	0 10 $\frac{3}{4}$	8	—	—	0 8 $\frac{1}{4}$
16	—	—	0 11	15	—	—	0 8 $\frac{1}{4}$
23	—	—	0 11	22	—	—	0 8 $\frac{1}{4}$
30	—	—	0 11	29	—	—	0 8 $\frac{1}{4}$

*A general Bill of Christenings and Burials from December 8, 1795, to
December 13, 1796.*

THE DISEASES AND CASUALTIES OF THIS YEAR.

ABORTIVE and still born.....761	Fever, malignant	Piles..... 1	Burnt..... 16
Abscess..... 24	Fever, Scarlet Fe-	Pleurisy..... 14	Dropped down
Aged..... 997	ver, Spotted Fe-	Quinsy..... 4	dead..... 5
Ague..... 6	ver, and Pur-	Rash 1	Drowned.....125
Amputation..... 1	ples.....1547	Rheumatism.... 4	Eaten by Lice.. 1
Apoplexy118	Fistula..... 3	Rickets..... 3	Excessive Drink-
Asthma and	Flux 8	Scurvy..... 3	ing..... 11
Phthisic.....316	French Pox..... 22	Small Pox.....3518	Executed* 12
Bedridden..... 9	Gout.....109	Sore Throat..... 21	Found dead.... 8
Bleeding..... 15	Gravel, Stran-	Sores and Ul-	Fractured 1
Bursten and rup-	guary, and	cers..... 9	Frighted1
ture..... 19	Stone..... 32	Spasm..... 1	Killed by Falls,
Cancer..... 65	Grief..... 6	Spitting blood.. 1	&c. 56
Chicken Pox.... 1	Head-Ach.....4	St. Anthony's	Killed by a cow 1
Childbed.....202	Headmouldshot,	Fire..... 4	Killed by Fight-
Colds..... 11	Horshoehead,	Stoppage in the Sto-	ing..... 5
Cholic, Gripes,	and Water in	mach 9	Killed them-
&c. 13	the Brain..... 70	Suddenly.....112	selves..... 23
Consumption..4265	Jaundice..... 72	Swelling..... 3	Murdered..... 6
Convulsions...3798	Jaw-locked 2	Swine Pox 1	Poisoned..... 1
Cough & Hoop-	Imposthume ... 3	Teeth.....362	Scalded..... 7
ing-Cough..... 536	Inflammation...368	Thrush..... 50	Shot..... 1
Croup 23	Lethargy..... 4	Tumour in womb 1	Smothered 2
Dropsy727	Livergrown..... 2	Vomiting and	Stabbed..... 1
Evil 4	Lunatic..... 87	Looseness.... 1	Starved 1
Falling Sickne...	Measles.....307	Worms..... 12	Strain..... 2
...1	Mortification...207	Bit by a mad dog 2	Suffocated 1
	Palsy..... 73	Broken Limbs... 2	Tooth ach..... 1
			Total.....288
Christened { Males.....9648 }	18826.	Buried { Males.....9882 }	19288.
	{ Females..9178 }		{ Females..9406 }

* There have been executed in Middlesex and Surry, 32; 8 of which number were for murder and of the whole number (12 only) have been reported to be buried (as such) within the bills of mortality.

WHEREOF HAVE DIED.

Under 2 years6772	30 and 40.....1537	80 and 90.....357
Between..... 2 and 5..... 2840	40 and 50.....1114	90 and 100..... 55
5 and 10..... 900	50 and 60.....1328	100..... 1
10 and 20..... 621	60 and 70.....1115	102..... 1
20 and 30.....1211	70 and 80..... 892	104..... 1

DECREASED IN THE BURIALS THIS YEAR 1891.

Substance of the act for the more ef-
fectually preventing seditious meet-
ings and assemblies.

1. NO meeting of any descrip-
tion of persons, exceeding the
number of 50 persons (other than

except any meeting of any county,
riding, or division, called by the
lord lieutenant, custos rotulorum,
or sheriff, of such county; or a
meeting called by the convener of
any county or stewardry in that
part of Great Britain called Scot-

land; or any meeting called by two or more justices of the peace of the county or place where such meeting shall be holden; or any meeting of any city or borough, or town corporate, called by the mayor or other head officer of such city, or borough, or town corporate; or any meeting of any ward or division of any city or town corporate, called by the alderman or other head-officer of such ward or division; or any meeting of any corporate body) shall be holden, for the purpose or on the pretext of considering of or preparing any petition, complaint, remonstrance, or declaration, or other address to the king, or to both houses or either house of parliament, for alteration of matters established in church or state, or for the purpose, or on the pretext of deliberating upon any grievance in church or state, unless previous notice be given by seven householders in some newspaper. The notice not to be inserted, unless the authority to do so be written at the foot thereof. The notice and authority is to be preserved, and produced to a justice if required; and a penalty of 50*l.* for inserting notice without such authority, &c.

2. Notice may be given to the clerk of the peace, who shall forthwith send a copy to the justices. Such notice to be effectual.

3. Meetings without notice to be deemed unlawful assemblies.

4. If twelve or more persons, assembled contrary to this act, shall continue together one hour after being required by a justice, &c. to disperse, they shall suffer.

5. Proclamation to be made in the following form: 3

“ Our sovereign lord the king chargeth and commandeth all persons being assembled, immediately to disperse themselves, and peaceably to depart to their habitations or to their lawful business, upon the pains contained in the act, made in the 36th year of king George the third, for the more effectually preventing seditious meetings and assemblies. God save the king.”

6. If, in meetings holden pursuant to notice, any matter shall be propounded or deliberated upon, purporting that any thing by law established may be altered except by authority of king, lords, and commons, &c. a magistrate may order them to disperse; and if 12 or more persons shall continue together an hour thereafter, they shall suffer death.

7. Justices at meetings on notice may order persons, propounding or maintaining propositions for altering any thing by law established, except by authority of the king, lords, and commons, &c. to be taken into custody; and in case of resistance may cause proclamation to be made as aforesaid; and, if 12 or more shall continue together an hour thereafter, they shall suffer death.

8. Magistrates may resort to assemblies, and act; and may require the assistance of peace officers.

9. Persons not dispersing within an hour after proclamation may be apprehended; and, if killed or maimed by reason of their resistance, the magistrate, &c. indemnified.

10. Persons obstructing magistrates attending, or going to attend, meetings, or obstructing persons proclaiming,

proclaiming, to suffer death. Persons assembled, to whom proclamation ought to have been made if the same had not been hindered, continuing together to the number of 12 or more, for an hour after such hindrance, to suffer death. Persons at such assemblies opposing the taking offenders into custody to suffer death.

11. Sheriffs depute, &c. in Scotland, to have the same power as justices, in England. Persons convicted of felonies in Scotland, to incur the pain of death and confiscation of moveables.

12. Places for lectures or debates concerning supposed public grievances, where money is paid for admission, unless previously licensed, to be deemed disorderly places; and the persons opening or using them, to forfeit 100*l.* &c. And the persons managing the proceedings, and the persons paying or receiving money for admission, or delivering or receiving tickets, to forfeit 100*l.*

13. Persons appearing as master, &c. of such places liable to prosecution.

14. Magistrates who, by information on oath, have reason to suspect that any place is open for delivering lectures, &c. may demand to be admitted; and, in case of refusal, the place to be deemed disorderly, and the person refusing admittance to forfeit 100*l.*

15. Magistrates may demand admittance to any licensed place at the time of delivering lectures, &c. and, if refused, it shall be deemed disorderly, and the person refusing admittance shall forfeit 100*l.*

16. Justices may license places for delivering lectures; and may revoke them.

17. Forfeitures to be recovered by action of debt in any of his majesty's courts of record at Westminster, or in the courts of judicary or exchequer in Scotland; provided that, if any action or suit shall be brought against any person for any thing done in pursuance and in execution of this act, the defendant may plead the general issue; and if a verdict pass for the defendant, or the plaintiff discontinue his or her action, or be nonsuited, or judgment be given against the plaintiff, then such defendant shall have treble costs.

18. Nothing in this act to extend to any lectures or discourses to be delivered in any of the universities of these kingdoms, by any member thereof, or any person authorized by the chancellor, vice-chancellor, or other proper officers of such universities respectively.

19. No payment made to any school-master or other person by law allowed to teach and instruct youth, in respect of any lectures or discourses delivered by such school-master or other person, for the instruction only of such youths as shall be committed to his instruction, shall be deemed a payment of money for admission to such lectures or discourses within the intent and meaning of this act.

20. Act not to abridge any law for the suppression of punishment of offences herein described.

21. Act to be openly read at every epiphany quarter-session of the peace, and every leet or law day.

22. No person to be prosecuted by virtue of this act, unless the prosecution shall be commenced within six calendar months after the offence committed; and no

action to be brought for any of the penalties imposed by the act, unless brought within three calendar months next after the offence committed.

23. The act to commence and have effect within the city of London, and within twenty miles thereof, from the day next after the day

of passing it; to commence and have effect within all other parts of the kingdom, from the expiration of seven days next after the day of passing it; and to continue in force for three years from the day of passing, and until the end of the then next session of parliament.

Average Prices of Corn for the Year 1796.

	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.
January	11 6	4 8	3 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 5 $\frac{1}{2}$
February	11 8 $\frac{1}{4}$	4 8 $\frac{1}{4}$	3 0 $\frac{1}{4}$	5 6 $\frac{1}{2}$
March	12 6 $\frac{1}{4}$	4 11 $\frac{1}{4}$	3 1	5 7 $\frac{3}{4}$
April	10 5 $\frac{3}{4}$	4 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 10 $\frac{3}{4}$	5 3 $\frac{3}{4}$
May	9 5 $\frac{3}{4}$	4 3 $\frac{3}{4}$	2 9	5 0
June	10 0 $\frac{3}{4}$	4 3	2 8	4 10 $\frac{1}{4}$
July	10 1	4 3	2 8	4 9
August	9 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 9 $\frac{1}{2}$
September	8 0	4 2	2 6	4 2
October	7 7	4 2	2 5	4 2
November	7 5	4 5	2 5	4 2
December	7 4	4 6	2 3 $\frac{1}{4}$	4 0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Gen. Average	9 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 5 $\frac{1}{4}$	2 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 10

STATE of the BAROMETER, THERMOMETER, and HYGROMETER, for the Year 1796.

1796.	THERMOMETER without.			THERMOMETER within.			BAROMETER.			HYGROMETER.			RAIN. Inches.
	Greatest height.	Least height.	Mean height.	Greatest height.	Least height.	Mean height.	Greatest height.	Least height.	Mean height.	Greatest height.	Least height.	Mean height.	
	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	
January —	55	38	47,5	62	51	57,2	30,32	29,00	29,72	86	73	79,3	21,28
February —	55,5	30,5	41,7	58,5	51	55	30,31	29,05	29,81	86	66	76,3	1,443
March —	59	27	41,4	60	47	54	30,44	20,50	30,03	84	58	70,7	0,074
April —	68,5	39	51,4	64,5	55	59,8	30,32	29,08	30,04	82	59	70,4	0,302
May —	64	44	54	63	57	60,4	30,22	28,94	29,73	85	63	71,4	2,301
June —	78	49	59,8	68,5	59	62,2	30,31	29,44	29,96	83	59	69,7	0,536
July —	76,5	50	62	67	60	64,1	30,18	29,37	29,79	86	61	71,2	1,904
August —	80	52	63,7	72	64	67,2	30,41	29,71	30,06	83	59	71,5	0,529
September —	78	46	61,4	72	61	66,1	30,28	29,46	29,96	88	65	75,1	1,541
October —	59	32	48,9	61	54,5	57,8	30,55	29,17	29,94	86	65	77,2	1,803
November —	57	29	42,2	60	50	54,3	30,29	29,18	29,83	88	68	80,9	1,209
December —	49	5	32,1	53	43	47,5	30,51	29,24	29,83	90	73	81,9	1,309
Whole Year	—	—	50,5	—	—	58,8	—	—	29,89	—	—	74,6	14,779

SUPPLIES granted by PARLIAMENT
for the Year 1796.

NAVY.

	Nov. 6, 1795.	£.	s.	d.
F OR 10,000 men, including 18,000 marines,		5,720,000	0	0
	DEC. 7.			
Ordinary, ———	———	624,152	1	8
Extra, ———	———	708,400	0	0
	MAY 10, 1796.			
Towards discharging the navy debt, ———		500,000	0	0
		<u>£7,552,552</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>8</u>

ARMY.

	DEC. 2, 1795.	£.	s.	d.
For 49,000 men as guards and garrisons, ———		1,358,624	2	9
Forces in the plantations, ———		1,666,900	3	6
Difference between British and Irish pay, ———		40,195	4	9
Additional to troops in the East Indies, ———		8,345	16	2
Recruiting land forces, contingencies, &c. ———		360,000	0	0
Subsistence paid to innkeepers, &c. ———		120,000	0	0
General and staff officers ———		103,642	1	3
Staff officers, &c. on general Clarke's expedition, ———		9,259	18	6
Full pay to supernumerary officers ———		127,779	14	11
Allowance to the paymaster-general, &c. ———		143,490	13	5
Reduced officers of the land forces and marines, ———		118,873	18	6
Reduced horse guards, ———		126	1	6
Officers late in the service of the states-general, ———		1,000	0	0
Reduced officers of British American forces, ———		52,500	0	0
Allowances to several officers of ditto, ———		7,500	0	0
Embodied militia and fencible infantry, ———		917,294	14	1
Contingencies for ditto, ———		210,000	0	0
Clothing for the militia, ———		108,538	17	1
Fencible cavalry, ———		470,636	19	8
Allowances for ditto ———		115,000	0	0
	DEC. 4.			
Extraordinaries, ———		2,646,990	19	10
	APRIL 26, 1796.			
Extraordinaries ———		885,673	19	10
	MAY 2.			
Scotch military roads and bridges, ———		4,500	0	0
	MAY 3.			
Subsidy to the king of Sardinia, ———		200,000	0	0
	MAY 7.			
Chelsea pensioners, ———		146,057	4	2

Widows' pensions,	—	—	10,933	16	9
	MAY 10.				
Extraordinaries for 1796,	—	—	1,350,000	0	0
Foreign troops,	—	—	438,035	3	2
Completing barracks,	—	—	290,000	0	0
			£. 11,911,899	9	10

ORDNANCE.

	DEC. 2, 1795.	£.	s.	d.
Land service for 1796,	—	—	875,488	14 1
Ditto, previous to Dec. 31, 1783,	—	—	279	4 4
Ditto, unprovided for in 1794,	—	—	45,656	0 5
Sea service, ditto,	—	—	61,000	8 9
Land service not provided for in 1795,	—	—	762,046	13 6
	APRIL 26, 1796;			
Services previous to Dec. 31, 1795, not provided for,			210,194	15 11
			£. 1,954,665	17 0

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

	DEC. 2, 1795.	£.	s.	d.
Civil establishment of Upper Canada,	—	—	7,100	0 0
Ditto, Nova Scotia,	—	—	5,415	0 0
Ditto, New Brunswick,	—	—	4,550	0 0
Ditto, St. John's Island,	—	—	1,900	0 0
Ditto, Cape Breton,	—	—	1,800	0 0
Ditto, Newfoundland,	—	—	1,232	10 0
Ditto, Bahama Islands,	—	—	4,200	0 0
Salary of the chief justice of the Bermuda Islands,	—	—	580	0 0
Ditto, of Dominica,	—	—	600	0 0
Civil establishment of New South Wales,	—	—	5,241	0 0
To discharge exchequer bills,	—	—	3,500,000	0 0
	FEB. 11, 1796.			
To discharge exchequer bills,	—	—	2,500,000	0 0
Vote of credit,	—	—	2,500,000	0 0
	MAY 2.			
To satisfy navy, victualling, and transport bills,	—	—	4,331,141	14 10
His majesty's service abroad,	—	—	233,485	4 10
French Refugees,	—	—	129,350	0 0
Allowance to American sufferers,	—	—	28,500	0 0
Prosecution, &c. relating to the coin,	—	—	2,966	4 6
Printing journals of the house of peers,	—	—	1,858	12 5
Publishing weekly returns of the average price of sugar,	—	—	1,334	7 0
Mr. Whittam for attendance on a committee,	—	—	384	7 0

Mr.

Mr. Gunnel, for ditto	—	—	51	5	0
Address money,	—	—	29,921	12	6
Convicts on the Thames,	—	—	8,685	11	4
Ditto at Langston and Portsmouth,	—	—	12,072	1	6
Expences on account of New South Wales,	—	—	15,088	7	10 $\frac{1}{4}$
Ditto, on account of Mr. Hastings' prosecution,	—	—	5,000	0	0
Purchase of the parliament office,	—	—	2,741	16	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Superintendence of the Alien Act	—	—	2,232	14	4 $\frac{3}{4}$
Stationary shipped for Upper Canada,	—	—	306	19	0 $\frac{1}{4}$
For reduction of the national debt,	—	—	200,000	0	0
American and East Florida sufferers	—	—	197,803	5	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
Ditto,	—	—	53,387	7	6
African forts,	—	—	20,000	0	0
Turkey company,	—	—	5,000	0	0
Board of Agriculture,	—	—	3,000	0	0
British Museum,	—	—	3,000	0	0
MAY 10.					
Veterinary college,	—	—	1,500	0	0
			£. 13,821,430	1	2 $\frac{1}{2}$

DEFICIENCY.

MAY 2, 1796.

Deficiency in grants in 1795,	—	—	2,347,954	10	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
Navy,	—	7,552,552	1	8	
Army,	—	11,911,899	9	10	
Ordnance,	—	1,954,665	17	0	
Miscellaneous Services,	—	13,821,430	1	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Deficiency,	—	2,347,951	10	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	
			£. 37,588,502	0	6 $\frac{1}{4}$

WAYS and MEANS for raising the Supplies for 1796.

Nov. 10, 1795.

Land and malt-tax,	—	—	2,750,000	0	0
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DEC. 8.

Annuities	—	—	18,000,000	0	0
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FEB. 11, 1796.

Exchequer Bills,	—	—	3,500,000	0	0
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FEB. 15.

Ditto,	—	—	2,500,000	0	0
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APRIL 19.

Annuities,	—	—	7,500,000	0	0
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MAY 2.

Profit of a Lottery, 600,000 tickets, at 13l.	—	—	280,000	0	0
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MAY 7.

Surplus of the consolidated fund,	—	—	3,500,000	0	0
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£. 38030,000 0 0
Public

Public Acts passed in the Sixth Session of the Seventeenth Parliament of Great Britain.

Nov. 23, 1795.

Land and malt bills.

An act to prohibit the exportation of corn, meal, &c. and to permit the importation thereof, for a limited time.

Dec. 1.

An act to prohibit for a limited time, the making of starch, hair-powder, &c. from wheat and other articles of food, and for lowering the duty on the importation of starch, &c.

An act to prohibit the exportation of candles, tallow and soap for a limited time.

Dec. 18.

An act for the safety and preservation of his majesty's person and government, against treasonable and seditious practices and attempts.

An act for the more effectually preventing seditious meetings and assemblies.

An act for the better relief of the poor in the hundreds, towns, and districts in England, incorporated for their better maintenance and employment.

Dec. 19.

An act for raising eighteen millions by way of annuities.

Dec. 24.

Mutiny bill.

An act to permit bakers to make and sell certain sorts of bread.

An act to amend so much of an act, made in the 9th year of Geo. 1. entitled, "An act for amending the laws relating to the settlement, employment, and relief of the poor," as prevents the distributing occasional relief to poor persons in their own houses, under certain circumstances and in certain cases.

March 7, 1796.

Marine mutiny bill.

An act for increasing the rates of subsistence to be granted to innkeepers and others, on quartering soldiers.

May 14.

An act for the better regulation of mills.

An act for the further support and maintenance of curates within the church of England.

May 18.

An act for continuing the encouragement and rewards of persons making certain discoveries for finding the longitude at sea, or making other useful discoveries and improvements in navigation.

An act to exempt dairies, and cheese and butter warehouses, kept solely as such, from the duties on Window lights.

N. B. The highest and lowest Prices of each Stock, in the Course of any Month, are put down in that Month.

	Bank Stock	per Ct Reduc.	3 per Ct Con.	4 per Ct Con.	5 per cents.	Long Ann.	Short Ann.	Omnium.	India Stock.	India Bonds.	S. Sea Stock.	Old Ann.	New Ann.	Navy Bills.	Exchequer Bills.	Imp. 3 pr. ct.	Imp. Ann.	Lottery Tickets.	Irish Ditto.
Jan.	180	67 $\frac{1}{4}$	71	85 $\frac{3}{8}$	104 $\frac{1}{4}$	19 $\frac{5}{8}$	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	11 pr.	219 $\frac{1}{4}$	5 dis.	73 $\frac{3}{4}$	68 $\frac{7}{8}$	68 $\frac{7}{8}$	4 $\frac{5}{8}$ dis.	7s. dis.	65 $\frac{7}{8}$	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	14 18	0
Feb.	173 $\frac{1}{4}$	69 $\frac{3}{8}$	69 $\frac{1}{4}$	83 $\frac{3}{4}$	100 $\frac{3}{8}$	19 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ pr.	212 $\frac{1}{4}$	6 dis.	73	68 $\frac{1}{2}$	68 $\frac{7}{8}$	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ dis.	21s. dis.	63 $\frac{7}{8}$	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	14 7	0
March.	173 $\frac{1}{4}$	67 $\frac{3}{8}$	67 $\frac{1}{4}$	83 $\frac{3}{4}$	99 $\frac{3}{8}$	19 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ pr.	211 $\frac{1}{4}$	13	72 $\frac{3}{4}$	68 $\frac{1}{4}$	63 $\frac{7}{8}$	4 $\frac{5}{8}$ dis.	16s. dis.	63 $\frac{7}{8}$	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	14 15	0
April.	179	68	70	85 $\frac{3}{8}$	100 $\frac{3}{8}$	19 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	11 $\frac{1}{2}$ pr.	220	4 dis.	74	68 $\frac{1}{4}$	66 $\frac{1}{4}$	5 $\frac{1}{2}$ dis.	23s. dis.	66 $\frac{1}{4}$	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	13 18	0
May.	173	68	67 $\frac{1}{4}$	84 $\frac{1}{2}$	99 $\frac{3}{8}$	19 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	10 $\frac{1}{4}$ pr.	212 $\frac{3}{4}$	14	72 $\frac{3}{4}$	69	65 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 $\frac{5}{8}$ dis.	10s. dis.	64 $\frac{1}{4}$	12 $\frac{1}{2}$		
June.	176	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	69 $\frac{5}{8}$	85 $\frac{3}{8}$	100 $\frac{3}{8}$	19 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	6	208 $\frac{1}{4}$	3 dis.	73 $\frac{1}{4}$	66 $\frac{5}{8}$	69	6 $\frac{1}{4}$ dis.	23s. dis.	65 $\frac{1}{2}$	12 $\frac{1}{2}$		
July.	163	64 $\frac{7}{8}$	66 $\frac{1}{4}$	81	98 $\frac{3}{8}$	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ pr.	210	21 dis.	70 $\frac{3}{4}$	69	66 $\frac{5}{8}$	5 $\frac{1}{2}$ dis.	4s. dis.	65 $\frac{1}{2}$	12 $\frac{1}{2}$		
August.	164	65 $\frac{1}{4}$	67 $\frac{1}{8}$	83	98 $\frac{3}{8}$	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	par	210	18	70 $\frac{3}{4}$	69	66 $\frac{5}{8}$	4 $\frac{5}{8}$ dis.	1s. dis.	65 $\frac{1}{2}$	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	12 13	0
Sept.	147	60 $\frac{1}{2}$	65 $\frac{3}{4}$	81	94 $\frac{3}{4}$	17 $\frac{3}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 $\frac{3}{4}$ dis.	192	17 dis.	70 $\frac{3}{4}$	69	66 $\frac{5}{8}$	4 $\frac{5}{8}$ dis.	4s. dis.	67 $\frac{3}{4}$	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	12 8	0
Oct.	152	61 $\frac{1}{4}$	65 $\frac{3}{4}$	80	95 $\frac{1}{2}$	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 $\frac{3}{4}$ dis.	198 $\frac{1}{2}$	16 dis.	70 $\frac{3}{4}$	69	66 $\frac{5}{8}$	4 $\frac{5}{8}$ dis.	1s. dis.	60 $\frac{7}{8}$	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	12 8	0
Nov.	154 $\frac{1}{4}$	62 $\frac{3}{8}$	64	80	92	17 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 $\frac{3}{4}$ dis.	190 $\frac{1}{2}$	16 dis.	70 $\frac{3}{4}$	69	66 $\frac{5}{8}$	4 $\frac{5}{8}$ dis.	1s. dis.	57 $\frac{7}{8}$	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	12 8	0
Dec.	150 $\frac{1}{4}$	59 $\frac{3}{8}$	59 $\frac{1}{4}$	77 $\frac{1}{2}$	88 $\frac{3}{8}$	16 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 $\frac{3}{4}$ dis.	180 $\frac{1}{2}$	13	70 $\frac{3}{4}$	69	66 $\frac{5}{8}$	4 $\frac{5}{8}$ dis.	10s. dis.	58 $\frac{1}{2}$	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	12 16	0
Jan.	153	61 $\frac{1}{8}$	60 $\frac{1}{4}$	79 $\frac{1}{4}$	88 $\frac{3}{4}$	17 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	13 dis.	183 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 dis.	71 $\frac{1}{4}$	60 $\frac{1}{2}$	59 $\frac{3}{8}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ dis.	par.	57 $\frac{1}{8}$	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	12 1	0
Feb.	142	56	55 $\frac{1}{4}$	74 $\frac{1}{4}$	85 $\frac{1}{2}$	16 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 $\frac{1}{4}$	6	174 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 dis.	71 $\frac{1}{4}$	60	59 $\frac{3}{8}$	9 $\frac{1}{4}$ dis.	2s. dis.	55 $\frac{3}{8}$	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	12 16	0
March.	148 $\frac{1}{4}$	56 $\frac{1}{4}$	55 $\frac{3}{8}$	75	85 $\frac{1}{2}$	16 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 $\frac{1}{4}$	16 $\frac{1}{2}$ dis.	180 $\frac{1}{4}$	10	71 $\frac{1}{4}$	55 $\frac{7}{8}$	57	15 $\frac{1}{4}$ dis.	3s. dis.	51 $\frac{1}{2}$	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	11 13	0
April.	133 $\frac{1}{4}$	55 $\frac{3}{8}$	53 $\frac{1}{4}$	72 $\frac{1}{4}$	81 $\frac{1}{2}$	15 $\frac{1}{8}$	6 $\frac{7}{8}$	9 $\frac{1}{2}$ dis.	171 $\frac{1}{4}$	3 dis.	64 $\frac{1}{8}$	58 $\frac{1}{4}$	56	13 $\frac{1}{4}$ dis.	2s. dis.	55 $\frac{3}{8}$	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	11 4	0
May.	133 $\frac{1}{4}$	55 $\frac{3}{8}$	53 $\frac{1}{4}$	72 $\frac{1}{4}$	81 $\frac{1}{2}$	15 $\frac{1}{8}$	6 $\frac{7}{8}$	9 $\frac{1}{2}$ dis.	171 $\frac{1}{4}$	3 dis.	64 $\frac{1}{8}$	58 $\frac{1}{4}$	56	13 $\frac{1}{4}$ dis.	2s. dis.	55 $\frac{3}{8}$	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	11 4	0
June.	153	60 $\frac{3}{8}$	60	73 $\frac{1}{4}$	90 $\frac{1}{4}$	14 $\frac{1}{4}$	7	13 $\frac{1}{2}$ dis.	181	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	64 $\frac{1}{8}$	58 $\frac{1}{4}$	56	13 $\frac{1}{4}$ dis.	2s. dis.	55 $\frac{3}{8}$	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	11 17	0
July.	144	55 $\frac{3}{8}$	57	73 $\frac{1}{4}$	87 $\frac{1}{4}$	14 $\frac{1}{4}$	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	6	174 $\frac{1}{4}$	15	64 $\frac{1}{8}$	58 $\frac{1}{4}$	56	13 $\frac{1}{4}$ dis.	2s. dis.	55 $\frac{3}{8}$	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	11 17	0
August.	146 $\frac{1}{4}$	56 $\frac{3}{8}$	57 $\frac{1}{2}$	73 $\frac{1}{4}$	87 $\frac{1}{4}$	14 $\frac{1}{4}$	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	13 dis.	178 $\frac{1}{4}$	15	64 $\frac{1}{8}$	58 $\frac{1}{4}$	56	13 $\frac{1}{4}$ dis.	2s. dis.	55 $\frac{3}{8}$	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	11 17	0
Sept.	142	54 $\frac{5}{8}$	55 $\frac{5}{8}$	71 $\frac{1}{2}$	83 $\frac{1}{2}$	15 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 $\frac{1}{4}$ dis.	172 $\frac{1}{4}$	15	64 $\frac{1}{8}$	58 $\frac{1}{4}$	56	13 $\frac{1}{4}$ dis.	2s. dis.	55 $\frac{3}{8}$	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	11 16	0
Oct.	145 $\frac{1}{4}$	57 $\frac{5}{8}$	59 $\frac{1}{4}$	74 $\frac{1}{2}$	88 $\frac{1}{2}$	16 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 $\frac{1}{4}$ dis.	177 $\frac{1}{4}$	4 dis.	62 $\frac{1}{2}$	58 $\frac{1}{4}$	56	13 $\frac{1}{4}$ dis.	2s. dis.	55 $\frac{3}{8}$	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	12 11	0
Nov.	143	54 $\frac{5}{8}$	56 $\frac{3}{8}$	72 $\frac{1}{4}$	85 $\frac{3}{8}$	15 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 $\frac{1}{4}$ dis.	173 $\frac{1}{4}$	4 dis.	62 $\frac{1}{2}$	58 $\frac{1}{4}$	56	13 $\frac{1}{4}$ dis.	2s. dis.	55 $\frac{3}{8}$	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	12 2	0

Trial of Mr. William Stone, for High Treason.

THURSDAY, Jan. 28, came on in the court of king's bench the trial of Mr. W. Stone, who has been under confinement for two years, on a charge of high treason: About eighty names were called over before the jury was formed as follows :

J. Leader, gent.	W. Summer, silversmith
J. Mayhew, esq.	J. Larkin, oilman
J. Etherington, teaman	Peter Taylor, block-maker
T. Cole, brewer	W. West, brewer
Cha. Minier, seedsman	I. Dimsdale, coach-maker.
Dan. Dyson, esq.	
T. Burnett, esq.	

Mr. Barlow read the indictment, which consisted of two counts, including fourteen overtacts of treason; charging the prisoner with traitorously conspiring with his brother John Hurford Stone (then in France) to destroy the life of the king, and to raise rebellion in his realms; with holding correspondence with the persons in power in France, and collecting the sense of the people of this country, in order to ascertain whether an invasion might be successfully attempted, and with sending such information to the enemy. He was further charged with traitorously corresponding with the rev. Mr. Jackson (some time since capitally convicted of high treason, who died before the day of execution), in learning the probable success of invading Ireland; and with having sent intelligence and various useful articles to the enemy.

The attorney-general then stated the circumstances of the case at full length; the leading features

of which appeared to be, that Stone had a brother, J. H. Stone, settled at Paris, who considered himself, in fact, as a Frenchman; which appeared particularly from one of his letters, in which he said "*We have declared war against you. Holland will soon be in our possession, and England will afterwards follow.*" With this brother, by means of Jackson lately convicted of high treason in Ireland, Stone kept up a correspondence, and gave him all the information he could procure, to be communicated to the French government, as to the probability of success which might attend an invasion of England by France. In the course of this enquiry it appeared that Stone had communications with Mr. Sheridan, lord Lauderdale, William Smith, esq. M. P. and others; and that from the information he obtained he became satisfied that from the general loyalty of the people here an invasion was by no means likely to succeed. But that in Ireland success was more probable. Jackson was accordingly sent there, and supplied with money by Stone to obtain such intelligence; and to lay such plans as might tend to assist the views of the French. It appeared that Stone communicated to his brother the little prospect of the success of an invasion here, in order to dissuade those exercising the powers of government in France from undertaking a scheme likely to be so fatal to their interests.

The attorney-general alluded to several letters between the prisoner under the fictitious name of Enofs (Stone reversed) his brother, Jackson (in the name of Popkins), Horne Tooke, and others; all tending to shew the criminality of the

the prisoner; concluding a very able and argumentative speech by observing, that the counsel for the prisoner might say, that he had acted for the interest of England, inasmuch as, instead of promoting, he had prevented an invasion! But how could that be said? for if he knew of an intention of invasion, and had not communicated his knowledge to those most bound and most competent to counteract it, he prevented his country from gaining a decisive advantage, by the loss that would accrue to the enemy from their failure; and by forewarning them, he proved himself equally their friend, and the enemy of England: if he had been for England, the way was very short; but his conduct clearly shewed he had been for France. It therefore remained with the defendant to make his innocence appear. His property, his honour, and his life, depended now on his conviction or his acquittal. The jury were invested with a very solemn and very important duty. They were called upon to grant equal justice to the defendant, and to society. As they must guard themselves against any impressions which the misrepresentations of the prosecutors might make upon their minds, so must they have an equal guard against any false impressions made by the counsel for the defendant. In the deliverance they were to make, if the evidence was inconclusive, they would readily acquit him; but if the proofs were satisfactory, the country called for his conviction.

William Smith, esq. M. P. Mr. Sheridan, and lord Lauderdale, were called as witnesses to relate some conversations they had with

Stone on the subject of the state of this country; the general result of which appeared to be, that they considered him as a weak enthusiast, who was desirous of bringing about a peace, for the sake of favouring what he considered principles of freedom.

Having proved the conspiracy between Jackson and Stone, several letters of the former were produced, particularly one which pointed out the particular parts of Ireland most favourable to an invasion by the French, and Mr. Cockayne, the evidence against Jackson in Ireland, was called, and stated the whole of his connection with Jackson, nearly the same as he did on that trial.

At half past ten the court, with consent of counsel, adjourned to nine o'clock the next day. And at nine on Friday morning, the court proceeded on the trial.

The first evidence produced was a parcel of letters from the prisoner to Mr. Pitt; in which Stone pretended to make some discoveries, as to the designs of the French, by garbled extracts from his brother's letters, which were themselves produced, to shew the unfairness of the prisoner's conduct in this particular. A letter from Mr. Pitt was read, expressing his doubts as to the authenticity of the prisoner's information.

The counsel for the crown then proved the correspondence between the prisoner and Jackson in Ireland; which being read, closed the evidence for the prosecution.

Mr. Serjeant Adair then rose to open the evidence for the prisoner, and to observe on that for the prosecution. The former consisted only of evidence to character—the

the latter the learned serjeant entered into a long and accurate discussion; in a very elaborate, feeling, and interesting manner. He began by observing, that the jury were called upon to discharge a most important, sacred, and awful duty. They were entrusted, on the one hand, with the vindication of the laws of their country, and the safety of the community, of which they themselves formed a part; while the fortune, the character, and the life of a fellow-subject, were committed to their deliberation on the other. The dearest interests of the unfortunate man at the bar were in their hands! He must call him unfortunate, for whether guilty or innocent of the crime with which he was charged, no man in his situation, and having submitted to the sufferings to which he had been subject, let the innocence of his heart be as pure as it might, could be called fortunate. The verdict of the jury might put his life out of danger, and restore to him that liberty to which he had long been a stranger; but no verdict of theirs could place him in the situation he was in on the day before he was apprehended.

After endeavouring to explain the motives which might probably actuate the prisoner, as arising from vanity or affectation of consequence, Mr. serjeant Adair proceeded to state what he considered as the outline of the facts of the case, in the following close and ingenious way—"A person of the name of Jackson came over from France by the way of Hull, in the character of an American merchant, with letters of recommendation from Mr. J. H. Stone, to Mr. W. Stone, the prisoner. Mr. Stone,

during his residence in London, shewed him some civilities, and advanced him money on his brother's account.

"Soon after he went over to Ireland, where he was tried and convicted of high treason, and died; and during his residence in Ireland, Mr. Stone furnished him with some statements of the internal situation of this kingdom. The question for the decision of the jury then was, whether, under these facts, they were persuaded, from what Stone knew of Jackson, that he gave Jackson these statements as information for the enemy, with the criminal intention stated in the indictment; or for the purpose of averting an impending calamity from his country? The facts were clear as sunshine, and this was the only question that arose upon them. He called upon them, therefore, to consider, whether there was sufficient evidence of an overt act of treason, and if there was, it was not the encouraging of an invasion, but the prevention of that event, from which so much evil would have been consequent. Jackson was convicted of high treason, in persuading the French to invade this country; whereas the prisoner was accused of high treason, and the overt act with which he was charged was preventing an invasion. But if the motive for causing an invasion was criminal, how could the motive for preventing an invasion be criminal also?

The learned serjeant then went at length into the evidence produced; and concluded by calling several witnesses to prove the publicity with which Mr. Stone com-

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municated

municated the correspondence of his brother, not only to friends, but to strangers;—a circumstance totally incompatible with that guilt with which he was charged. He also called very respectable evidence, that so far from his harbouring treason to the country, he, on the reverse, was loyal to his king, and a firm friend to the constitution. Several persons were then called, all of whom gave evidence to the prisoner's good character, and some to the circumstance of the publicity used relative to his correspondence with his brother.

Mr. Erskine then addressed the jury considerably at length on the whole of the case; as did also the solicitor-general in reply, on behalf of the crown; but our limits will not allow us to lay them before our readers.

Lord Kenyon summed up the evidence. He was for tempering justice with mercy; but this maxim could not sanction the court in suffering a criminal to escape, if it were proved that he had grossly offended the law. He rested wholly on the second count, which stated an adhering to the enemies of the crown. He quoted the opinion of the late Lord Mansfield, that letters sent to a power at war, instructing them how to shape their efforts, came under this branch of the statutes, and are an overt act of high treason. His lordship read to the jury what he called the two emphatically important papers; the letters of Mr. Smith and Mr. Vaughan. There was no criminality, he admitted, in either of those letters; the only guilt was in transmitting them to the enemy. His lordship went over the whole with remarks, and concluded a strong and warm charge, by put-

ting those papers into the hands of the jury, leaving it to them to judge of the intention of the prisoner from the overt acts.

Mr. justice Lawrence remarked, it was for the consideration of the jury, whether the information sent through Jackson to France, had for its object a design of serving the French, or averting an invasion.

About eight o'clock the jury took some refreshment, and then retired to consider of their verdict.

The judges, except Mr. justice Ashurst, who retired, took some refreshment on the bench, where they remained till eleven o'clock; when the jury returned, bringing in the prisoner—NOT GUILTY.

The words were scarcely pronounced, when an instantaneous and unanimous shout arose in the court, which was loudly joined by a numerous crowd in the hall. A gentleman, named Richard Thomson, was observed to have joined in the shout, and was immediately ordered by his lordship into the custody of Mr. Kirby. Mr. Thomson apologised to the court, by saying, that his feelings on the joyful occasion were such, that if he had not given utterance to the joy which arose within his breast, he should have died on the spot.

Lord Kenyon replied, that it was his duty to suppress the emotions of such tumultuous joy, which drew contempt on the dignity of the court. His lordship ordered that he should pay a fine of 20l. for his misconduct, and remain in custody till payment.

Mr. Thomson tendered his check for the sum, but this was refused, and he was taken into custody.

The crowd without caught the spirit of those within; and the hall, as the judges retired, was filled with acclamations of joy. A de-

A detainer was lodged against Mr. Stone for a considerable debt; immediately after this acquittal. He was, however, liberated from his confinement in Newgate on Saturday the 13th of February following.

Petition of Sir Francis Blake to the House of Commons, presented by Mr. Grey, 8th February, 1796.

To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled.

The humble Petition of the subscribing party,

Prayeth,

That your petitioner may be permitted by this honourable house to sketch, for their consideration, the outline of an arrangement, which takes for its aim the political salvation of this country, the happiness of the community at large; and of every individual, and which proposes to work its effect by means, which are apparently, both easy, certain, safe, and honourable. And your petitioner further prayeth, that it may be permitted him to state to this honourable house, for the purpose of their more ready determination; the reasons which have influenced him to suppose the arrangement in question to be fraught with the benefits suggested by him—which are briefly as follow:

That from sources of information the best within his reach, it has appeared to the complete satisfaction of your petitioner—That trade is not an object, which by any possible human contrivance can be made amenable to the payment of any tax, that can affect the parties concerned in its management, inasmuch as the parties

so concerned, can always contrive to relieve themselves by shifting the weight, which in that case must ultimately and principally fall upon the proprietors of land, who have no such means of shifting the weight.

That uniformly as the trade of the nation has more or less flourished, the territorial rental has, in like manner, and in some such proportion, been observed to advance.

That in the year sixteen hundred, the territorial rental did not exceed six millions per annum.

That from the year sixteen hundred and eighty-eight, under all the difficulties and distresses of the intervening space, the trade of the country increased, and the rental advanced from six to fourteen millions per annum.

Computing, therefore, by the vast increase of trade, from the period last named to the present time, comprising a series of years for the most part favourable, the final result must be, that the present rental cannot reasonably be supposed to fall short of fifty millions per annum; which led of course to the following conclusions:

That the way to advance the land is to give every possible encouragement to trade.

That the way to depress the land is to burden trade.

That to burden trade is, in effect, to burden land besides depressing it.

Taking, therefore, the present territorial rental at fifty millions per annum; the funded rental at ten millions; the two together at sixty millions per annum; the present payments to government at fifteen millions per annum; the pressure of those payments on the rental named; as authorised by general acknowledgment, at fifteen shillings in the pound, your petitioner

tioner proceeded to reason upon those data as follows:

If it be true that the territorial and funded rental is sixty millions per annum,

Then is it true, also, that five shillings in the pound, on such a rental, will raise a revenue of fifteen millions.

If it be true that we now pay ten shillings in the pound to raise a revenue of fifteen millions,

Then is it true also, that we pay five shillings in the pound more than we have any occasion to pay.

If it be true that the trading part of the nation can always contrive to create for themselves an exemption from state burdens,

Then it is true also, that the landed and funded proprietors are, and have all along, to their irreparable loss, been the principal, if not the sole paymasters of all imposts, and consequently that little or no injury will be done to that body of men, but that great and lasting advantage will accrue to them, and to their posterity, by changing the mode, as here proposed, of collecting the revenue.

Your petitioner, therefore, most humbly prays, that he may be permitted and authorised to charge his real estates with the payment of thirty thousand pounds, or with the payment of such other sum, be the same more or less, as may be ascertained by this honourable house, to be his proportionate share of the public debt, supposing the said public debt to be parcelled out for payment among the several proprietors of lands, houses, mines, waters, tythes, rents, in any way arising therefrom, monies so secured, and public funds.

And your petitioner further prays, that his said estates may be

made subject to the payment of interest on the sum to be so charged as above, at the rate of four pounds; per cent, or any other rate of interest, be the same more or less, which may appear to this honourable house to be his proportionate share of the annual charge of the said public debt, supposing the same to be transferred as aforesaid.

And your petitioner further prays, that he may be permitted and authorised to pay in future his proportionate share of the civil list and peace establishment, by an annual pound rate, the quantum of which pound rate to be ascertained by this honourable house, in like manner as before has been mentioned.

And your petitioner further prays, that as often as the exigencies of government may provide a further aid, he may be permitted and authorised to pay his proportionate share of the same, by such an additional pound rate as may be ascertained by this honourable house to be sufficient to accumulate the sum which would fall to his lot of payment, supposing the whole annual supply to be raised within the year, and parcelled out for payment among the several proprietors aforesaid.

And your petitioner further prays, that he may be permitted and authorised to make such temporary and such permanent payments, as have been severally named and assented to on his part, by half yearly instalments, and that the same may be declared to be accepted in full satisfaction of his proportionate share of all taxes, customs, duties, and parliamentary imposts, laid already, or which may be laid on the subjects of this country, or their concerns. And your petitioner shall ever pray.

FRANCIS BLAKE.
STATE

STATE PAPERS.

*His Majesty's most gracious Speech
to both Houses of Parliament, 19th
May, 1796.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE public business being now concluded, I think it proper to close this session, and at the same time to acquaint you with my intention of giving immediate directions for calling a new parliament.

The objects which have engaged your attention during the present session, have been of peculiar importance; and the measures which you have adopted, have manifested your continued regard to the safety and welfare of the people.

The happiest effects have been experienced from the provisions which you have made for repressing sedition and civil tumult, and for restraining the progress of principles subversive of all established government.

The difficulties arising to my subjects from the high price of corn, have formed a principal object of your deliberation; and your assiduity in investigating that subject, has strongly proved your anxious desire to omit nothing which could tend to the relief of my people, in a matter of such general concern. I have the greatest satisfaction in observing that the pressure of those difficulties is in a great degree removed.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I must in a more particular man-

ner return you my thanks for the liberal supplies which you have granted to meet the exigencies of the war.—While I regret the extent of those demands which the present circumstances necessarily occasion, it is a great consolation to me to observe the increasing resources by which the country is enabled to support them. These resources are particularly manifested in the state of the different branches of the revenue, in the continued and progressive state of our navigation and commerce, in the steps which have been taken for maintaining and improving the public credit, and in the additional provision which has been made for the reduction of the national debt.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I shall ever reflect with heartfelt satisfaction on the uniform wisdom, temper, and firmness which have appeared in all your proceedings since I first met you in this place. Called to deliberate on the public affairs of your country in a period of foreign and domestic tranquillity, you had the happiness of contributing to raise this kingdom to a state of unexampled prosperity. You were suddenly compelled to relinquish the full advantages of this situation, in order to resist the unprovoked aggression of an enemy whose hostility was directed against all civil society, but more particularly against this

happy union of order and liberty established in these kingdoms. The nature of the system introduced into France, afforded to that country, in the midst of its calamities, the means of exertion beyond the experience of any former time. Under the pressure of the new and unprecedented difficulties arising from such a contest, you have shewn yourselves worthy of all the blessings that you inherit. By your counsels and conduct, the constitution has been preserved inviolate against the designs of foreign and domestic enemies; the honor of the British name has been asserted; the rank and station which we have hitherto held in Europe has been maintained; and the decided superiority of our naval power has been established in every quarter of the world.

You have omitted no opportunity to prove your just anxiety for the re-establishment of general peace on secure and honourable terms, but you have at the same time rendered it manifest to the world, that while our enemies shall persist in dispositions incompatible with that object, neither the resources nor the spirit of Englishmen will be wanting to the support of a just cause, and to the defence of all their dearest interests.

A due sense of this conduct is deeply impressed on my heart. I trust that all my subjects are animated with the same sentiment, and that their loyalty and public spirit will ensure the continuance of that union and mutual confidence between me and my parliament, which best promote the true dignity and glory of my crown, and the genuine happiness of my people.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech to both Houses of Parliament, 6th October, 1796.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT is a peculiar satisfaction to me, in the present conjuncture of affairs, to recur to your advice, after the recent opportunity which has been given for collecting the sense of my people, engaged in a difficult and arduous contest, for the preservation of all that is most dear to us.

I have omitted no endeavours for setting on foot negotiations to restore peace to Europe, and to secure for the future the general tranquillity. The steps which I have taken for this purpose have at length opened the way to an immediate and direct negotiation, the issue of which must either produce the desirable end of a just, honourable, and solid peace for us, and for our allies, or must prove, beyond dispute, to what cause alone the prolongation of the calamities of war must be ascribed.

I shall immediately send a person to Paris, with full powers to treat for this object, and it is my anxious wish that this measure may lead to the restoration of general peace: but you must be sensible that nothing can so much contribute to give effect to this desire, as your manifesting that we possess both the determination and the resources to oppose, with increased activity and energy, the farther efforts with which we may have to contend.

You will feel this peculiarly necessary at a moment when the enemy has openly manifested the intention of attempting a descent on these kingdoms. It cannot be doubted

what would be the issue of such an enterprize; but it befits your wisdom to neglect no precautions that may either preclude the attempt, or secure the speediest means of turning it to the confusion and ruin of the enemy.

In reviewing the events of the year, you will have observed that by the skill and exertions of my navy, our extensive and increasing commerce has been protected to a degree almost beyond example, and the fleets of the enemy have, for the greatest part of the year, been blocked up in their own ports.

The operations in the East and West Indies have been highly honourable to the British arms, and productive of great national advantage; and the valour and good conduct of my forces, both by sea and land, have been eminently conspicuous.

The fortune of war on the continent has been more various; and the progress of the French armies threatened, at one period, the utmost danger to all Europe; but from the honourable and dignified perseverance of my ally the Emperor, and from the intrepidity, discipline, and invincible spirit of the Austrian forces, under the auspicious conduct of the archduke Charles, such a turn has lately been given to the course of the war, as may inspire a well-grounded confidence that the final result of the campaign will prove more disastrous to the enemy than its commencement and progress for a time were favourable to their hopes.

The apparently hostile dispositions and conduct of the court of Madrid have led to discussions, of which I am not yet enabled to ac-

quaint you with the final result; but I am confident that whatever may be their issue, I shall have given to Europe a farther proof of my moderation and forbearance; and I can have no doubt of your determination to defend against every aggression, the dignity, rights, and interests, of the British empire.

Gentlemen of the house of Commons,

I rely on your zeal and public spirit for such supplies as you may think necessary for the service of the year. It is a great satisfaction to me to observe, that, notwithstanding the temporary embarrassments which have been experienced, the state of the commerce, manufactures, and revenue, of the country, proves the real extent and solidity of our resources, and furnishes you with such means as must be equal to any exertions which the present crisis may require.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The distresses which were in the last year experienced from the scarcity of corn, are now, by the blessing of God, happily removed, and an abundant harvest affords the pleasing prospect of relief in that important article, to the labouring classes of the community. Our internal tranquillity has also continued undisturbed; the general attachment of my people to the British constitution has appeared on every occasion, and the endeavours of those who wished to introduce anarchy and confusion into this country, have been repressed by the energy and wisdom of the laws.

To defeat all the designs of our enemies, to restore to my people the blessings of a secure and honourable peace, to maintain inviolate their religion, laws, and liberty, and to deliver down unimpaired to the latest posterity, the glory and happiness of these kingdoms, is the constant wish of my heart, and the uniform end of all my actions. In every measure that can conduce to these objects, I am confident of receiving the firm, zealous and affectionate support of my parliament.

Protest of Earl Fitzwilliam against the Address of the House of Lords to the Throne on his Majesty's Speech announcing the opening of a Negotiation for Peace with the French Republic.

Dissentient,

1st. Because, by this address, amended as it stands, the sanction of the lords is given to a series of measures, as ill judged, with regard to their object, as they are derogatory from the dignity of his majesty's crown, and from the honour of this kingdom. The reiteration of solicitations for peace to a species of power, with whose very existence all fair and equitable accommodation is incompatible, can have no other effect than that which it is notorious all our solicitations have hitherto had. They must increase the arrogance and ferocity of the common enemy of all nations; they must fortify the credit, and fix the authority of an odious government over an enslaved people; they must impair the confidence of all other powers in the magnanimity, constancy, and fidelity of the British councils; and it is much to be apprehended it will

inevitably tend to break the spring of that energy, and to lower that spirit which has characterised in former times this high-minded nation, and which, far from sinking under misfortune, has even risen with the difficulties and dangers in which our country has been involved.

2d. Because no peace, such as may be capable of recruiting the strength, economising the means, augmenting the resources, and providing for the safety of this kingdom, and its inseparable connections and dependencies, can be had with the usurped power now exercising authority in France, considering the description, the character, and the conduct, of those who compose that government; the methods by which they have obtained their power, the policy by which they hold it, and the maxims they have adopted, openly professed, and uniformly acted on, towards the destruction of all governments not formed on their model, and subservient to their domination.

3d. Because the idea that this kingdom is competent to defend itself, its laws, liberties, and religion, under the general subjugation of all Europe, is presumptuous in the extreme, contradictory to the supposed motives for our present eager solicitations for peace, and is certainly contrary to the standing policy both of state and commerce, by which Great Britain has hitherto flourished.

4th. Because, while the common enemy exercises his power over the several states of Europe in the way we have seen, it is impossible long to preserve our trade, or, what cannot exist without it,

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our naval power. This hostile system seizes on the keys of the dominions of these powers, without any consideration of their friendship, their enmity, or their neutrality; prescribes laws to them as to conquered provinces; mulcts and fines them at pleasure; forces them, without any particular quarrel, into direct hostility with this kingdom, and expels us from such ports and markets as she thinks fit; in-somuch that (Europe remaining under its present slavery) there is no harbour which we can enter without her permission, either in a commercial or a naval character. This general interdict cannot be begged off; we must resist it by our power, or we are already in a state of vassalage.

5th. Because, whilst this usurped power shall continue thus constituted, and thus disposed, no security whatever can be hoped for in our colonies and plantations, those invaluable sources of our national wealth and our naval power. This war has shewn that the power prevalent in France, by intentionally disorganizing the plantation system (which France had in common with all other European nations), and by inverting the order and relations therein established, has been able, with a naval force, altogether contemptible, and with very inconsiderable succours from Europe, to baffle in a great measure the most powerful armament ever sent from this country into the West Indies, and at an expence hitherto unparalleled, and has, by the force of example, and by the effects of her machinations, produced, at little or no expence to herself either of blood or treasure, universal desolation and ruin, by the general destruction of every thing

valuable and necessary for cultivation, throughout several of our islands, lately among the most flourishing and productive. The new system, by which these things have been effected, leaves our colonies equally endangered in peace as in war. It is therefore with this general system (of which the West India scheme is but a ramification) that all ancient establishments are essentially at war for the sake of self-preservation.

6th. Because it has been declared from the throne, and in effect the principle has been adopted by parliament, that there was no way likely to obtain a peace, commonly safe and honourable, but through the ancient and legitimate government long established in France. That government in its lawful succession has been solemnly recognized, and assistance and protection as solemnly promised to those Frenchmen who should exert themselves in its restoration. The political principle upon which this recognition was made is very far from being weakened by the conduct of the newly invented government. Nor are our obligations of good faith, pledged on such strong motives of policy to those who have been found in their allegiance dissolved, nor can they be so, until fairly directed efforts have been made to secure this great fundamental point. None have yet been employed with the smallest degree of vigour and perseverance.

7th. Because the example of the great change made by the usurpation in the moral and political world (more dangerous than all her conquests) is by the present procedure confirmed in all its force. It is the first successful example furnished by history of the subversion

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of the ancient government of a great country, and of all its laws, orders, and religion, by the corruption of mercenary armies, and by the seduction of a multitude bribed by confiscation to sedition, in defiance of the sense, and to the entire destruction of almost the whole proprietary body of the nation. The fatal effects of this example must be felt in every country. New means, new arms, new pretexts, are furnished to ambition; and new persons are intoxicated with that poison.

8th. Because our eagerness in suing for peace may induce the persons exercising power in France erroneously to believe, that we act from necessity, and are unable to continue the war; a persuasion which, in the event of an actual peace, will operate as a temptation to them to renew that conduct which brought on the present war, neither shall we have any of the usual securities in peace. In their treaties they do not acknowledge the obligation of that law, which for ages has been common to all Europe. They have not the same sentiments nor the same ideas of their interest in the conservation of peace, which have hitherto influenced all regular governments; they do not in the same manner feel public distress, or the private misery of their subjects; they will not find the same difficulty on the commencement of a new war to call their whole force into sudden action, where, by the law, every citizen is a soldier, and the person and properties of all are liable at once to arbitrary requisitions. On the other hand, no attempt has been made to shew in what manner, whether by alliances, by force, military or naval, or by the improvement and augmentation of

our finances, we shall be better able to resist their hostile attempts, after the peace, than at the present hour. If we remain armed, we cannot reap the ordinary advantage of peace in œconomy; if we disarm, we shall be subject to be driven into a new war, under every circumstance of disadvantage, unless we now prepare ourselves to suffer with patience and submission whatever insults, indignities, and injuries, we may receive from that insolent, domineering, and unjust power.

9th. Because the inability of humbling ourselves again to solicit peace, in a manner, which is a recognition of the French republic, contrary to all the principles of war, the danger of peace if obtained, the improbability of its duration, and the perseverance of the enemy throughout the interval of peace in their mischievous system, is not conjecture, but certainty. It has been avowed by the actual governors of France, at the very moment when they had before them our application for a passport. They chose that moment for publishing a state paper, breathing the most hostile mind. In it they stimulate and goad us by language the most opprobrious and offensive. They frankly tell us, that it is not our interest to desire peace, for that they regard peace only as the opportunity of preparing fresh means for the annihilation of our naval power. By making peace they do not conceal that it will be their object—"to wrest from us our maritime preponderancy—to re-establish what they invidiously call the freedom of the seas; to give a new impulse to the Spanish, Dutch, and French marines; and to carry to the highest degree of prosperity

prosperity the industry and commerce of those nations," which they state to be our rivals, which they charge us with "unjustly attacking, when we can no longer lute," and which they throughout contemplate as their own dependencies, united in arms, and furnishing resources for our future humiliation and destruction. They resort to that well known and constant allusion of their's to ancient history, by which representing "France as modern Rome, and England as modern Carthage," they accuse us of national perfidy, and hold England up, "as an object to be blotted out from the face of the earth." They falsely assert that the English nation supports with impatience the continuance of the war, and has extorted all his Majesty's overtures for peace "by complaints and reproaches;" and, above all, not only in that passage, but throughout their official note, they shew the most marked adherence to that insidious and intolerable policy of their system, by which they, from the commencement of the revolution, sought to trouble and subvert all the governments in Europe. They studiously disjoin the English nation from its sovereign.

10th. Because, having acted throughout the course of this awful and momentous crisis upon the principles herein expressed, and after having, on the present occasion, not only fully reconsidered, and jealously examined their soundness and validity, but gravely attended to, and scrupulously weighed the merits of all those arguments which have been offered to induce a dereliction of them, conscientiously adhering to, and

firmly abiding by them, I thus solemnly record them, in justification of my own conduct, and in discharge of the duty I owe to my king, my country, and general interests of civil society.

WENTWORTH FITZWILLIAM.

Message from his Majesty to the House of Lords 12th Dec. 1796.

George R.

HIS majesty is concerned to acquaint the house of lords that his endeavours to preserve peace with Spain; and to adjust all matters in discussion with that court by an amicable negotiation, have been rendered ineffectual by an abrupt and unprovoked declaration of war on the part of the Catholic king.

His majesty, at the same time that he sincerely laments this addition to the calamities of war, already extended over so great a part of Europe, has the satisfaction to reflect that nothing has been omitted on his part which could contribute to the maintenance of peace, on grounds consistent with the honour of his crown, and the interest of his dominions; and he trusts, that, under the protection of divine Providence, the firmness and wisdom of his parliament will enable him effectually to repel this unprovoked aggression, and to afford to all Europe an additional proof of the spirit and resources of the British nation.

G. R.

Message from his Majesty to the House of Lords, 17th Dec. 1796.

George R.

HIS Majesty thinks proper to acquaint the house of peers, that he is at present engaged in concerting measures with his allies, in order

order to be fully prepared for the vigorous and effectual prosecution of the war, if the failure of his majesty's earnest endeavours to effect a general peace, on secure and honourable terms, should unfortunately render another campaign unavoidable. And his majesty will not fail to take the first opportunity to communicate the result of these discussions to the house. In the interval, his majesty conceives that it may be of the greatest importance to the common cause, that his majesty should be enabled to continue such temporary advances for the service of the emperor as may be indispensably necessary, with a view to military operations being prosecuted with vigour and effect at an early period; and his majesty recommends it to the house to consider of making such provision as may appear to them to be most expedient for this purpose.

G. R.

Message from his Majesty to the House of Peers, 26th Dec. 1796.

George R.

IT is with the utmost concern that his majesty acquaints the house of lords, that his earnest endeavours to effect the restoration of peace have been unhappily frustrated, and that the negotiation in which he has been engaged has been abruptly broken off by the peremptory refusal of the French government to treat, except upon a basis evidently inadmissible, and by their having in consequence required his majesty's plenipotentiary to quit Paris within 48 hours.

His majesty has directed the several memorials and papers which have been exchanged in the course

of the late discussion, and the account transmitted to his majesty of its final result, to be laid before the house.

From these papers, his majesty trusts, it will be proved to the whole world that his conduct has been guided by a sincere desire to effect the restoration of peace on principles suited to the relative situation of the belligerent powers, and essential for the permanent interests of his kingdom, and the general security of Europe: whilst his enemies have advanced pretensions at once inconsistent with those objects, unsupported even on the grounds on which they were professed to rest, and repugnant both to the system established by repeated treaties, and to the principle and practice which have hitherto regulated the intercourse of independent nations.

In this situation his majesty has the consolation of reflecting, that the continuance of the calamities of war can be imputed only to the unjust and exorbitant views of his enemies; and his majesty looking forward with anxiety to the moment when they may be disposed to act on different principles, places in the mean time the fullest reliance, under the protection of Providence, on the wisdom and firmness of his parliament, on the tried valour of his forces by sea and land, and on the zeal, public spirit, and resources of his kingdoms, for vigorous and effectual support in the prosecution of a contest, which it does not depend on his majesty to terminate, and which involves in it the security and permanent interests of this country, and of Europe.

G. R.
Note,

Note, transmitted to M. Barthelemi by Mr. Wickham, March 8, 1796.

Note, transmitted to Mr. Wickham, by M. Barthelemi, March 26, 1796.

THE undersigned, his Britannic majesty's minister plenipotentiary to the Swiss Cantons, is authorized to convey to monsieur Barthelemi, the desire of his court to be made acquainted, through him, with the dispositions of France, in regard to the object of a general pacification. He therefore requests monsieur Barthelemi to transmit to him in writing, (and after having made the necessary enquiries) his answer to the following questions :

1. Is there the disposition in France to open a negotiation with his majesty and his allies for the re-establishment of a general peace, upon just and suitable terms, by sending, for that purpose, ministers to a congress, at such place as may hereafter be agreed upon?

2. Would there be the disposition to communicate to the undersigned, the general grounds of a pacification, such as France would be willing to propose; in order that his majesty and his allies might thereupon examine, in concert, whether they are such as might serve as the foundation of a negotiation for peace?

3. Or would there be a desire to propose any other way whatever, for arriving at the same end, that of a general pacification?

The undersigned is authorized to receive from monsieur Barthelemi the answer to these questions, and to transmit to his court: but he is not authorized to enter with him into negotiation or discussion upon these subjects.

Berne, March 8, 1796.

Signed) W. WICKHAM.

The undersigned, ambassador of the French republic to the Helvetic Body, has transmitted to the executive directory the note, which Mr. Wickham, his Britannic majesty's minister plenipotentiary to the Swiss Canton, was pleased to convey to him, dated the 8th of March. He has it in command to answer it by an exposition of the sentiments and dispositions of the executive directory.

The directory ardently desires to procure for the French republic a just, honourable and solid peace. The step taken by Mr. Wickham would have afforded to the directory a real satisfaction, if the declaration itself, which that minister makes, of his not having any order, any power to negotiate, did not give room to doubt of the sincerity of the pacific intentions of his court. In fact, if it was true, that England began to know her real interests; that she wished to open again for herself the sources of abundance and prosperity; if she sought for peace with good faith, would she propose a congress, of which the necessary result must be, to render all negociation endless? or would she confine herself to the asking, in a vague manner, that the French government should point out any other way whatever, for attaining the same object, that of a general pacification?

Is it that this step has had no other object than to obtain for the British government the favourable impression which always accompanies the first overtures for peace? may it not have been accompanied with

with the hope that they would produce no effect?

However that may be, the executive directory, whose policy has no other guides than openness and good faith, will follow, in its explanations, a conduct which shall be wholly conformable to them. Yielding to the ardent desire by which it is animated, to procure peace for the French republic, and for all nations, it will not fear to declare itself openly. Charged by the constitution with the execution of the laws, it cannot make, or listen to, any proposal that would be contrary to them. The constitutional act does not permit it to consent to any alienation of that, which, according to the existing laws, constitutes the territory of the republic.

With respect to the countries occupied by the French armies, and which have not been united to France, they, as well as other interests, political and commercial, may become the subject of a negotiation, which will present to the directory the means of proving how much it desires to attain speedily to a happy pacification.

Basle, the 6th of Germinal, the 4th year of the French republic,
lic, 26th of March, 1796.

(Signed) BARTHELEMI.

Note of observation.—The court of London has received from its minister in Switzerland, the answer made to the questions which he had been charged to address to monsieur Barthelemy, in respect to the opening of a negotiation for the re-establishment of general tranquillity.

This court has seen, with regret, how far the tone and spirit of that answer, the nature and extent of

the demands which it contains and the manner of announcing them, are remote from any disposition for peace.

The inadmissible pretension, there avowed, of appropriating to France all that the laws actually existing there may have comprized under the denomination of French territory. To a demand such as this is added an express declaration, that no proposal contrary to it will be made, or even listened to: And this, under the pretence of an internal regulation, the provisions of which are wholly foreign to all other nations.

While these dispositions shall be persisted in, nothing is left for the king but to prosecute a war equally just and necessary.

Whenever his enemies shall manifest more pacific sentiments, his majesty will at all times be eager to concur in them, by lending himself, in concert with his allies, to all such measures as shall be best calculated to re-establish general tranquillity, on conditions just, honourable and permanent, either by the establishment of a congress, which has been so often, and so happily, the means of restoring peace to Europe; or by a preliminary discussion of the principles which may be proposed, on either side, as a foundation of a general pacification; or, lastly, by an impartial examination of any other way which may be pointed out to him for arriving at the same salutary end.

Downing-street, April 10, 1796.

Explanatory Article, framed by the Commissioners for carrying into effect the Treaty between Great Britain and America.

WHEREAS

WHEREAS, by the third article of the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, concluded at London on the nineteenth day of November, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four, between his Britannic majesty and the United States of America, it was agreed that it should at all times be free to his majesty's subjects, and to the citizens of the United States, and also to the Indians dwelling on either side of the boundary line assigned by the treaty of peace to the United States, freely to pass and repass, by land or inland navigation, into the respective territories and countries of the two contracting parties on the continent of America (the country within the limits of the Hudson Bay Company only excepted), and to navigate all the lakes, rivers, and waters thereof, and freely to carry on trade and commerce with each other, subject to the provisions and limitations contained in the said article: And whereas, by the eighth article of the treaty of peace and friendship, concluded at Grenville, on the third day of August, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five, between the United States. and the nations or tribes of Indians, called the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanoes, Ottawas, Chippewas, Putawatimies, Miamies, Eel River, Weas, Kickapoos, Piankashaws, and Kaskaskias, it was stipulated that no person should be permitted to reside at any of the towns or hunting camps of the said Indian tribes as a trader, who is not furnished with a license for that purpose, under the authority of the United States; which latter stipulation has excited doubts whether in its operation it may not interfere with the due execution of the said third article of the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation: and it being the sincere desire of his Britannic majesty, and of the United States, that this point should be so explained as to remove all doubts, and promote mutual satisfaction and friendship: and for this purpose his Britannic majesty having named for his commissioner, Phineas Bond, esq. his majesty's consul general for the middle and southern states of America (and now his majesty's charge d'affaires to the United States); and the president of the United States having named for their commissioner Timothy Pickering, esq. secretary of state of the United States, to whom, agreeable to the laws of the United States, he has entrusted this negotiation: they, the said commissioners, having communicated to each other their full powers, have, in virtue of the same, and conformably to the spirit of the last article of the said treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, entered into this explanatory article, and do by these presents explicitly agree and declare, that no stipulations in any treaty subsequently concluded by either of the contracting parties with any other state or nation, or with any Indian tribe, can be understood to derogate in any manner from the rights of free intercourse and commerce, secured by the aforesaid third article of treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, to the subjects of his majesty, and to the citizens of the United States, and to the Indians dwelling on either side of the boundary line aforesaid; but that all the said persons shall remain at

full

full liberty freely to pass and re-pass, by land or inland navigation, into the respective territories and countries of the contracting parties, on either side of the said boundary line, and freely to carry on trade and commerce with each other, according to the stipulations of the said third article of the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation.

This explanatory article, when the same shall have been ratified by his majesty and by the president of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of their senate, and the respective ratifications mutually exchanged, shall be added to and make a part of the said treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, and shall be permanently binding upon his majesty and the United States.

In witness whereof we, the said commissioners of his majesty the king of Great Britain and the United States of America, have signed this explanatory article, and thereto affixed our seals. Done at Philadelphia, this fourth day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six.

P. BOND, (L. S.)

TIMOTHY PICKERING. (L. S.)

And whereas the said explanatory article has by me, by and with the advice and consent of the senate of the United States on the one part, and by his Britannic majesty on the other, been duly approved and ratified, and the ratifications have since, to wit, on the sixth day of October last, been duly exchanged; now, therefore, to the end that the said explanatory article may be executed and

observed with punctuality and the most sincere regard to good faith on the part of the United States, I hereby make known the premises; and enjoin and require all persons bearing office, civil or military, within the United States, and all others, citizens or inhabitants thereof, or being within the same, to execute and observe the said explanatory article accordingly.

In testimony whereof I have caused the seal of the United States to be affixed to these presents, and signed the same with my hand.

Given at the city of Philadelphia, the fourth day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six, and of the independence of the United States of America the twenty-first.

(L. S.) GEO. WASHINGTON.
By the President,

TIMOTHY PICKERING,
Secretary of state.

Treaty between his Britannic Majesty and the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, signed at Frankfort, the 10th day of June, 1796.

Be it known to those whom it may concern, that his majesty the king of Great Britain, and his serene highness the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, in consideration of the strict ties which unite their interests, and having judged that, in the present situation of affairs, it would contribute to the reciprocal welfare of Great Britain, and of the dominions of Hesse Darmstadt, to cement and strengthen, by a new treaty of alliance, the connection which

which subsists between them, his Britannic majesty, in order to regulate the object relative to this treaty, has thought proper to nominate Charles Craufurd, his envoy at the imperial and royal armies; and his serene highness has nominated, on his part, for the same purpose, the baron Charles of Barkhaus, his privy counsellor; and director of the council of war; who, being furnished with the necessary full powers, have agreed to take for basis of the present treaty, the one formerly concluded between Great Britain and Hesse, the fifth of October, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three, to adopt such parts of it as may be applicable to the present circumstances, or to settle, by new articles, those points which it may be necessary to regulate otherwise: and as it is not possible to specify each particular case, every thing which shall not appear to be determined in a precise manner, either in the present treaty or in the former treaty, shall be settled with equity and faith, in conformity to the same principles which have been adopted in former instances.

ART. 1. There shall be, therefore, in virtue of this treaty, between his majesty the king of Great Britain and his serene highness the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, heir heirs and successors, a strict friendship, and a sincere, firm, and constant union, so that the one shall consider the interests of the other as his own, and shall strive to promote them with good faith as much as possible, and to prevent and remove all disturbance and injury.

2. His majesty the king of Great Britain desiring to have in his ser-

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vice a body of troops, to be employed wherever he may think proper, excepting in the East Indies, or on board the fleet; and his serene highness, wishing for nothing more than to give his majesty this fresh proof of his attachment, engages, by virtue of this article, to set on foot three battalions of infantry, forming a body of two thousand two hundred and eighty-four men, according to the annexed specification. These troops shall be ready to pass in review before his Britannic majesty's commissary the fourteenth day of July of the present year, at Darmstadt, and to begin their march the following day for the place of their destination. The general whom his Britannic majesty shall appoint commander in chief in the countries where these shall serve, shall have authority to employ them, either together or in detachments, and even to disperse them amongst the different islands or districts of his command, in the manner which he shall judge the most advantageous for his majesty's service. It being, notwithstanding, well understood, that these troops shall always remain under the immediate orders of their own chiefs. —The said corps shall consist of men disciplined and exercised, and well armed and equipped.

3. In order to defray the expences to which the serene Landgrave shall be put for the equipment of the said corps of troops, his Britannic majesty promises to pay to his serene highness for each man thirty crowns banco, the crown being reckoned at fifty-three sols of Holland, or at four shillings and ninepence three farthings English money, of which payment shall be made immediately after the review,

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and according to the effective state as shall then be verified. All the camp necessities, as likewise all the horses, waggons, draft-horses, valets de bat, and waggoners, who may be necessary for the troops, as well for transporting the equipages, provisions, ammunition, utensils, sick, and other objects of every kind, as for the field-pieces, with their implements, and artillery men, shall be furnished by his Britannic majesty wherever they may be wanted.

4. Besides the levy-money stipulated in the preceding article, his Britannic majesty shall cause to be paid to every officer, as also to every one employed, not a fighting man of equal rank, the sum of three months pay according to his rank, and upon the same footing as his national troops, in order to facilitate the expence of his private equipment, which payment shall be made immediately after the signature of the present treaty.

5. His majesty the king of Great Britain engages himself, in like manner, to pay to the serene Landgrave an annual subsidy during the six years this treaty is to continue. This subsidy shall commence from the day of the signature, and it shall be paid at the rate of eighty thousand crowns banco per annum. The payment of this subsidy shall be made regularly, without abatement, every quarter, to the agent of his highness in London.

6. These troops shall remain in the service and at the disposition of his Britannic majesty during six years, and his majesty shall allow them during this term—1. Every thing that is necessary for their subsistence; namely, pay, bread, forage, and, in general, all emo-

luments, as well ordinary as extraordinary, attached to every rank on the same footing that he allows them to his British troops in the different places of their destination; and for this purpose the statements of payment shall be annexed to the present treaty. 2. Medicines and sustenance for the sick and wounded, with a place and the necessary means of conveyance wherein they may be treated and taken care of, precisely on the same footing as the national British troops, by their own physicians and surgeons. The pay shall commence from the day of the review, according to the effective state in which the said corps shall be delivered, which shall be verified by a table, signed by the respective ministers of the high contracting parties, which shall have the same force as if it had been inserted word for word in the present treaty.

7. As in the before-mentioned table the strength of each company, of which four make a battalion, amounts to one hundred and sixty-three soldiers, it must be observed, that in this number are comprised seven men unarmed, intended, according to the established custom in the Hessian service, to serve as servants to officers, and it is agreed upon that these men shall nevertheless pass muster as soldiers in every respect.

8. As it is to be feared that, notwithstanding the care made use of, it will not be possible entirely to prevent desertion until the arrival of the troops at the place of embarkation, and his serene highness promising to employ every means in his power that the said corps shall be embarked complete, it is agreed upon, that there shall be at
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the said review ten supernumerary men per company, to supply the place of deserters on the march; so that, in case, on the arrival of the corps at the port, the number of supernumeraries shall exceed that of the deserters, the remainder may be distributed amongst the battalions, and added to the amount, in order to increase, in such case, the levy money, pay, &c. and his highness engages himself moreover to cause the said corps to be escorted by a detachment of cavalry, in order to pick up deserters, procure quarters, &c. &c. it being well understood that the expences, as well of the march as of the return of the detachment of cavalry, shall be defrayed by his majesty.

9. All the objects of pay and maintenance shall be calculated according to the table of the annual review, so that the vacancies happening from one review to another shall not make any alteration in the state of payment. His majesty shall cause these objects to be paid in advance from two to three months, either by assignments payable in favour of the Hessian commissioner upon whatever chest of his majesty may be nearest to the said commission, or in ready money to his serene highness's agent in London.

10. A fresh review shall take place regularly every year. His majesty shall give three months notice of the number of recruits necessary to complete the corps, which number shall be fixed according to the official report of the first day of April, so that the recruits shall be ready to be delivered to the English commissary the 1st day of July, at the place of the first review, or one month after, at such port in Ger-

many, or at such place on the frontiers of the empire, as his majesty may chuse for their reception. The form of their delivery shall be deemed to be that of the new review, and the total of the number of effective men remaining, according to the report of the month of April, added to that of the recruits delivered to the British commissary, shall be considered as the effective state of the new period, and shall not vary until the review of the following year.

11. There shall be paid, for each recruit, armed, equipped, disciplined, and exercised, the sum of twenty crowns banco; and his highness the Landgrave takes upon himself the expences of transport to the place of embarkation, as well as of escort, which are to be reimbursed by his Britannic majesty.

12. As during the continuance of this treaty, it will necessarily occur, that officers or soldiers, either for family reasons, on account of preferment, or for sickness, will be obliged to return home, his majesty takes upon himself the expences of their transport in the two former cases, as far as the frontiers of the empire, and in the latter to their own country; his highness promises, in return, to replace the non-commissioned officers and soldiers to whom he may give permission to return for any other reason than that of sickness, at his own expence, and without requiring the consideration for recruits fixed in the preceding article, reserving to himself nothing but the transport from the frontiers of the empire unto the place of their destination.—Moreover, his highness will never recall an officer or soldier without urgent cause,

cause, or without having acquainted his majesty thereof; and he will take care that the number of officers shall be always complete.

13. The most serene Landgrave being at the charge of furnishing the said corps with arms and cloathing, in consequence of the pay upon the footing of English troops, as agreed upon in these articles, his majesty shall cause indemnification to be made for such loss only in cloathing, arms, and accoutrements, as shall be occasioned by some accident of war or voyage; as well as for every expence incurred in the transport of the several articles to the troops, and also of every thing they may stand in need of. It being well understood that the aforesaid articles shall be delivered to the English commissary at the same time as the recruits of the year, in order that the same vessel may convey both.

14. In case an officer shall lose his equipage, either on his rout or by some accident of war, his majesty shall grant him the same indemnification as English officers are allowed in similar cases.

15. As soon as his serene highness shall have put the corps in a state to march, within the term agreed upon, he shall be considered as having fulfilled his preliminary engagements; so that the payment of the levy money, subsidy, and pay shall take place according to the aforesaid determination, even in case his majesty, on account of some unforeseen event, should not think proper to have the corps reviewed, or to cause it to march or embark.

16. If before the period of the review, his Britannic majesty shall find himself disposed to renounce this treaty entirely, his serene high-

ness shall receive, under the title of indemnification; 1st. the levy money. 2d. The equipage money allowed to the officers. 3d. Three months pay for the whole of the troops, according to the table annexed to the second article, &c. 4th. One year's subsidy.

17. At the end of six years, his Britannic majesty shall send back the corps at the disposal of his highness, in the same state in which it was taken into his service, and being at the entire expence of transport until their arrival at Darmstadt. It being understood that his majesty shall not pay the levy money for the men who may be wanting at that time, except in the case where he shall have failed to inform the serene Landgrave of it six months before hand, in order to save his highness the expence of a new completion. If by accident the return should be retarded, the treaty shall be tacitly prolonged for one year, in every respect, and a certain sum shall be agreed upon as an equivalent for levy money, in proportion to the present arrangement.

18. If his majesty should think proper, after the expiration of the six years fixed for the duration of this treaty, to keep the said corps for some years longer, his highness consents to it beforehand; and as it will be then only necessary to make an arrangement respecting the levy and equipage-money for the officers, which will be calculated according to the proportions of the present treaty.

19. His serene highness reserves to himself the jurisdiction over his troops, as well as all dispositions respecting promotion, discipline, and interior administration.

20. His

20. His Britannic majesty grants to his highness the sum of 15,000*l.* sterling, to answer the first expenses of equipping this corps; payment of which shall be made immediately after the signature of this treaty, and shall be carried to the account of levy-money.

21. Deserters shall be faithfully delivered up on both sides, and neither the soldiers, nor any other persons belonging to the corps of Hesse Darmstadt, shall be permitted to settle in the dominions of his Britannic majesty.

In witness whereof, we the undersigned, authorized by the full power of his majesty the king of Great Britain on one side, and of his serene highness the reigning Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, on the other, have signed the present treaty, and have caused the seals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Frankfort, this 10th day of June, 1796.

(L. S.) C. CRAUFURD.

(L. S.) C. B. DE BARKHAW.

Letter from Sir Gilbert Elliot, Vice-roy of Corsica, to the governor of Porto Ferrajo.

SIR, *Bastia, July 6.*

THE French troops have taken possession of the city of Leghorn, the cannon of the fortresses have been directed against the ships of the king in the road, and the property of his majesty's subjects at Leghorn has been violated, notwithstanding the neutrality of his royal highness the grand duke of Tuscany, and the reiterated protestations of the French to respect it.

There is likewise reason to believe, that the French have the

same design upon the fortress of Porto Ferrajo, hoping, by such means, to facilitate the designs that they meditate against the kingdom of Corsica. These circumstances have determined us to prevent the designs of the enemies of the king, who are equally hostile to his royal highness, by placing at Porto Ferrajo, a garrison capable of defending that place; our only intention being to prevent that fortress, and the whole island of the Elbe, from being taken possession of by the French. We invite and request you, sir, to receive the troops of his majesty, which will appear before the place, under the following conditions:

1. Porto Ferrajo and its dependencies shall remain under the government of the grand duke. The Tuscan flag shall not cease to be respected, and the administration shall not be altered in any respect; persons, property, and the religion of all the inhabitants shall be respected. The English commanders shall be careful that their troops observe strict discipline.

2. The officers and soldiers composing the Tuscan garrison shall continue to do duty, if they think proper. All persons employed in civil or military capacities shall be continued in their employments, if they conduct themselves properly.

3. The preceding conditions shall be exactly observed, and with the utmost good faith, as far as shall be consistent with the safety of the place.

4. We promise, in the name of his majesty, in the most solemn manner, to let his majesty's troops retire, and to put the place into the hands of his royal highness in its present state, when a peace

takes place, or immediately after all danger of a French invasion is at an end.

If you refuse, sir, to agree to propositions so conformable to the interest of his royal highness, and which are so just and necessary to our safety, the officer who is charged with the expedition has orders and power sufficient to force the place; in which case the possession of it will not be limited by any condition.

Not doubting but that prudence and attachment to the true interests of his royal highness will induce you to consent to the only expedient which can save Porto Ferrajo, and preserve the island of the Elbe from the most cruel scourge,

I have the honour, with the utmost regard and esteem, &c.

Articles proposed by the Governor and Town of Porto Ferrajo, and accepted the 10th of July by the commander of the English troops.

ART. 1. The English troops shall be received into the place, and the conditions, regulated by his excellency the viceroy, Elliot, shall be fully observed, so that nothing may alter the law of neutrality imposed upon Tuscany, and which should be inviolably maintained.

2. Whenever troops or ships of nations at war shall appear before the city or port, neither the garrison nor any inhabitant shall be bound to take up arms, either in favour of the English or any other party.

3. The island of the Elbe, and especially Porto Ferrajo, being in want of provisions, the commanders of the English troops shall take

care to send all necessary provisions for the inhabitants to purchase, in order that they may not be exposed to perish by famine.

4. The people of Porto Ferrajo being very numerous, and having but few houses, it will not be possible to lodge the English soldiers in private houses. They flatter themselves the commanders will have the goodness to take this object into consideration.

5. As the arrival of the Britanic troops has been sudden and unforeseen, the commanders are entreated to agree to a convenient time for preparing quarters and necessary lodgings.

Proclamation by Gordon Forbes, major general and commander in chief of all his Britannic Majesty's forces at St. Domingo, to all the planters of the Spanish part of the said Island.

SPANISH PLANTERS,

YOUR king has ceded to the actual government of France the vast and rich territory occupied and cultivated by your forefathers and you upwards of three centuries. This treaty is on the point of being carried into execution; commissioners sent by the executive directory are already arrived in your colony, and prepare the destruction of your property in the same manner as they have effected it in the rich French colony contiguous to yours. Beware, brave Spaniards, of the treacherous insinuations of those enemies of all moral and religious principles, which form the basis of social life. High minded loyal, and generous, like your forefathers, you want but a hint of what awaits you. Zealously attached

ed to the worship of the true God, and the august blood of your kings, you, no doubt, prefer the loss and sacrifice of your property to the misfortune and disgrace of submitting to the yoke of these new masters of your territory. Follow then, gallant Spaniards, that noble impulse of reason, honour, and feeling. Depart! the dominions of the Spanish monarch are open for you: go, honourably to live and die there in the shade of your altars, and under the protection of your king. But if any among you, chained down by necessity to the soil they cultivate, should not be able to leave it, let them not be uneasy: his majesty lends them his powerful and protecting hand. I wish they would, for their own happiness, fully rely on the generosity and beneficence of so great a monarch. What other sovereign has fought with more zeal and glory for the sacred cause of religion, royalty, and humanity, against the fool-hardy innovators, who are bent on exterminating them from the whole surface of this globe. I have read, brave Spaniards, the ostensible instructions given by the directory to the commissioners of the republic; I have perused the proclamations of those hypocritical and perverse agents, whose first mission to St. Domingo was marked with insurrections, with the firing of the plantations, and the assassination of their owners. The choice of such men sufficiently shews the misfortunes you have to expect. Read and consider, brave Spaniards, the papers I have just quoted: compare the promises which they hold out with those the republic has made to every nation it wished to seduce. What advantages did it

not hold out to its own colonies, to Savoy, Belgium, Holland; in short, to all countries wherein it has established its strange *regime*!— Well, contemplate the horrid and deplorable situation to which are now reduced those provinces, once so populous and flourishing, and judge, brave Spaniards, what would be the result of your credulity. Impressed with your dangers, and feeling for your misfortune, I offer you my support. A faithful interpreter of the beneficent disposition of his majesty, I promise and guarantee to you, under his banners, safety to your persons and property. Whatever is sacred to you, your religious worship, your priests, your laws, your customs, your privileges, shall be preserved to you, and you shall also enjoy the advantage of the most extensive and flourishing commerce in the world. You have frequented our posts, and know the liberty, good faith, and plenty which reign there. Calculate the extent of those advantages, and prepare yourselves to receive the only power able to grant them. As soon as the protection of your king shall be withdrawn from you, and you are given up to the new masters of your territory, arm against them, and, on the first signal you give me of your determination, I will fly to your assistance, and unite my whole force with yours, to repel and exterminate our common enemy.

Given in the king's house, at Port-au-Prince, the 12th of July, in the year of our Lord 1796, and the 35th of his majesty's reign.

G. FORBES.

By order of his excellency,

JAMES ESTEN, secretary.
Order

Order of Council of the third September.

AT the court at Weymouth, the 3d of September, 1796, present the king's most excellent majesty in council.

Whereas an act passed in the thirty-third year of his majesty's reign, intituled, "An act more effectually to prevent, during the present war between Great Britain and France, all traitorous correspondence with, or aid or assistance being given to his majesty's enemies;" and another act passed in the thirty-fourth year of his majesty's reign, intituled, "An act for preventing money or effects, in the hands of his majesty's subjects, belonging to or disposable by persons resident in France, being applied to the use of the persons exercising the powers of government in France, and for preserving the property thereof for the benefit of the individual owners thereof."

And whereas another act, passed in the thirty-fourth year aforesaid, intituled, "An act for more effectually preserving money and effects, in the hands of his majesty's subjects, belonging to or disposable by persons resident in France, for the benefit of the individual owners thereof."

And whereas it is expedient that such licence and authority should be granted as is herein after given and granted; his majesty, taking the same into his royal consideration, is pleased, by and with the advice of his privy-council, by this order to grant, and accordingly, with such advice, by this order, doth grant licence, according to the authority given by the said acts, respectively, or some of them, to all persons residing or being in

Great Britain, either on their own account or credit, or on the account or credit, or by the direction of any other person or persons whomsoever, or wheresoever resident or being, to sell, supply, deliver, or send for the purpose of being sold, supplied, or delivered, and to agree to sell, supply, deliver, or send for such purpose, and either on their own account or credit, or on the account or credit, or by the direction of any other person or persons whomsoever and wheresoever resident or being, to cause or procure to be sold, supplied, delivered, or sent for such purpose as aforesaid, or to authorise or direct any other person or persons whomsoever, or wheresoever resident or being, to sell, supply, deliver, or send as aforesaid; or to aid or assist in so selling, supplying, delivering, or authorising or directing to be sold, supplied, delivered or sent; and also to buy or procure, or contract or agree to contract or procure, or cause to be bought or procured, or authorise or direct any other person or persons whomsoever, or wheresoever resident or being, to buy or procure, or to contract or agree to buy or procure, or aid or assist in buying or procuring, or authorising or directing to be bought or procured, any goods, wares, merchandizes, or effects, mentioned in the said acts, or any other goods, wares, merchandizes, or effects, (except such as are herein after mentioned) whether of the growth, production or manufacture of this kingdom, or of any foreign country, to or for the use of any persons residing in the territories of the United Provinces, or in the Austrian Netherlands, or in any part of Italy, or for the purpose of being

ing sent into any part or place within the same respectively.

Provided nevertheless, that all such goods, wares, merchandizes, and effects, be exported from this kingdom, and in ships or vessels belonging to persons of some state or country in amity with his majesty, and that such exportation be made under the usual conditions and regulations; and that such security be given by bond, in such penalty, by such persons, and in such manner as shall be directed by the commissioners of his majesty's customs, and that the said goods, wares, merchandizes, and effects, shall be exported to the places proposed, and to none other; and that a certificate shall be produced, within six months from the date of the bond, under the hand of the British consul or vice-consul residing at the port or place at which such goods or commodities shall be landed; and if no vice-consul shall be there resident, then under the hands of two known British merchants residing there; and if no British merchant shall reside there, then under the hand of the chief magistrate of the place, testifying that the said goods have been all duly landed at that port or place.

Provided also, that nothing herein before contained, shall be construed to licence the exportation, sale, sending, supplying, or delivering of, or in any manner to relate to any arms, ordnance, ordnance stores, gunpowder, bullets, pitch, tar, hemp, masts, timber, sail-cloth, cordage, salt-petre, or any naval or military stores whatsoever, nor to relate to any store or article whatsoever, intended for the use of the armies,

troops, fleets, ships, or vessels of the enemies of his majesty; or any articles which are specially prohibited by any other act or acts of parliaments, other than the acts before mentioned, to be exported, sold, supplied, or delivered, as aforesaid: or in any manner to affect the provisions of any other act or acts of parliament; or to licence or authorize the several acts, matters, and things aforesaid, further or otherwise than as the same might be affected by the several beforementioned acts of parliament.

Provided also, that every person who shall take the benefit of this licence and authority, shall take the same upon condition, that if in case of any proceeding, civil or criminal, under the provisions of any of the acts herein before mentioned, or any thing alledged to have been done contrary thereto, any question shall arise whether the thing done was authorised by the licence hereby given, the proof that such thing was done under the circumstances, and according to the terms and conditions of this order, shall lie on the persons claiming the benefit hereof.

And his majesty, with the advice aforesaid, is hereby further pleased to order, that this licence and order shall remain and be in force and effect until the 25th day of December next ensuing, unless the same shall be sooner revoked.

And the right honourable the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury, and the lords commissioners of the admiralty, are to give the necessary directions herein, to them respectively appertaining.

(Signed) W. FAWKENER.
Order

Order of Council, at the Court at St. James's, the 12th of October, 1796, present the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.

WHEREAS his majesty has received intelligence that some ships belonging to his majesty's subjects have been, and are detained in the port of Genoa; his majesty, with the advice of his privy-council, is thereupon pleased to order, and it is hereby ordered, that no ships or vessels belonging to any of his majesty's subjects be permitted to enter or clear out for Genoa, or any port within the territory of the republic of Genoa, until further orders: and his majesty is further pleased to order, that a general embargo, or stop, be made of all Genoese ships or vessels whatsoever, now within, or which hereafter shall come into any of the ports, harbours, or roads, within the kingdom of Great Britain, together with all persons and effects on board the said ships and vessels; but that the utmost care be taken for the preservation of all and every part of the cargoes on board any of the said ships, so that no damage or embezzlement whatever be sustained.

And the right honourable the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury, the lords commissioners of the admiralty, and the lord warden of the Cinque Ports, are to give the necessary directions herein as to them may respectively appertain.

(Signed) W. FAWKENER.

Orders of Council at the Court at St. James's, the 9th November, 1796, present the King's Most Excellent Majesty, in Council.

WHEREAS his majesty has received information, that divers unjust seizures have been made in the ports of Spain of the ships and goods of his majesty's subjects, and that acts of hostility and unprovoked aggression have been committed by the ships of his Catholic majesty, on ships and vessels of his majesty and of his subjects: his majesty, therefore, being determined to take such measures as are necessary for vindicating the honour of the crown, and for procuring reparation and satisfaction for his injured subjects, is pleased, by and with the advice of his privy council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, that general reprisals be granted against the ships, goods, and subjects of the king of Spain, so that, as well his majesty's fleets and ships, as also all other ships and vessels that shall be commissioned by letters of marque or general reprisals, or otherwise, by his majesty's commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral of Great Britain, shall and may lawfully seize all ships, vessels, and goods, belonging to the king of Spain, or his subjects, or others inhabiting within the territories of the king of Spain, and bring the same to judgment in any of the courts of admiralty within his majesty's dominions; and to that end, his majesty's advocate-general, with the advocate of the admiralty, are forthwith to prepare the draught of a commission, and present the same to his majesty at this board, authorising the commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral, or any person or persons by them empowered and appointed, to issue forth and grant letters
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of marque and reprisals, to any of his majesty's subjects or others whom the commissioners shall deem fitly qualified in that behalf, for the apprehending, seizing, and taking the ships, vessels and goods belonging to Spain, and the vassals and subjects of the king of Spain, or any inhabiting within his countries, territories or dominions; and that such powers or clauses be inserted in the said commission as have been usual, and are according to former precedents. And his majesty's said advocate-general, with the advocate of the admiralty, are also forthwith to prepare a draught of a commission, and present the same to his majesty at this board, authorizing the said commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral, to will and require the high court of Admiralty of Great Britain, and the lieutenant and judge of the said court, his surrogate or surrogates, as also the several courts of admiralty within his majesty's dominions, to take cognizance of, and judicially proceed upon, all and all manner of captures, seizures, prizes, and reprisals of all ships and goods that are or shall be taken, and to hear and determine the same; and, according to the course of admiralty and the laws of nations, to adjudge and condemn all such ships, vessels, and goods as shall belong to Spain, or the vassals and subjects of the king of Spain, or to any others inhabiting within any of his countries, territories, and dominions; and that such powers and clauses be inserted in the said commission as have been usual, and are according to former precedents; and they are likewise to prepare and

lay before his majesty, at this board, a draught of such instructions as may be proper to be sent to the courts of admiralty in his majesty's foreign governments and plantations, for their guidance herein; as also another draught of instructions for such ships as shall be commissioned for the purposes aforementioned.

Order of Council relative to Trade to and from the Cape of Good Hope.

At the Court at St. James's, the 28th of December, 1796, present the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.

WHEREAS by an act passed in the present session of parliament, intituled, "An act to authorise his majesty, for a limited time, to make regulations respecting the trade and commerce to and from the Cape of Good Hope," it is enacted, that it shall and may be lawful for his majesty, by and with the advice of his privy council, by any order or orders to be issued from time to time, to give such directions, and make such regulations, touching the trade and commerce to and from the settlement of the Cape of Good Hope, and the territories and dependencies thereof, as to his majesty in council shall appear most expedient and salutary, any of the acts of parliament therein referred to, or any usage, law or custom, to the contrary notwithstanding.

And whereas during the time the said settlement, with the territories and dependencies thereof, were in the possession and under the government of the states general of the United Provinces, or of the honourable the general East India

India company in the Netherlands, it was usual to admit the ship and vessels belonging to the subjects of countries in amity with said United Provinces into the ports of the said settlement, and of the territories and dependencies thereof, for repair and refreshment, and with that view, to permit the said ships and vessels to carry on trade with the inhabitants of the said settlement, and of the territories and dependencies thereof: his majesty is hereby pleased to order, by and with the advice of his privy council, in pursuance of the powers vested in his majesty by the above recited act, and it is hereby ordered, that it shall be lawful, until further order, for all ships and vessels belonging to the subjects of any country or state in amity with his majesty, to enter into the ports of the said settlement of the Cape of Good Hope, and of the territories and dependencies thereof, and to carry on trade and traffic with the inhabitants of the said settlement, and of the territories and dependencies thereof, and to import and export to and from the ports of the settlement and of the territories and dependencies thereof, any goods, wares, or merchandise whatsoever, subject to the following exceptions, and subject also to such duties, rules, regulations, and restrictions, as shall be established by his majesty, or by the governor of the said settlement, and of the territories and dependencies thereof, by virtue of authority derived from his majesty; and in the mean time subject to such duties, rules, regulations, and restrictions, as subsisted and were in force before and at the time of the conquest of the

said settlement by the arms of his majesty, with such alterations as have been since made under the authority of the commander in chief of his majesty's forces at the said settlement: but it is his majesty's pleasure, that no goods, wares or merchandise, which shall be imported into the said settlement, or the territories or dependencies thereof, from any part of his majesty's dominions shall be subject to any duty.

And it is his majesty's pleasure, that no goods, wares, and merchandise the growth, produce, or manufacture of the countries to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, be imported into the said settlement, or the territories or dependencies thereof, except by the United Company of merchants trading to the East Indies; and that no such goods, wares, or merchandise, be permitted to be exported from thence, except for sea stores only, or by the United Company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies, or by their licence.

But it is his majesty's pleasure, that nothing in this order contained shall extend to prevent ships or vessels employed in the southern whale fishery from carrying, on the same, in such and the same manner as might have been done if this order had not been made.

And it is also his majesty's pleasure, that no arms or artillery, gunpowder or ammunition, of any sort, be allowed to be imported into the said settlement, or the territories or dependencies thereof, except by the said United Company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies, or by licence from his majesty.

And

And it is his majesty's further pleasure, that the trade and commerce to and from the said settlement, and the territories and dependencies thereof, shall be subject to such of the laws of trade and navigation as would have affected the same if this order had not been made, except so far as such laws are contrary to this present order.

And the right honourable the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury, and the lords commissioners of the Admiralty are to give the necessary directions herein as to them may respectively appertain.

STEPHEN COTTRELL.

Answer of the British Government to the Spanish Declaration of War.

THE open aggressions of Spain, the violences committed against the persons and property of his majesty's subjects, and the unprovoked declaration of war on the part of that power, have at length compelled his majesty to take the necessary measures for repelling force by force, and for vindicating the dignity of his crown, and the rights and interests of his people.

At the moment of adopting these measures, his majesty feels it due to himself to remove every doubt which can be thrown on the indisputable justice of his cause, and it will be easily proved, from the very reasons adduced by the court of Madrid in support of its declaration of war, that all the calamities which may ensue are solely to be attributed to the conduct of his enemies.

A simple reference to that declaration and a bare enumeration

of the vague and frivolous charges which it contains, would indeed be sufficient to satisfy all reasonable and impartial minds, that no part of the conduct of Great Britain towards Spain has afforded the smallest ground of complaint, much less any motive sufficiently powerful for adding to the present calamities of Europe all the evils of a new and complicated war.

The only difficulty of a detailed reply arises not from the strength and importance of the complaints alledged, but from their weakness and futility—from the confused and unintelligible shape in which they are brought forward, and from the impossibility of referring them to any established principle or rule of justice, to any usual form or topic of complaint between independent governments, or to any of those motives which can alone create the painful duty of an appeal to arms.

The acts of hostility attributed to his majesty in the manifesto of Spain, consist either of matters perfectly innocent and indifferent in their nature, or of imputed opinions and intentions of which no proof is adduced, nor any effect alledged; or, lastly, of complaints of the misconduct of unauthorised individuals; respecting all which his majesty has never failed to institute inquiry, where inquiry was necessary, and to cause justice to be done in the regular course of judicial proceedings. The very nature of such complaints affords a sufficient answer to the conclusion attempted to be drawn from them by Spain; and his majesty might have been well justified in declining all further discussion on points, on

on which it was manifested that no just motive of hostility could be grounded.

Such, however, was not his conduct. Anxious to avert from both kingdoms the calamities of war, he has repeatedly and vainly proposed to adjust, by friendly discussion, all points of difference which could subsist between the governments of two nations whose real interest were the same, and who had an equal concern in opposing the progress of a common enemy.

This discussion having always been studiously avoided by the court of Madrid, it now remains only for his majesty to vindicate in this public manner his own cause, and to prove the futility of those pretences by which that court now seeks to colour its aggression.

The first point brought forward to support an accusation of ill faith is the conduct of the king's admiral at Toulon; who is charged with having destroyed those ships and naval stores of the enemy which he could not carry away with him; and with having afterwards undertaken an expedition to Corsica, without the knowledge or participation of the Spanish admiral. To an accusation of such a nature, alledged as a ground for war between two great nations, it can hardly be expected that a serious answer should be given. It is perhaps the first time that it has been imputed as a crime to one of the commanding officers of two powers acting in alliance, and making a common cause in war, that he did more than is proportion of mischief to the common enemy. And if it be really true that such a

sentiment was entertained at Madrid, certainly no other justification can be necessary for not inviting the officers of that court to join in subsequent expeditions against the same enemy: at all events, it cannot be pretended that a co-operation between two allies (however cordial and sincere) in any one particular enterprize, could afterwards restrain either of them from undertaking separately any other, to which his own force appeared in itself to be adequate.

The second instance of ill-faith attributed to his majesty, is the conclusion of a treaty of amity and commerce with the United States of America; a power with whom both Great Britain and Spain were at peace: with whom the king, as well as his catholic majesty, was perfectly free to contract any such engagements; and with whom the court of Madrid has actually concluded a similar treaty, with this difference only, that the stipulations of the British treaty can give no ground of offence or injury to any other power, while the Spanish treaty contains an article (that respecting the navigation of the Mississippi) which if it could have any force or effect at all, would be, on the part of Spain, a direct breach of treaty with Great Britain and a gross violation of the important and unquestionable rights of his majesty and his people.

The same ill-faith is said to have been manifested in the unwillingness shewn by the British government to adopt the plans proposed by Spain for hastening the conclusion of the war with France, (but what these plan were, is not stated) and also in omitting to comply

ply with an application made by Spain for pecuniary succours, as necessary to enable her to act against the common enemy. The failure of such an application cannot certainly be matter of surprise to any one who considers the situation and conduct of Spain during the war. It can hardly be alledged, even as an excuse for the precipitate peace concluded by Spain, not only without the knowledge of her allies, but in contradiction to repeated and positive assurances; but it is difficult to conceive how such a refusal can be made the ground of hostility towards Great Britain, or with what consistency the inability of Spain to prosecute the former contest without pecuniary aid from its ally, can have become a motive of engaging gratuitously in all the expences and difficulties of a new war against that very power.

With regard to the condemnation of the *St. Jago*, (a prize taken from the enemy by his majesty's naval forces) his majesty has only to reply to the injurious assertions on that subject in the Spanish manifesto, that the claims of all the parties in that cause were publicly heard and decided according to the known law of nations, and before the only competent tribunal; one, whose impartiality is above all suspicion.

The conduct of his majesty respecting the naval stores, which were claimed by Spain on board Dutch vessels, has been in like manner exempt from all blame, nor was any unnecessary delay interposed respecting those cargoes till the unequal conduct of Spain, and the strong and just suspicion of her hostile dispositions, made it im-

possible for his majesty to consent to supply her from the ports of his dominions with the means of acting against himself.

The next charge relates to the alledged misconduct of some merchant ships in landing their crews on the Coasts of Chili and Peru, with a view of carrying on there an illicit commerce, and of reconnoitring the country. On this it is to be observed, that those views are not supported by any fact whatever; that if any act was in truth committed by individuals in those territories against the laws of the government established there, those laws might have been enforced upon the spot, and the court of London has always been open to receive and redress all complaints of that nature. But that what is assigned in the manifesto as a mere cover and pretext for fraud, namely, the exercise of the whale fishery by the English in those parts, is not, as there asserted, a right which the English "claim under the convention of Nootka." It is one which was not then for the first time established, but solemnly recognized by the court of Madrid, as having always belonged to Great Britain, and the full and undisturbed exercise of which was guaranteed to his majesty's subjects in terms so express as to admit of no doubt, and in a transaction so recent, that ignorance of it cannot be pretended.

Such, it seems, were the offences of the British government, and such the jealousies and apprehension of Spain during the time when the courts of London and Madrid were united in the bands of alliance, and engaged in a common cause; and it is on motives as fri-

volous as these, that the court of Madrid began to project an offensive alliance with the king's enemies; a design which it now professes to have entertained from the moment when it separated itself from the common cause, but which was long after that period disguised under the most positive and explicit assurances of neutrality.

It is insinuated, that the good offices of his catholic majesty for bringing about a general pacification, had been tendered to Great Britain, and had been refused. What degree of impartiality could have been expected from such a mediation, the dispositions which Spain now avows herself to have entertained at that period sufficiently shews; his majesty exercised his undoubted right of judging for himself and for his people, how far a negotiation commenced under such auspices was likely to contribute to the honour and interest of his dominions; and he now finds the propriety of his decision confirmed beyond a doubt, by the conduct and avowals of Spain.

It is next stated, that in the prosecution of the war, in which Great Britain is engaged, her views seem uniformly to have been directed to the annoyance of the Spanish possessions in America. In support of this accusation are adduced an expedition directed against St. Domingo, the conquest of the Dutch colony of Demerary, and the supposed establishment of British commercial companies on the banks of the Mississippi, formed with a view of penetrating to the South Sea.

This latter point is one to which it is impossible to make a specific

answer, because the British government has no knowledge of any fact to which it can refer. Within the Spanish territory, the Spanish government certainly possess both the right and the power to prevent individuals from trading. Within the American territory, his majesty's subjects have by treaty a right to settle and to trade; and they have also an express right freely to navigate the Mississippi, by which the territories of Spain and of the United States are divided from each other. Unless, therefore, it can be shewn that the British government has authorised any settlement on the Spanish territory, this complaint can afford no pretence for hostility against his majesty.

With regard to the expedition against St. Domingo, and to the conquest of Demerary, it is impossible to refrain from remarking that however highly the rights of neutral nations ought to be respected, and whatever delicacy his majesty might be disposed to feel towards those of a power so lately his ally, and not yet become his enemy—it is a new and hitherto unheard of claim of neutrality, which is to be circumscribed by no bounds, either of time or place; which extends equally beyond the date, and beyond the limits of possession, and is to attach not to the territories of a neutral power itself, but to whatever may once have belonged to it, and to whatever may be situated in its neighbourhood, although in the possession of an actual enemy.

The subject, however, of St. Domingo, deserves to be more particularly adverted to, because the attempt on the part of Spain to
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cede a part of that island to France, is a breach of that solemn treaty under which alone the crown of Spain holds any part of its American possessions. The conclusion of such an article, without the knowledge of an ally so deeply concerned as Great Britain in that stipulation, both in right and interest, was therefore an act, such as would have justified any measures to which the court of London could have recourse; yet so earnest was the king's desire to maintain peace with Spain, that he repeatedly endeavoured to fix, by an amicable discussion with that court, the period when the right of Spain to the territory so ceded was to cease, in order that any operation which it might become expedient for his troops to undertake there, might be directed against the French alone. And although no explanation could ever be obtained from the court of Madrid on this subject, his commanders on the spot were restrained from acting, and did not act against the Spanish part of the island, till the cession actually took place, by which it became, as far as the act of Spain could make it, a part of the territories of France.

To the accusations which make up the greater part of the remainder of the manifesto, respecting the detention or capture of merchant ships, or the violation of territory therein mentioned, it is sufficient to reply, that in every case of such a nature which has been brought to the knowledge of the British government, the most effectual measures have been instantly taken for instituting inquiry into the particulars of the transaction, for collecting the

proofs necessary to ascertain the fact on which the charge is founded, and for submitting the whole to that regular course of proceeding in which justice is to be rendered in these cases, according to the established practice throughout Europe, and to the express stipulations of the treaties between Great Britain and Spain.

Amidst the wide and complicated operations of a naval war, extended over every quarter of the globe, it is not improbable that some disorders and irregularities may have taken place, which the utmost vigilance of the government could not immediately discover or repress; and that in the exercise of the undoubted right of a power at war, to search out and seize the property of the enemy, the rights of neutral nations may, in some instances, have been unintentionally exposed to temporary molestation. The same observation was not less applicable to Spain in her war with France; and the short interval that has elapsed since her declaration against Great Britain has amply shewn that similar complaints will arise from her conduct in the present war.

The utmost that can be demanded in such cases of a power at war, is, that it should shew itself ready on all occasions to listen to the remonstrances and reclamations of those whom it may have aggrieved, and prompt and expeditious in redressing their injuries, and in restoring their property: and to the readiness of the British government to fulfil these duties, in every case where they have been called upon to do so, even Spain herself may safely be called to bear witness. Nor would it be easy to

cite a more striking proof of the friendly disposition of the king's government, and of the particular attention manifested towards the rights and interest of Spain, than arises from an impartial examination of the detail of what has passed on this subject. It will be found that the causes of complaints, whether well or ill founded, which have been brought forward, are much fewer than ever have occurred within the same period in former times. And the court of Spain, when called upon to specify particulars on this head, is obliged to have recourse to an allegation of the depredations of Corsican privateers.

There remains but one ground upon which the court of Spain pretends to account to the world for the rash and perfidious step which it has taken in declaring war against England, and to excuse to Europe the calamities which cannot fail to result from such a measure; the supposed decree of arrest asserted to have issued against the Spanish ambassador at the court of London. The fact, to which this relates, must have been grossly mistaken before it could be made to appear, even in the eyes of Spain, a fit motive for the slightest representation or complaint, much more a justifiable cause of war between the two kingdoms.

By the stress which is laid upon this transaction, who is there that would not be led to imagine that the law-suit commenced against the Spanish ambassador, was attended with some peculiar circumstances of personal indignity? That the result was intentional, and originated with the British govern-

ment? or that, on being apprized of the offence, the court of London had shewn some unwillingness or delay in proceeding to the prosecution of the parties concerned in it?

Who but would be astonished to learn that the process itself was no more than a simple citation to answer at law for a debt demanded? that the suing this process was the mistaken act of an individual, who was immediately disavowed by the government, and ordered to be prosecuted for his conduct, and who made, (but made in vain) repeated and submissive applications to the Spanish ambassador for forgiveness and interference on his behalf? that cases of the same nature have frequently arisen in England from the ignorance of individuals, and from the ready appeal to the laws which the happy constitution of the country admits and authorizes, without the previous intervention or knowledge of any branch of the executive government; and that in all similar cases, and particularly in one which had occurred only a few weeks before, precisely the same measures had been pursued by the government to vindicate the privileges of foreign ministers, and have uniformly, and without exception, been accepted as completely adequate to that object, and satisfactory to the dignity and honour of the sovereign whom the case concerned?

Such then are the frivolous motives, and pretended wrongs, which Spain has chosen to assign as the justification of her declaration of war against Great Britain. Such are the topics of complaint upon which his majesty has repeatedly offered
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the most unequivocal explanation ; upon which he has long and earnestly endeavoured to persuade the court of Madrid to enter into a full and amicable discussion, for the purpose of averting from his own subjects, from those of his Catholic majesty, and from Europe, the extremities of war.

When upon grounds of such a nature, and with the offer of negotiation repeatedly presented to its choice, a power has wilfully and wantonly chosen a war, in which its prosperity, its happiness, and its safety, are hazarded, and in which it will have as much to fear from the success of its allies as from that of its enemies—it surely is not too much to presume, that, even in its own eyes, that power is not justified for the proceeding which it adopted, and that there must be some unassigned motive of irresistible necessity, which induces it to pursue measures alike inconsistent with its interest and with its honour.

It will be plain to all posterity—it is now notorious to Europe, that neither to the genuine wishes, nor even to the mistaken policy of Spain, her present conduct is to be attributed; that not from enmity towards Great Britain, not from any resentment of past or apprehension of future injuries, but from a blind subserviency to the views of his majesty's enemies, from the dominion usurped over her councils and actions by her new allies, she has been compelled to act in a quarrel, and for interests not her own; to take up arms against one of those powers in whose cause she had professed to feel the strongest interest, and even to menace with hostility another, against whom no cause of

complaint is pretended, except its honourable and faithful adherence to its engagements.

Under these circumstances, his majesty forbears to enumerate the several grounds of just complaint which he has had occasion, on his part, to prefer to the court of Madrid, since the conclusion of the peace between France and Spain; the many and gross instances of unjust partiality towards his enemies, of undue protection afforded to their ships, and of injuries committed, and allowed to be committed, on those of his majesty and his subjects.

Confident of having acquitted himself to the world of any share in originating the present war, he finds, in the manifest and unprovoked aggression of the enemy, a sufficient cause for calling forth the resources of his kingdoms, and the spirit of his subjects; and he commits to the Divine Providence the issue of a contest, which it was to the last moment his earnest endeavour to avoid, and which he now ardently desires to bring to a speedy and honourable termination.

Official Correspondence, published by the British Government, relating to the Negotiation for Peace between the French Republic and Great Britain.

No. 1.

Sir,

IN obedience to the orders of the king my master, I have the honour to transmit to you the enclosed note, and to request of you that you will forward it to his Danish majesty's minister at Paris, to

L 2 be

be by him communicated to the executive directory.

The sentiments of your court are too well known to the king to admit of his majesty's entertaining any doubt of the satisfaction with which his Danish majesty will see the intervention of his ministers employed on such an occasion, or of the earnestness with which you, sir, will concur in a measure which has for its object the re-establishment of peace.

I have the honour to be, with the most perfect consideration,

Sir,

Your most humble,

And most obedient servant,

GRENVILLE.

To the count Wedel Jarlsberg, &c. &c. &c.

No. 2.

Note.—HIS Britannic majesty, animated with the same desire, which he has already manifested, to terminate, by just, honourable, and permanent conditions of peace, a war which has extended itself throughout all parts of the world, is willing to omit nothing on his part which may contribute to this object.

It is with this view that he has thought it proper to avail himself of the confidential intervention of the ministers of a neutral power, to demand of the executive directory, passports for a person of confidence whom his majesty would send to Paris with a commission to discuss, with the government there, all the means the most proper to produce so desirable an end.

And his majesty is persuaded that he shall receive, without delay, through the same channel, a satisfactory answer to this demand, which cannot fail to place in a still clearer light the just and pacific

dispositions which he entertains in common with his allies.

GRENVILLE.

Westminster, Sept. 6, 1796.

No. 3.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inform your excellency, that the note addressed to the executive directory of France, in date of the 6th of the present month, was transmitted by M. Koenemann, charge d'affaires of his Danish majesty, to M. Delacroix, minister for foreign affairs at Paris, who promised that an answer should be returned to it after it had been submitted to the consideration of the government. Three days having elapsed in expectation of this answer, Mr. Koenemann went a second time to the minister above mentioned, who gave him to understand, that the executive directory had not permitted him to return an answer in writing, but that he was directed to express himself verbally to this effect:

“That the executive directory of the French republic would not, for the future, receive or answer, any overtures or confidential papers transmitted through any intermediate channel from the enemies of the republic; but that if they would send persons furnished with full powers and official papers, these might, upon the frontiers, demand the passports necessary for proceeding to Paris.”

I have the honour to be, with the most perfect respect,

My lord,

Your excellency's most humble,

And most obedient servant,

(Signed) COMTE DE WEDEL
JARLSBERG.

London, Sept. 3, 1796;

No. 4.

No. 4.

Sir, *Paris, Sept. 6, 1796.*

I WAS indisposed at my country house when your excellency's courier brought me the letters which your excellency did me the honour to write to me on the 7th instant, together with the note of lord Grenville inclosed therein. I set off for Paris on the following day, where, after demanding an audience of citizen Delacroix, minister for foreign affairs, I presented the note abovementioned, accompanied with another in my own name, in which I explained the motives that had induced me to undertake a measure for which I had no authority from my court. He promised to submit the two notes to the inspection of the government, and to return me an answer immediately. Having waited for three days without receiving an answer, I went a second time to wait upon the minister, who, in a very dry tone, informed me, that the executive directory had not permitted him to return an answer in writing, but that he was directed to express himself verbally to this effect:

“That the executive directory of the French republic would not, for the future, receive or answer any confidential overtures or papers transmitted through any intermediate channel, from the enemies of the republic; but that if they would send persons furnished with full powers and official papers, these might, upon the frontiers, demand the passports necessary for proceeding to Paris.”

Such, sir, is the result of a measure which I have taken at your request. I wish, for the sake of

humanity, that we may meet with better success at some future period; but I fear that this period is still at a great distance.

I have the honour to be, with respectful attachment,

Sir,

Your excellency's most humble,
And most obedient servant,

KOENEMAN.

To his excellency the count

Wedel Jarlsberg, &c.

&c. &c.

No. 5.

IN demanding of the executive directory of the French republic, through the intervention of the ministers of a neutral power, a passport for a confidential person to be sent to Paris, the court of London accompanied this demand with the express declaration, that this person should be commissioned to discuss with the government all the means the most proper for conducting to the re-establishment of peace.

The king, persevering in the same sentiments, which he has already so unequivocally declared, will not leave to his enemies the smallest pretext for eluding a discussion, the result of which will necessarily serve either to produce the happiness of so many nations, or at least to render evident the views and dispositions of those who oppose themselves to it.

It is therefore in pursuance of these sentiments, that the undersigned is charged to declare, that as soon as the executive directory shall think proper to transmit to the undersigned the necessary passports (of which he, by this note, renews the demand already made) his Britannic Majesty will send to

Paris a person furnished with full powers, and official instructions, to negotiate with the executive directory on the means of terminating the present war, by a pacification, just, honourable, and solid, calculated to restore repose to Europe, and to ensure, for the time to come, the general tranquillity.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

Westminster, Sept. 27, 1796.

To the minister for foreign affairs, at Paris.

No. 6.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to lord Grenville a copy of the decree of the executive directory of the French republic, in answer to his note of the 27th September, 1796, (O. S.)

He will there see a proof of the earnest desire of the French government to profit of the overture that is made to them, in the hope that it may lead to peace with the government of England.

I have the honour to send him, at the same time, the passports required for the minister plenipotentiary, whom his Britannic majesty proposes to name, to treat: and I request lord Grenville to accept the assurance of my personal wishes for the success of this negotiation, as well as that of my most perfect consideration.

(Signed) CH. DELACROIX.

Paris, 11 Vendemiaire, 5th year of the French republic.

No. 7.

Extract from the Register of the Decrees of the Executive Directory.

The 9th Vendemiaire, 5th year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

THE executive directory, upon

consideration of the note addressed to the minister for foreign affairs by lord Grenville, dated September 27, 1796, wishing to give a proof of the desire which it entertains to make peace with England, decrees as follows:

The minister for foreign affairs is charged to deliver the necessary passports to the envoy of England, who shall be furnished with full powers, not only for preparing and negotiating the peace between the French republic and that power, but for concluding it definitively between them.

True copy.

(Signed) L. M. REVELLIERE.

LEPEAUX, president.

By the executive directory.

For the secretary general.

(Signed) LE TOURNEUR.

Certified true copy.

The minister for foreign affairs,

CH. DELACROIX.

By the minister.

J. GUIRAUDET, sc. gen.

No. 7.

LORD Malmesbury, who is appointed by the king to treat with the French government for a just and equitable peace, calculated to restore peace to Europe, and to ensure the public tranquillity for the time to come, will have the honour of delivering this letter from me to M. Delacroix.

The distinguished rank and merit of the minister of whom his majesty has made choice on this occasion, makes it unnecessary for me to say any thing in his recommendation; at the same time that it furnishes a fresh proof of the desire of his majesty to contribute to the success of this negotiation: for which object I entertain the most sanguine wishes.

Monsieur

Monsieur Delacroix will have the goodness to accept from me the assurance of my most perfect consideration.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

Westminster, Oct. 13, 1796.

To the minister for foreign affairs, at Paris,

No. 8.

LORD Malmesbury, named by his Britannic majesty as his plenipotentiary to the French republic, has the honour to announce, by his secretary, to the minister for foreign affairs, his arrival at Paris; and to request of him, at the same time, to be so good as to appoint the hour at which he may wait upon him, for the purpose of communicating to him the object of his mission.

Paris, October 22, 1796.

To the minister for foreign affairs.

No. 9.

THE minister for foreign affairs learns with satisfaction the arrival of lord Malmesbury, plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty. He will have the honour to receive him to-morrow at eleven o'clock in the morning, or at any later hour that may suit him, till two o'clock. He hopes that lord Malmesbury will forgive him for thus limiting the time, on account of the nature and the multiplicity of his occupations.

1st Brumaire, An 5. (October 22, 1796.)

To lord Malmesbury, minister plenipotentiary from his Britannic majesty to the French republic, at Paris.

No. 10.

LORD Malmesbury has the ho-

nour to thank the minister for foreign affairs for the obliging answer which he has just received from him.

He accepts with pleasure the first moment proposed, and will wait upon him to-morrow morning, at eleven o'clock precisely.

Paris, Oct. 22.

To the minister for foreign affairs.

No. 11.

THE minister for foreign affairs has the honour to apprise lord Malmesbury, commissioner plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty, that he has received from the executive directory the necessary powers for negotiating and concluding peace between the republic and his majesty.

To-morrow, if lord Malmesbury pleases, the respective powers shall be exchanged. The minister for foreign affairs will then be ready to receive the propositions, which lord Malmesbury is commissioned to make to the republic on the part of his Britannic majesty.

The minister for foreign affairs requests lord Malmesbury to accept the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) CH. DELACROIX.

2 Brumaire, An. 5.

(Oct. 22, 1796.)

No. 12.

LORD Malmesbury has the honour to present his acknowledgments to the minister for foreign affairs for the communication which he has just made to him, and he will have the honour to wait upon him to-morrow, at the hour which he shall have the goodness to appoint, to receive the copy of the full powers with which he is furnished

nished on the part of the executive directory; and as soon as they shall have been exchanged, he will be ready to commence the negotiation with which he is charged.

He requests the minister for foreign affairs to accept the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

Paris, October 23rd, 1796.

No. 13.

Extract from the Register of the Decrees of the Executive Directory.

2 Brumaire, (22 Nov.)
5th year of the French
republic, one and indivisible.

THE executive directory, after having heard the report of the minister for foreign affairs.

The citizen Charles Delacroix, minister for foreign affairs, is charged to negotiate with lord Malmesbury, commissoner plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty, furnished with full powers to prepare and negotiate peace between the French republic and that power, and to conclude it definitively between them. The directory gives to the said minister all powers necessary for concluding and signing the treaty of peace to take place between the republic and his Britannic majesty. He shall conform himself to the instructions which shall be given him. He shall render a regular account, from time to time, of the progress and of the issue of the negotiation.

The present decree shall not be printed at this time.

A true copy.

(Signed) L. R. REVELLIERE.
LEPEAUX.

By the executive directory.

The secretary general.

(Signed) LA GARDE.

Copy.

The minister for foreign affairs,

(Signed) CH. DELACROIX.

By the minister

(L. S.) J. GUIRAUDET, sec. gen.

No. 14.

Memorial.—HIS Britannic majesty desiring, as he has already declared, to contribute, as far as depends on him, to the re-establishment of public tranquillity, and to ensure by the means of just, honourable, and solid conditions of peace, the future repose of Europe; his majesty is of opinion, that the best means of attaining, with all possible expedition, that salutary end, will be to agree, at the beginning of the negotiation, on the general principle which shall serve as a basis for the definitive arrangements.

The first object of negotiations for peace generally relates to the restitutions and cessions which the respective parties have mutually to demand in consequence of the events of war.

Great Britain, from the uninterrupted success of her naval war, finds herself in a situation to have no restitution to demand of France, from which, on the contrary, she has taken establishments and colonies of the highest importance, and of a value almost incalculable.

But, on the other hand, France has made, on the continent of Europe, conquests to which his majesty can be the less indifferent, as the most important interests of his people, and the most sacred engagements

gements of his crown are essentially implicated therein.

The magnanimity of the king, his inviolable good faith and his desire to restore repose to so many nations, induce him to consider this situation of affairs as affording the means of procuring for all the belligerent powers just and equitable terms of peace, and such as are calculated to ensure for the time to come the general tranquillity.

It is on this footing, then, that he purposes to negotiate, by offering to make compensation to France, by proportionable restitutions, for those arrangements to which she will be called upon to consent, in order to satisfy the just demands of the king's allies, and to preserve the political balance of Europe.

Having made this first overture, his majesty will, in the sequel, explain himself more particularly on the application of this principle to the different objects which may be discussed between the respective parties.

It is this application which will constitute the subject of those discussions, into which his majesty has authorized his minister to enter, as soon as the principle to be adopted as the general basis of the negotiation is known.

But his majesty cannot omit to declare, that if this generous and equitable offer should not be accepted, or if, unfortunately, the discussions which may ensue, should fail to produce the desired effect, neither this general proposition, nor those more detailed which may result from it, can be regard-

ed, in any case, as points agreed upon or admitted by his majesty.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

Minister plenipotentiary from his Britannic majesty.

Paris, Oct. 24, 1796.

No. 15.

Extract from the register of the deliberations of the executive directory.

Paris, 5 Brumaire, 5th year of the republic, one and indivisible.

THE executive directory orders the minister for foreign affairs to make the following answer to lord Malmesbury :

The executive directory sees with pain, that at the moment when it had reason to hope for the speedy return of peace between the French republic and his Britannic majesty, the proposal of lord Malmesbury offers nothing but dilatory or very distant means of bringing the negotiation to a conclusion.

The directory observe, that if lord Malmesbury would have agreed to treat separately, as he was formally authorized by the tenor of his credentials, the negotiations might have been considerably abridged ; that the necessity of balancing with the interests of the two powers those of the allies of Great Britain, multiplies the combinations, increases the difficulties, tends to the formation of a congress, the forms of which it is known are always tardy, and requires the accession of powers which hitherto have displayed no desire of accommodation, and have not given to lord Malmesbury himself, according to his own declaration, any power to stipulate for them.

Thus

Thus, without prejudging the intentions of lord Malmesbury; without drawing any conclusion from the circumstance of his declaration not appearing to accord with his credentials; without supposing that he has received any secret instructions which would destroy the effect of his ostensible powers; without pretending, in short, to assert, that the British government have had a double object in view—to prevent, by general propositions, the partial propositions of other powers, and to obtain from the people of England the means of continuing the war, by throwing upon the republic the odium of delay occasioned by themselves; the executive directory cannot but perceive, that the proposition of lord Malmesbury is nothing more than a renewal, under more amicable forms, of the propositions made last year by Mr. Wickham, and that it presents but a distant hope of peace.

The executive directory farther observe, with regard to the principle of retrocessions advanced by lord Malmesbury, that such a principle, presented in a vague and isolated manner, cannot serve as the basis of negotiation; that the first points of consideration are, the common necessity of a just and solid peace, the political equilibrium which absolute retrocessions might destroy, and then the means which the belligerent powers may possess—the one to retain conquests made at a time when it was supported by a great number of allies, now detached from the coalition; and the other, to recover them at a time when those who were at first its enemies, have almost all, become either its allies, or at least neuter.

Nevertheless, the executive directory, animated with an ardent desire of putting a stop to the scourge of war, and to prove that they will not reject any means of reconciliation, declare, that as soon as lord Malmesbury shall exhibit to the minister for foreign affairs sufficient powers, from the allies of Great Britain, for stipulating for their respective interests, accompanied by a promise on their part to subscribe to whatever shall be concluded in their names, the executive directory will hasten to give an answer to the specific propositions which shall be submitted to them, and that the difficulties shall be removed, as far as may be consistent with the safety and dignity of the French republic.

A true copy.

(Signed) L. M. REVELLIERE:
LEPEAUX, president.

By the executive directory.

(Signed) LAGARDE, sec. gen.
A true copy.

The minister for foreign affairs,

CH. DELACROIX.

By the minister.

The secretary general,

J. GUIRAUDET.

No. 16.

Note.—The undersigned has not failed to transmit to his court the answer of the executive directory to the proposals which he was charged to make, as an opening to a pacific negotiation.

With regard to the offensive and injurious insinuations which are contained in that paper, and which are only calculated to throw new obstacles in the way of the accommodation which the French government professes to desire, the king has deemed it far beneath his

dignity to permit an answer to be made to them on his part in any manner whatsoever.

The progress and the result of the negotiation will sufficiently prove the principles by which it will have been directed on each side; and it is neither by revolting reproaches wholly destitute of foundation, nor by reciprocal invec-tive, that a sincere wish to accomplish the great work of pacifi-cation can be evinced.

The undersigned passes, there-fore, to the first object of discussion brought forward in the answer of the executive directory;—that of a separate negotiation, to which it has been supposed, without the smallest foundation, that the un-der-signed was authorized to ac-cede.

His full powers, made out in the usual form, give him all ne-cessary authority to negotiate and to conclude the peace; but these powers prescribe to him neither the form, the nature, nor the conditions of the future treaty.

Upon these points, he is bound to conform himself, according to the long established and received custom of Europe, to the instruc-tions which he shall receive from his court; and accordingly he did not fail to acquaint the minister for foreign affairs, at their first con-ference, that the king his master had expressly enjoined him to lis-ten to no proposal tending to sepa-rate the interests of his majesty from those of his allies.

There can be no question then but of a negotiation which shall combine the interests and pretensi-ons of all the powers who make a common cause with the king in the present war.

In the course of such a negotia-tion, the intervention, or, at least, the participation of these powers will doubtless become absolutely necessary; and his majesty hopes to find at all times the same dispo-sitions to treat, upon a just and equitable basis, of which his ma-jesty, the emperor and king, gave to the French government so strik-ing a proof at the very moment of the opening of the present cam-paign.

But it appears, that the waiting for a formal and definitive authori-ty on the part of the allies of the king, before Great Britain and France begin to discuss, even pro-visionally, the principles of the ne-gotiation, would be to create a very useless delay.

A conduct wholly different has been observed by those two pow-ers on almost all similar occasions; and his majesty thinks, that the best proof which they can give, at the present moment, to all Europe, of their mutual desire to put a stop, as soon as possible, to the calami-ties of war, would be to settle, without delay, the basis of a com-bined negotiation, inviting, at the same time, their allies to concur in it, in the manner the most proper for accelerating the general paci-fication.

It is with this view that the un-der-signed was charged to propose at first, and at the very commence-ment of the negotiation, a princi-ple, which the generosity and good faith of his majesty could alone dictate to him—that of making com-pensation to France, by proportion-able restitutions, for the arrange-ments to which she will be required to consent, in order to satisfy the just pretensions of the king's allies,
and

and to preserve the political balance of Europe.

The executive directory has not explained itself in a precise manner, either as to the acceptance of this principle, or as to the changes or modifications which it may desire to be made in it; nor has it, in short, proposed any other principle whatever to answer the same end.

The undersigned, then, has orders to recur to this point, and to demand, on that head, a frank and precise explanation, in order to abridge the delays which must necessarily result from the difficulty of form which has been started by the executive directory.

He is authorized to add to this demand the express declaration, that his majesty in communicating to his august allies every successive step which he may take, relative to the object of the present negotiation, and in fulfilling, towards these sovereigns, in the most efficacious manner, all the duties of a good and faithful ally, will omit nothing on his part, as well to dispose them to concur in this negotiation, by the means the most proper to facilitate its progress, and insure its success, as to induce them always to persist in sentiments conformable to the wishes which he entertains for the return of a general peace, upon just, honourable, and permanent conditions.

(Signed) MALMESBURY:
Paris, November, 12, 1796.

No. 17.

THE undersigned is charged, by the executive directory, to invite you to point out, without the smallest delay, and expressly, the objects of reciprocal compensation which you propose.

He is, moreover, charged to de-

mand of you, what are the dispositions to treat, on a just and equitable basis, of which his majesty, the emperor and king, gave to the French government so striking a proof at the very commencement of the campaign. The executive directory is unacquainted with it.—It was the emperor and king who broke the armistice.

(Signed) CH. DELACROIX.
Paris, 22 Brumaire, (Nov. 12,) 5th year of the French republic.

No. 18.

THE undersigned does not hesitate a moment to answer the two questions which you have been instructed by the executive directory to put to him.

The memorial presented this morning by the undersigned proposes, in express terms, on the part of his majesty the king of Great Britain, to compensate France, by proportionable restitutions, for the arrangements to which she will be called upon to consent, in order to satisfy the just pretensions of the king's allies, and to preserve the political balance of Europe.

Before the formal acceptance of this principle, or the proposal, on the part of the executive directory, of some other principles which might equally serve as the basis of a negotiation for a general peace, the undersigned cannot be authorized to designate the objects of reciprocal compensation.

As to the proof of the pacific disposition given to the French government by his majesty, the emperor and king, at the opening of the campaign, the undersigned contents himself with a reference to the following words contained in the note of baron Degelman, on the 4th of June last.

The

The operations of the war will in no wise prevent his Imperial majesty from being ever ready to concur, agreeably to any form of negotiating which shall be adopted, in concert with the belligerent powers, in the discussion of proper means for putting a stop to the farther effusion of human blood.

This note was presented after the armistice was broken.

MALMESBURY.

Paris, November 12, 1796.

No. 19.

THE minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty requests the minister for foreign affairs to inform him, whether he is to consider the official note, which he received from him yesterday evening, as the answer to that which lord Malmesbury delivered yesterday morning to the minister for foreign affairs by order of his court. He applies for this information, that the departure of his courier may not be unnecessarily delayed.

MALMESBURY.

Paris, November 13, 1796.

No. 20.

THE undersigned, minister for foreign affairs, declares to lord Malmesbury, minister plenipotentiary from his Britannic majesty, that he is to consider the official note sent to him yesterday as the answer to that which lord Malmesbury had addressed to him on the morning of the same day.

CHARLES DELACROIX.

23 Brumaire, 5th year.

November 13, 1796.

No. 21.

LORD Malmesbury has just received the answer of the minister for foreign affairs, in which he declares that the official note which he sent to him yesterday is to be

considered as the answer to that which lord Malmesbury addressed to him on the morning of the same day.

Lord Malmesbury will transmit it, this day, to his court.

MALMESBURY.

Paris, November 13, 1796.

No. 22.

THE undersigned, in reply to your second note of yesterday, is ordered, by the executive directory to declare to you, that he has nothing to add to the answer which has been addressed to you. He is also instructed to ask you, whether, on each official communication which shall take place between you and him, it will be necessary for you to send a courier to receive special instructions?

CHARLES DELACROIX.

Paris, 23 Brumaire. (Nov. 13,)

5th year.

No. 23.

THE undersigned will not fail to transmit to his court the note which he has just received from the minister of foreign affairs. He declares, likewise, that he shall dispatch couriers to his court as often as the official communications made to him may require special instructions.

(Signed)

MALMESBURY.

Paris, Nov. 13, 1796.

No. 24.

Note.—The court of London, having been informed of what has passed in consequence of the last memorial, delivered, by its order, to the minister for foreign affairs, does not think it necessary to add any thing to the answer made by the undersigned to the two questions which the directory thought proper to address to him.

That court waits therefore, and with

with the greatest anxiety, for an explanation of the sentiments of the directory, with regard to the principle it has proposed, as the basis of the negotiation, and the adoption of which appeared to be the best means of accelerating the progress of a discussion so important to the happiness of so many nations.

The undersigned has, in consequence, received orders to renew the demand of a frank and precise answer on this point, in order that his court may know, with certainty, whether the directory accepts that proposal; or desires to make any change or modifications whatever in it; or lastly, whether it would wish to propose any other principle that may promote the same end.

MALMESBURY.

Paris, November 26, 1796.

No. 25.

IN answer to the note delivered yesterday, November 26, by lord Malmesbury, the undersigned minister for foreign affairs is instructed by the directory to observe that the answers made on the 5th and 22d of last Brumaire contained an acknowledgment of the principle of compensation, and that, in order to remove every pretext for farther discussion on that point, the undersigned, in the name of the executive directory, now makes a formal and positive declaration of such acknowledgment.

In consequence, lord Malmesbury is again invited to give a speedy and categorical answer to the proposal made to him on the 22d of last Brumaire, and which was conceived in these terms: the undersigned is instructed by the execu-

tive directory to invite you to designate, without the least delay, and expressly, the objects of reciprocal compensation which you have to propose.

CH. DELACROIX.

Paris, November 27.

No. 26.

THE undersigned minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty, in answer to the note dated this morning, which was sent to him by the minister for foreign affairs, hastens to assure him, that he will not delay a moment in communicating it to his court, from which he must necessarily wait for further orders, before he can explain himself upon the important points which it contains.

(Signed)

MALMESEURY.

Paris, 27 November, 1796.

No. 27.

Note.—The undersigned is charged to transmit to the minister for foreign affairs the enclosed memorial, containing the proposals of his court, with respect to the application of the general principle already established as the basis of the negotiation for peace.

He will, with the utmost readiness, enter with that minister into every explanation which the state and progress of the negotiation will allow, and he will not fail to enter into the discussion of these proposition, or of any counter-projet which may be transmitted to him on the part of the executive directory, with that frankness and that spirit of conciliation which correspond with the just and pacific intentions of his court.

Signed

MALMESBURY.

Paris, December 17, 1796.

No. 28.

No. 28.

Confidential memorial, on the principal objects of restitution, compensation and reciprocal arrangement.

THE principle, already established as the basis of negotiation, by the consent of the two governments, is founded on restitutions to be made by his Britannic majesty to France, in compensation for the arrangements to which that power may consent, in order to satisfy the just pretensions of the allies of the king, and to preserve the political balance of Europe.

In order to accomplish these objects, in the manner the most complete, and to offer a fresh proof of the sincerity of his wishes for the re-establishment of general tranquillity, his majesty would propose, that there should be given to this principle, on each side, all the latitude of which it may be susceptible.

I. His majesty demands therefore,

1. The restitution to his majesty, the emperor and king, of all his dominions, on the footing of the *status ante bellum*.

2. The re-establishment of peace between the Germanic empire and France, by a suitable arrangement conformable to the respective interests and the general safety of Europe. This arrangement to be negotiated with his Imperial majesty, as constitutional head of the empire, either by the intervention of the king, or immediately, as his Imperial majesty shall prefer.

3. The evacuation of Italy by the French troops, with an engagement not to interfere in the internal affairs of that country; which should be re-established, as far as

possible, upon the footing of the *status ante bellum*.

In the course of the negotiation, a more detailed discussion may be entered into of the further measures which may be proper to adopt respecting the objects of these three articles, in order to the providing more effectually for the future security of the respective limits or possessions, and for the maintenance of general tranquillity.

II. With regard to the other allies of his Britannic majesty, his majesty demands, that there be reserved to her majesty the empress of all the Russias full and unlimited power of taking part in this negotiation wherever she may think fit, or of acceding to the definitive treaty, and thereby returning to a state of peace with France.

III. His majesty also demands, that her most faithful majesty may be comprehended in this negotiation, and may return to a state of peace with France, without any cession or onerous condition on either side.

IV. On these conditions his majesty offers to France the entire and unreserved restitution of all the conquests which he has made on that point in the East and West Indies, proposing at the same time that a mutual understanding should be established as to the means of securing for the future, the tranquillity of the two nations, and of consoling, as much as possible, the advantages of their respective possessions. His majesty offers, in like manner, the restitution of the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, and the fishery of Newfoundland, on the footing of the *status ante bellum*.

But if, in addition to this, his majesty

majesty were to wave the right given to him by the express stipulation of the treaty of Utrecht, of oppossing the cession of the Spanish part of St. Domingo to France, his majesty would then demand, in return for this concession, a compensation, which might secure, at least in some degree, the maintenance of the balance of the respective possessions in that part of the world.

V. In all the cases of cessions or restitutions which may come in question in the course of this negotiation, there should be granted on each side to all individuals the most unlimited right to withdraw with their families and their property, and to sell their land and other moveable possessions; and adequate arrangements should be also made, in the course of this negotiation, for the removal of all sequestrations, and for the satisfaction of the just claims, which individuals on either side may have to make upon the respective governments.

(Signed) LALMESBURY.
No. 29.

Confidential Memorial to the Peace with Spain and Ireland.

THE allies of France not having hitherto expressed any desire or disposition to treat with the king, his majesty might have forborne to enter into any detail on their account; but in order to avoid any delays prejudicial to the great object which the king has in view, and to accelerate the work of a general peace, his majesty will not refuse to explain himself on the first instance on the points which concern those powers. If the Catholic king should desire, be comprehended in this negotiation,

or to be allowed to accede to the definitive treaty, this would meet with no obstacle on the part of his majesty. Nothing having hitherto been conquered by either of the two sovereigns from the other, no other point could, at the present moment, come into question but that of the re-establishment of peace, simply, and without and restitution or compensation whatever, except such as might possibly result from the application of the principle declared at the end of the fourth article of the memorial already delivered to the minister for foreign affairs.

But if, during the negotiation, any alteration should take place in the state of things in this respect, it will then be proper to agree upon the restitutions and compensations to be made on each side.

With regard to the republic of the United Provinces, his Britannic majesty and his allies find themselves too nearly interested in the political situation of those provinces to be able to consent in her favour to the re-establishment of the *status ante bellum* as with respect to the territorial possessions, unless France could, on her part, reinstate them in all respects in the same political situation in which they stood before the war.

If at least it were possible to re-establish in those provinces, agreeably to what is believed to be the wish of a great majority of the inhabitants, their ancient constitution and form of government, his majesty might then be disposed to relax, in their favour, from a very considerable part of the conditions on which the present state of things obliged him to insist.

But if, on the contrary, it is with the republic of Holland, in its present

present state, that their Britannic and Imperial majesties will have to treat, they will feel themselves obliged to seek in territorial acquisitions those compensations and that security which such a state of things will have rendered indispensable to them.

Restitutions of any kind, in favour of Holland, could in that case be admitted in so far only as they shall be compensated by arrangements calculated to contribute to the security of the Austrian Netherlands. The means of accomplishing this object will be found in the cessions which France has exacted in her treaty of peace with Holland, and the possession of which by that power would in any case be absolutely incompatible with the security of the Austrian Netherlands in the hands of his Imperial majesty.

It is on these principles that his Britannic majesty would be ready to treat for the re-establishment of peace with the republic of Holland in its present state.—The details of such a discussion must necessarily lead to the consideration of what would be due to the interests and the rights of the house of Orange.

No. 30.

MY LORD,

Paris, December 20, 1796.

MR. ELLIS returned here from London on Thursday last the 15th instant, at five P. M. and delivered to me the dispatches No. 11 and 12, with which he was charged by your lordship.

Although nothing can be clearer, more ably drawn up, or more satisfactory than the instructions they contain, yet as it was of the last importance that I should be com-

pletely master of the subject before I saw the French minister, I delayed asking for a conference till late on Friday evening, with a view that it should not take place till Saturday morning.

He appointed the hour of eleven A. M. on that day, and it was near one before we parted. Although what is said by M. Delacroix before he has communicated with the directory cannot be considered as officially binding, and probably may, in the event, be very different from what I shall hear when he speaks to me in their name, yet as it is impossible they should not nearly conjecture the nature of the overtures I should make, and of course be prepared in some degree for them, it is material that your lordship should be accurately acquainted with the first impressions they appear to make on M. Delacroix.

I prefaced what I had to communicate with saying, that I now came authorised to enter with him into deliberation upon one of the most important subjects that perhaps ever was brought into discussion—that as its magnitude forbade all *finesse*, excluded all prevarication, suspended all prejudices, and that as I had it in command to speak and act with freedom and truth, I expected that he, on his part, would consider these as the only means which could or ought to be employed if he wished to see a negotiation, in which the happiness of millions was involved, terminate successfully. That, for greater precision, and with a view to be clearly understood in what I was about to propose, I would give him a confidential memorial, accompanied by an official note, both

M

which,

which, when he had perused them, would speak for themselves. The memorial contained the conditions, on the accomplishment of which his majesty considered the restoration of peace to depend. The note was expressive of his majesty's readiness to enter into any explanation required by the directory on the subject, or to receive any *contre-projet*, resting on the same basis, which the directory might be disposed to give in. That, moreover, I did not hesitate declaring to him, in conformity to the principles which I had laid down, and from which I certainly never should depart at any period of the negotiation, that I was prepared to answer any questions, explain and elucidate any points, on which it was possible to foresee that doubts or misconceptions could arise on the consideration of these papers. And having said thus much, I had only to remark, that I believed, in no similar negociation which had ever taken place, any minister was authorised, in the first instance, to go so fully into the discussion as I now was—That I was sure neither the truth of this remark, nor the manifest conclusion to be drawn from it, would escape M. Delacroix's observation.

I then put the two papers into his hands. He began by reading the note, on which of course he could only express satisfaction. After perusing the confidential memorial with all the attention it deserved, he, after a short pause, said, that it appeared to him to be liable to insurmountable objections; that it seemed to him to require much more than it conceded, and, in the event, not to leave France in a situation of proportional greatness

to the powers of Europe. He said, the act of their constitution, according to the manner in which *it was interpreted by the best publicists*, (and this phrase is worthy remark) made it impossible for the republic to do what we required. The Austrian Netherlands were annexed to it; they could not be disposed of without flinging the nation into all the confusion which must follow a convocation of the primary assemblies; and he said, he was rather surprised that Great Britain should bring this forward as the governing condition of the treaty, since he thought he had, in some of our late conversations, fully explained the nature of their constitution to me. I replied, that every thing I had heard from him on this point was perfectly in my recollection, as it probably was in his; that though I had listened to him with that attention I always afforded to every thing he said, yet I had never made any sort of reply, and had neither admitted nor controverted this opinion; that although I believe I could easily disprove this opinion from the spirit of the French constitution itself, yet the discussion of that constitution was perfectly foreign to the object of my mission; since, even allowing his two positions, viz. that the retrocession of the Austrian Netherlands was incompatible with their laws, and that we ought to have known that beforehand, yet that there existed a *droit public* in Europe paramount to any *droit public* they may think proper to establish within their own dominions; and that if their constitution was publicly known, the treaties existing between his majesty and the emperor were at least equally public, and in these it was clearly

clearly and distinctly announced, that the contracting parties reciprocally promise not to lay down their arms without the restitution of all the dominions, territories, &c. which may have belonged to either of them before the war. That the date of this stipulation was previous to their annexing the Austrian Netherlands to France; and the notoriety of this ought, at the very moment when they had passed that law, to have convinced them, that, if adhered to, it must prove an insurmountable obstacle to peace. I applied his maxim to the West India islands, and to the settlements in the East Indies; and asked him, whether it was expected that we were to wave our right of possession, and be required still to consider them as integral parts of the French republic which must be restored, and on which no value was to be set in the balance of compensation. I also stated the possible case of France having lost part of what she deemed her integral dominions, instead of adding to them, in the course of the war, and whether then under the apprehension of still greater losses, the government, as it was now composed, should consider itself as not vested with powers sufficient to save their country from the impending danger, by making peace on the conditions of sacrificing a portion of their dominions to save the remainder. M. Delacroix said, this was stating a case of necessity, and such a mode of reasoning did not attach to the present circumstances. I readily admitted the first part of this proposition, but contended, that if the power existed in a case of necessity, it equally existed in

all others, and particularly in the case before us, since he himself had repeatedly told me that peace was what this country and its government wished for, and even wanted.

M. Delacroix, in reply, shifted his ground, and, by a string of arguments founded on premises calculated for this purpose, attempted to prove that from the relative situation of the adjacent countries, the present government of France would be reprehensible in the extreme, and deserve impeachment, if they ever suffered the Netherlands to be separated from their dominions; that by the partition of Poland, Russia, Austria, and Prussia had increased their power to a most formidable degree; that England, by its conquests, and by the activity and judgment with which it governed its colonies, had redoubled its strength.—Your Indian empire alone, said M. Delacroix with vehemence, has enabled you to subsidize all the powers of Europe against us, and your monopoly of trade has put you in possession of a fund of inexhaustible wealth. His words were, “*Votre empire dans l’Inde vous a fourni les moyens de salarier toutes les puissances contre nous, et vous avez accaparé le commerce de manière que toutes les richesses du monde se versent dans vos coffres.*”

From the necessity that France should keep the Netherlands and the left bank of the Rhine, for the purpose of preserving its relative situation in Europe, he passed to the advantages which he contended would result to the other powers by such an addition to the French dominions.

dominions. Belgium (to use his word) by belonging to France, would remove what had been the source of all wars for two centuries past, and the Rhine, being the natural boundary of France, would ensure the tranquillity of Europe for two centuries to come. I did not feel it necessary to combat this preposterous doctrine; I contented myself with reminding him of what he had said to me in one of our last conferences, when he made a comparison of the weakness of France under its monarchs, and its strength and vigour under its republican form of government.

“*Nous ne sommes plus dans la décrépitude de la France monarchique, mais dans toute la force d’une République adolescente,*” was his expression; and I inferred from this, according to his own reasoning, that the force and power France had acquired by its change of government was much greater than it could derive from any acquisition of territory; and that it followed if France, when under a regal form of government, was a very just and constant object of attention, not to say of jealousy, to the other powers of Europe, France (admitting his axiom) was a much more reasonable object of jealousy and attention under its present constitution than it ever had yet been, and that no addition to its dominions could be seen by its neighbours, but under impressions of alarm for their own future safety and for the general tranquillity of Europe. M. Delacroix’s answer to this was so remarkable that I must beg leave to insert it in his own words—“*Dans le tems révolutionnaire tout ce que vous dites, my lord, étoit vrai—rien n’égalait notre puissance; mais ce tems n’ex-*

iste plus. Nous ne pouvons plus lever la nation en masse pour voler au secours de la patrie en danger. Nous ne pouvons plus engager nos concitoyens d’ouvrir leurs bourses pour les verser dans le trésor national, et de se priver même du nécessaire pour le bien de la chose publique”—And he ended by saying, that the French republic, when at peace, necessarily must become the most quiet and pacific power in Europe. I only observed, that in this case the passage of the republic from youth to decrepitude had been very sudden; but that still I never could admit that it could be a matter of indifference to its neighbours, much less of necessary security to itself, to acquire such a very extensive addition to its frontiers, as that he had hinted at.

This led M. Delacroix to talk of offering an equivalent to the Emperor for the Austrian Netherlands, and it was to be found, according to his plan, in the secularization of the three ecclesiastical electorates, and several bishopricks in Germany and in Italy.

He talked upon this subject as one very familiar to him, and on which his thoughts had been frequently employed.

He spoke of making new electors, and named, probably with a view to render his scheme more palatable, the stadtholder and the dukes of Brunswick and Wurtemberg, as persons proper to replace the three ecclesiastical electors which were to be reformed.

It would be making an ill use of your lordship’s time to endeavour to repeat to you all he said on this subject; it went in substance (as he himself confessed) to the total subversion of the present constitution of the Germanic body; and

and as it militated directly against the principle which both his majesty and the Emperor laid down so distinctly as the basis of the peace to be made for the empire, I contented myself with reminding him of this circumstance, particularly as it is impossible to discuss this point with any propriety till his Imperial majesty becomes a party to the negotiation. I took this opportunity of hinting, that if on all the other points France agreed to the proposals now made, it would not be impossible that some increase of territory might be ceded to her on the Germanic side of her frontiers, and that this, in addition to the duchy of Savoy, Nice, and Avignon, would be a very great acquisition of strength and power. M. Delacroix here again reverted to the constitution, and said that these countries were already constitutionally annexed to France. I replied, that it was impossible, in the negotiation which we were beginning, for the other powers to take it up from any period but that which immediately preceded the war, and that any acquisition or diminution of territory which had taken place among the belligerent powers since it first broke out, must necessarily become subject matter for negotiation, and be balanced against each other in the final arrangement of a general peace. You then persist, said M. Delacroix, in applying this principle to Belgium? I answered, most certainly; and I should not deal fairly with you if I hesitated to declare, in the outset of our negotiation, that on this point you must entertain no expectation that his majesty will relax or ever consent to see the Netherlands remain a part of France.

M. Delacroix replied, he saw no prospect in this case of our ideas ever meeting, and he despaired of the success of our negotiation. He returned again, however, to his idea of a possible equivalent to be found for the Emperor; but as all he proposed was the alienation or the dismemberment of countries not belonging to France even by conquest, I did not consider it as deserving attention, and it is certainly not worth repeating to your lordship.

I need not observe that all the equivalents proposed, however inadequate to the exchange, were offered as a return for our consent that the Netherlands should remain a part of France, of course the admitting them in any shape would have been in direct contradiction to my instructions.

M. Delacroix touched very slightly on Italy; and in the course of our conversation did not bring this part of the subject more into discussion.

I must add, that whenever I mentioned the restoration of the Netherlands to the Emperor, I always took care it should be understood that these were to be accompanied by such further cessions as should form a competent line of defence, and that France could not be permitted to keep possession of all the intermediate country to the Rhine; and I particularly dwelt on this point, when I held out the possibility of admitting an extension of the limits of France on the side of Germany. But as the French minister no less strenuously opposed the restitution of the Netherlands to the Emperor than I tenaciously insisted upon it, the further extension

of my claim could not of course become a subject of argument.

I believe I have now, with a tolerable degree of accuracy, informed your lordship of all that the French minister said on my opening myself to him on that part of my instructions which more immediately relates to peace between Great Britain, his Imperial majesty and France. It remains with me to inform your lordship what passed between us on the subject of our respective allies.

On the articles reserving a right to the court of St. Petersburg, and to that of Lisbon, to accede to the treaty of peace on the strict *status ante bellum*, the French minister made no other remark than by mentioning the allies of the republic, and by inquiring whether I was prepared to say any thing relative to their interests, which certainly the republic could never abandon. This afforded me the opportunity of giving in the confidential memorial B. relative to Spain and Holland, and I preface it by repeating to him the substance of the first part of your lordship's, No 12.

Although I had touched upon the subject of the Spanish part of St. Domingo, when I had been speaking to M. Delacroix on the peace with France, yet as it did not become a matter of discussion between us till I came to mention the peace with Spain, I thought it better to place all that passed on the subject in this part of my dispatch; it was the only point on which he entered; but I by no means infer from his not bringing forward some claims for Spain, that we are not to hear of any in the course of the negotiation; on the contrary, I

have little doubt that many, and most of them inadmissible, will be made before it can end. He, however, was silent on them at this moment, and confined all he had to say to combating the idea that Spain was bound by the treaty of Utrecht not to alienate her possessions in America. I had the article copied in my pocket, and I read it to him. He confessed it was clear and explicit, but that circumstances had so materially altered since the year 1713, that engagements made then ought not to be considered as in force now. I said that the spirit of the article itself went to provide for distant contingencies, not for what was expected to happen at or near the time when the treaty was made and that it was because the alteration of circumstances he alluded to was foreseen as possible, that the clause was inserted; and that if Spain paid any regard to the faith of treaties, she must consider herself as no less strictly bound by this clause now than at the moment when it was drawn up. I went on by saying, that it did not, however, appear quite impossible that point might be settled without much difficulty; and that means might be devised that his Catholic majesty should not break his faith and both England and France be equally satisfied. I then held out to him, but in general terms, that either Spain might regain her possession of St. Domingo, by making some considerable cession to Great Britain and France, as the price of peace, or that, in return for leaving the whole of St. Domingo to France we should retain either Martinico or St. Lucia and Tobago. M. Delacroix listened with a degree of attention

attention to these proposals, but he was fearful of committing himself by any expression of approbation, and he dismissed the subject of the court of Madrid, by observing, that France never would forsake the interests of its allies.

Our conversation on those of its other ally, Holland, was much longer, as the wording of the memorial inevitably led at once deep into the subject.

M. Delacroix affected to treat any deviation from the treaty of peace concluded between France and that country, or any restoration of territories acquired under that treaty to France, as quite impracticable. He treated as equally impracticable any attempt at restoring the ancient form of government in the Seven United Provinces. He talked with an air of triumph of the establishment of a national convention at the Hague, and with an affectation of feeling, that by it the cause of freedom had extended itself over such a large number of people. He, however, was ready to confess, that from the great losses the Dutch Republic had sustained in its colonies, and particularly from the weak manner in which they had defended them, it could not be expected that his majesty would consent to a full and complete restitution of them, and that it was reasonable that some should be sacrificed; and he asked me if I could inform him, how far our views extended on this point? I said I had reason to believe that what his majesty would require would be possessions and settlements which would not add either to the power or wealth of our Indian dominions, but only tend to secure to us their safe and unmo-

lest possession. You mean by this, said M. Delacroix, the Cape and Trincomale. I said they certainly came under that description, and I saw little prospect of their being restored to the Dutch. M. Delacroix launched forth on this into a most laboured dissertation on the value of the Cape of Good Hope, which he did not consider at all as a *port de relache*, but as a possession which, in our hands, would become one of the most fertile and most productive colonies in the east; and, according to his estimation of it, he did not scruple to assert, that it would ultimately be an acquisition of infinitely greater importance to England than that of the Netherlands to France; and, if acquiesced in, should be reckoned as a full and ample compensation for them. He added, if you are masters of the Cape and Trincomale, we shall hold all our settlements in India, and the islands of France and Bourbon, entirely at the tenure of your will and pleasure: they will be ours only as long as you choose we should retain them. You will be sole masters in India, and we shall be entirely dependent upon you. I repeated to him, that it was as means of defence, and not of offence, that these possessions would be insisted on, and that if the matter was fairly and dispassionately discussed, he would find that they offered us a great additional security, but no additional power of attack, even if we were disposed to disturb the peace of that part of the world. If these, and perhaps some few other not very material settlements belonging to the Dutch, were to be insisted upon, and if he would be pleased to enumerate

all we should still have to restore to them, while they had nothing to restore to England, it was impossible not to consider the terms on which his majesty proposed peace to Holland as generous and liberal.

M. Delacroix was not at all disposed to agree with me on this point, and said, Holland, stripped of these possessions, would be ruined. He then held out, but as if the idea had just crossed his mind, the possibility of indemnifying the Dutch for their losses in India, by giving them a tract of territory towards the Meuse, (I could not find out whether he meant Aix la Chapelle, Liege, or the countries of Juliers and Berg) and hinted, that if this was not to be done, an additional sugar Island might, perhaps, be ceded to the Dutch Republic. I told him all this might become a subject of future discussion, and I conceived, that if we could agree upon the more essential points, the treaty would not break off on these secondary considerations. Our conversation had now been extremely long, and M. Delacroix ended by saying, that although he had taken upon himself to enter with me thus far upon the subject, yet I must not consider any thing he said as binding, or as pledging the republic; till such time as he had laid the papers I had given him before the Directory; and in order to do this with more accuracy, he again asked me, whether in his report he was to state the disuniting Belgium from France as a *sine quâ non* from which his majesty would not depart. I replied, it most certainly was a *sine quâ non* from which his majesty would not depart; and that any proposal which would leave the Netherlands annexed to

France, would be attended with much greater benefit to that power and lost to the allies, than the present relative situation of the belligerent powers could entitle the French government to expect.

M. Delacroix repeated his concern at the peremptory way in which I made this assertion, and asked whether it would admit of no modification? I replied, if France could, in a *contre projet*, point out a practicable and adequate one, still keeping in view that the Netherlands must not be French, or likely again to fall into the hands of France, such a proposal might certainly be taken into consideration.

M. Delacroix by no means encouraged me to explain myself more fully; he repeatedly said, that this difficulty relative to the Netherlands was one which could not be overcome.

Just as I was taking leave of him, he begged of me to explain what was meant by the words in the memoir (A) in the 4th paragraph, beginning *de s'entendre mutuellement sur les moyens d'assurer*, and ending at *leur possessions respectives*. I told him, it referred to the destructive system adopted by France in the West Indies, and went to express a wish, that the two powers should agree on some general and uniform system of internal police in the settlements there; which would contribute to the security of these possessions to the respective countries, and at the same time to the happiness of every description of inhabitants in them.

M. Delacroix, a little hurt at my expression relative to the system adopted by France, endeavoured to recriminate on us; but he ended by

by saying, that they should certainly be willing to concur in any arrangement relative to the negroes, which did not militate against the principles of their constitution. Here our conference ended, and as, during the whole course of it, I bore in my mind the possibility, that although this, our first, might be the only favourable opportunity I should ever have of speaking on the general principles on which his majesty was disposed to treat, I endeavoured, by adverting more or less to almost every point in my instructions, to enable M. Delacroix (if he reports faithfully) to state to the Directory what I said, in such a manner as to put it out of their power to misconceive what were his majesty's intentions, to remove all possibility of cavil on this case, and to bring them to a clear and distinct answer, whether they would agree to open a negotiation on the principle of the *status ante bellum*, or on one differing from it only in form, not in substance. I hope in attempting to do this I did not, in the first instance, commit myself, or discover more of my instructions than it became me to do; and that in the conversation with M. Delacroix nothing escaped me which might, at some subsequent period, hurt the progress of the negotiation. I have, I believe, given this conference nearly verbatim to your lordship; and I was particularly anxious to do this correctly and minutely, as well that you may judge on the propriety of what I said myself, as that what M. Delacroix said to me may be accurately known, and remain on record.

It must, however, be remembered (as I observed in the begin-

ning of this dispatch) that he spoke for himself, as minister indeed, but not under the immediate instructions of the Directory, and this consideration will take a little away from the singularity of some of the positions he advanced.

I confess, my Lord, from the civility of his manners, and from his apparent readiness to discuss the subject, the impression which remained on my mind on leaving him was, that the negotiation would go on, but be liable to so many difficulties, and some of them so nearly insurmountable, that knowing as I do the opinion of the Directory, I saw little prospect of its terminating successfully. But I did not expect the conduct of the Directory would immediately be such as to evince a manifest inclination, and even determination, to break off on the first proposals; and I was not a little surprised at receiving, on Sunday at three P. M. the enclosed letter A. from M. Delacroix: he sent it by the principal secretary of his department (M. Guiraudet) who communicated to me the original of the arrete of the Directory, of which this letter, abating the alteration in the form, is a literal copy. After perusing it, I asked M. Guiraudet whether he was informed of its contents, and this led to a short conversation on them. I told him that both the demands were so unexpected that I could not reply to them off hand: that as to the first, it was quite unusual to sign memorials which were annexed to a note actually signed, and that I scarcely felt myself authorised to depart from what was, I believe, an invariable rule. That as to the second demand, made in so pe-

remptory and unprecedented a way, I could, without much hesitation, say at once that it could not be complied with. M. Guiraudet lamented this much, and said, that this being the case, he feared our principles of negotiation would never coincide. I agreed with him in my expressions of concern. We conversed together afterwards for some time, but nothing passed at all worthy remark. I told him I should send my answer the next day. On reflecting more attentively on the request that I would sign the two memorials which I had given in, it struck me that the complying with it pledged me to nothing, and that it was merely gratifying them on a point insisted on peevishly, and that the doing it would put them still more in the wrong.

As to the strange demand of an ultimatum, it was perfectly clear what it became me to say, and I hope that in the enclosed answer B. (which I sent yesterday morning at twelve o'clock) to M. Delacroix, I shall be found to have adhered as closely as possible to the spirit of my instructions.

Yesterday evening, at half past nine, M. Guiraudet brought me the note C. to which I immediately replied by the note D. They require no comment; and as I intend leaving Paris to-morrow, and travelling with all convenient speed, I shall so soon have it in my power to say the little which remains to say relative to this sudden, though perhaps not unlooked for, close to my mission, that I need not trespass further on your lordship's patience.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

P. S. I thought it would be proper for his majesty's minister at Vienna to receive the earliest intelligence of the negotiation being broke off, I therefore have dispatched a messenger to Vienna with a copy of the several papers which have passed between me and M. Delacroix since our conference, and also a succinct account of what passed on it. The messenger left this place to-day at three, P. M.

Right Hon. Lord Grenville; M.
&c. &c. &c.

No. 31.

Paris, 28th Frimaire,

SIR, (Dec. 18,) 5th year.

THE Executive Directory has heard the reading of the official note signed by you, and of two confidential memorials without signatures, which were annexed to it, and which you gave in to me yesterday. I am charged expressly by the Directory to declare to you, that it cannot listen to any confidential report without a signature, and to require of you to give in to me, officially, within four and twenty hours, your *ultimatum*, signed by you.

Accept, Sir, the assurance of my high consideration.

(Signed) CH. DELACROIX.

No. 32.

Paris, 19th December, 1796.

COPY. (B.)

LORD Malmesbury, in answer to the letter which the minister for foreign affairs had the goodness to transmit to him, through the hands of the secretary general of his department, must remark, that in signing the official note which he gave in to that minister, by order of his court, he though he had

had complied with all the usual formalities, and had given the necessary authenticity to the two confidential memorials which were annexed to it. Nevertheless, to remove all difficulties, as far as lies in his power, he willingly adopts the forms which are pointed out by the resolution of the Executive Directory, and hastens to send to the minister for foreign affairs the two memorials signed by his hand.

With respect to the positive demand of an *ultimatum*, Lord Malmesbury observes, that insisting on that point in so peremptory a manner, before the two powers shall have communicated to each other their respective pretensions, and that the articles of the future treaty shall have been submitted to the discussions which the different interests which are to be adjusted necessarily demand, is to shut the door against all negotiation. He, therefore, can add nothing to the assurances which he has already given to the minister for foreign affairs, as well by word of mouth, as in his official note; and he repeats that he is ready to enter with that minister into every explanation of which the state and progress of the negotiation may admit, and that he will not fail to enter into the discussion of the proposals of his court, or of any counter project which may be delivered to him, on the part of the Executive Directory, with that candour and that spirit of conciliation which correspond with the just and pacific sentiments of his court.

Lord Malmesbury requests the minister for foreign affairs to accept the assurances of his high consideration.

No. 33.

THE undersigned minister for

foreign affairs is charged by the Executive Directory to answer to Lord Malmesbury's two notes of the 27th and 29th Frimaire (17th and 19th December, O. S.) that the Executive Directory will listen to no proposals contrary to the constitution, to the laws, and to the treaties which bind the Republic.

And as Lord Malmesbury announces at every communication, that he is in want of the opinion of his court, from which it results that he acts a part merely passive in the negotiation, which renders his presence at Paris useless; the undersigned is further charged to give him notice to depart from Paris in eight and forty hours, with all the persons who have accompanied and followed him, and to quit, as expeditiously as possible, the territory of the Republic.

The undersigned declares moreover, in the name of the Executive Directory, that if the British cabinet is desirous of peace, the Executive Directory is ready to follow the negotiations, according to the basis laid down in the present note, by the reciprocal channel of couriers.

(Signed) CH. DELACROIX.
Paris, 29th Frimaire (19th Dec.)
5th year of the French Republic,
one and indivisible.

No. 34.

(D.)

LORD Malmesbury hastens to acknowledge the receipt of the note of the minister for foreign affairs, dated yesterday. He is preparing to quit Paris to-morrow, and demands, in consequence, the necessary passports for himself and his suite.

He

He requests the minister for foreign affairs to accept the assurances of his high consideration.

Paris, 20th December, 1796.

Credentials of Lord Malmesbury.

GEORGIUS R.

GEORGIUS Tertius, Dei gratiâ Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Rex, Fidei Defensor, Dux Brunavicensis et Luneburgensis, Sacri Romani Imperii Archi-Thesaurarius et Princeps Elector, etc. omnibus et singulis ad quos præsentés hæ litteræ pervenerint, salutem :

Cum belli incendio jam nimis diu diversis orbis terrarum partibus flagrans in id quam maxime incumbamus, ut tranquillitas publica tot litibus controversisque ritè compositis, reduci et stabiliri possit; cumque, eâ de causa, virum quemdam tanto negotio parem nostrâ ex parte plenâ auctoritate ad hoc tam magnum onus conficiendum munire decrevimus, sciatis igitur quod nos fide, industriâ, ingenio, perspicacia, et rerum usu fidelis et dilecti consilarii nostri Jacobi Baronis de Malmesbury, honoratissimi ordinis Balnei equitis plurimum confisi, eundem nominavimus, fecimus et constituimus nostrum verum, certum, et indubitatum commissarium et plenipotentiarium, dantes et concedentes eidem omnem et omnimodam potestatem, facultatem, auctoritatemque necnon mandatum generale pariter ac speciale (itu tamen ut generale speciali non deroget nec à contra), pro nobis, et nostro nomine, cum ministro vel ministris, commissariis vel plenipotentariis Reipublicæ Gallicæ pari auctoritate sufficienter instructo vel instructis, cumque ministris, commissariis, vel plenipotentariis

aliorum principum et statuum, quorum inter esse poterit, sufficienti itidem auctoritate instructis, tam singulatim ac divisim, quam aggregatim ac conjunctim, congregandi et colloquendi, atque cum ipsis de pace firmâ et stabili, sincerâque amicitia et concordia quantociens restituendis, conveniendi et concludendi; eaque omnia quæ ita conventa et conclusa fuerint, pro nobis, et in rostro nomine subsignandi; superque conclusis tractatum tractatusve vel alia instrumenta quosquot et qualia necessaria fuerint, conficiendi mutuoque tradendi, recipiendique omniaque alia quæ ad onus supra dictum feliciter exequendum pertinent transigendi, tam amplis modo et forma ac vi effectoque pari, ac nos si interessimus, facere et præstare possemus, spondentes et in verbo regio promittentes nos omnia et singula, quæcumque a dicto nostro plenipotentiarario transigi et concludi contingerint, grata, rata, et accepta omni meliori modo habituros, neque passuros unquam ut in toto, vel in parte à quoniam violentur, aut ut iis in contrarium eatur. In quorum omnium majorem fidem et robur, præsentibus manu nostrâ regiâ signatis, magnum nostrum Magnæ Britanniæ sigillum appendi fecimus. Quæ dabantur in palatio nostro Divi Jacobi die decimo tertio mensis Octobris, anno Domini millenimo septingentesimo nonagesimo sexto, regni que nostri trigesimo sexto.

Translation of the Credentials given to Lord Malmesbury.

George Rex.

GEORGE, by the grace of God, king of Great Britain, France and Ireland,

Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting.—Seeing that the flame of war has for a long time raged in the different parts of the globe; deeply occupied with the project of terminating regularly so many quarrels and dissensions, of restoring and consolidating the public tranquillity; resolved for this purpose to chuse a man capable of a negociation of this importance, and to invest him with full authority to complete so great a work, be it known, that the fidelity, talents, genius, perspicuity and experience of our faithful and dear counsellor, James, Baron Malmesbury, knight of the most honourable order of the Bath, inspiring us with full confidence, we have named him, and he is appointed and constituted our true, certain, and accredited commissary and plenipotentiary, giving and conceding him, in all respects, full and entire power, faculty, and authority; charging him besides with our general and special order to confer on our part, and in our name, with the minister or ministers, commissioners, and plenipotentiaries, of the French republic, sufficiently invested with equal authority, as well as with the ministers, commissioners, or plenipotentiaries of the other princes and states who may take part in the present negotiation, also invested with the same authority; to treat either separately or together; to confer upon the means of establishing a solid and durable peace, amity, and sincere concord; and to adopt all resolutions and conclusions; to sign for us, and in our name, all the said conventions or conclusions; to make, in consequence, every treaty

or treaties, and all other acts, as he shall judge necessary; to deliver and receive mutually all other objects relative to the fortunate execution of the above-mentioned work; to transact with the same force and the same effect as we should be able to do, if we assisted in person; guaranteeing, and on our royal word promising, that all and each of the transactions and conclusions which shall be made and determined by our said plenipotentiary shall be made and agreed upon, ratified, accepted, and adopted with the best faith; that we shall never suffer any one, either in whole or in part, to infringe and act contrary to them; and in order to give to every thing more security and force, we have signed the present with our royal hand, and affixed to it the great seal of Great Britain.

*Given in our palace at St. James's
13th October, year of grace
1796, and of our reign, 37th.*

*Manifesto of the British Government
against France.*

THE negotiation which an anxious desire for the restoration of peace had induced his majesty to open at Paris, having been abruptly terminated by the French government, the king thinks it due to himself and to his people to state, in this public manner, the circumstances which have preceded and attended a transaction of so much importance to the general interests of Europe.

It is well known that early in the present year, his majesty, laying aside the consideration of many circumstances of difficulty and discouragement, determined to take such steps as were best calculated

to open the way for negotiation, if any corresponding desire prevailed on the part of his enemies. He directed an overture to be made in his name, by his minister in Switzerland, for the purpose of ascertaining the dispositions of the French government with respect to peace. The answer which he received in return was at once haughty and evasive; it affected to question the sincerity of those dispositions of which his majesty's conduct afforded so unequivocal a proof; it raised groundless objections to the mode of negotiation proposed by his majesty (that of a general congress, by which peace has so often been restored to Europe); but it studiously passed over in silence his majesty's desire to learn what other mode would be preferred by France. It at the same time asserted a principle which was stated as an indispensable preliminary to all negotiation—a principle under which the terms of peace must have been regulated, not by the usual considerations of justice, policy, and reciprocal convenience; but by an implicit submission, on the part of all the powers, to a claim founded on the internal laws and separate constitution of France, as having full authority to supersede the treaties entered into by independent states, to govern their interests, to control their engagements, and to dispose of their dominions.

A pretension in itself so extravagant, could in no instance have been admitted, or even listened to for a moment. Its application to the present case led to nothing less than that France should, as a preliminary to all discussion, retain

nearly all her conquests, and those particularly in which his majesty was most concerned, both from the ties of interest, and the sacred obligations of treaties: that she should in like manner recover back all that had been conquered from her in every part of the world; and that she should be left at liberty to bring forward such further demands on all other points of negotiation, as such unqualified submission on the part of those with whom she treated could not fail to produce.

On such grounds as these it was sufficiently evident that no negotiation could be established; neither did the answer of his majesty's enemies afford any opening for continuing the discussion, since the mode of negotiation offered by his majesty had been peremptorily rejected by them, and no other had been stated in which they were willing to concur.

His majesty was however not discouraged even by this result from still pursuing such measures as appeared to him most conducive to the end of peace; and the wishes of his ally the emperor corresponding with those which his majesty had manifested, sentiments of a similar tendency were expressed on the part of his Imperial majesty at the time of opening the campaign; but the continuance of the same spirit and principles, on the part of the enemy, rendered this fresh overture equally unsuccessful.

While the government of France thus persisted in obstructing every measure that could even open the way to negotiation, no endeavour was omitted to mislead the public opinion throughout all Europe with

with respect to the real cause of the prolongation of the war, and to cast a doubt on those dispositions which could alone have dictated the steps taken by his majesty and his august ally.

In order to deprive his enemies of all possibility of subterfuge or evasion, and in the hope that a just sense of the continued calamities of war, and of the increasing distresses of France herself, might at length have led to more just and pacific dispositions, his majesty renewed, in another form, and through the intervention of friendly powers, a proposal for opening negotiations for peace. The manner in which this intervention was received indicated the most hostile dispositions towards Great Britain, and at the same time afforded to all Europe a striking instance of that injurious and offensive conduct which is observed on the part of the French government towards all other countries. The repeated overtures made in his majesty's name were nevertheless of such a nature, that it was at last found impossible to persist in the absolute rejection of them, without the direct and undisguised avowal of a determination to refuse to Europe all hope of the restoration of tranquillity. A channel was therefore at length indicated, through which the government of France professed itself willing to carry on a negotiation, and a readiness was expressed (though in terms far remote from any spirit of conciliation) to receive a minister authorised by his majesty to proceed to Paris for that purpose.

Many circumstances might have been urged as affording powerful

motives against adopting this suggestion, until the government of France had given some indication of a spirit better calculated to promote the success of such a mission, and to meet these advances on the part of Great Britain. The king's desire for the restoration of general peace on just and honourable terms, his concern for the interests of his subjects, and his determination to leave to his enemies no pretext for imputing to him the consequences of their own ambition, induced him to overlook every such consideration, and to take a step which these reasons alone could justify.

The repeated endeavours of the French government to defeat this mission in its outset, and to break off the intercourse thus opened, even before the first steps towards negotiation could be taken; the indecent and injurious language employed with a view to irritate, the captious and frivolous objections raised for the purpose of obstructing the progress of the discussion; all these have sufficiently appeared from the official papers which passed on both sides, and which are known to all Europe.

But above all, the abrupt termination of the negotiation has afforded the most conclusive proof, that at no period of it was any real wish for peace entertained on the part of the French government.

After repeated evasion and delay, the government had at length consented to establish, as the basis of the negotiation, a principle proposed by his majesty, liberal in its own nature, equitable towards his enemies, and calculated to provide for the interests of his allies, and of Europe. It had been agreed that

that compensation should be made to France, by proportionable restitutions from his majesty's conquests on that power, for those arrangements to which she should be called upon to consent in order to satisfy the just pretensions of his allies, and to preserve the political balance of Europe. At the desire of the French government itself memorials were presented by his majesty's minister, which contained the outlines of the terms of peace grounded on the basis so established, and in which his majesty proposed to carry to the utmost possible extent the application of a principle so equitable with respect to France, and so liberal on his majesty's part. The delivery of these papers was accompanied by a declaration expressly and repeatedly made, both verbally and in writing, that his majesty's minister was willing and prepared to enter, with a spirit of conciliation and fairness, into the discussion of the different points there contained, or into that of any other proposal or scheme of peace which the French government might wish to substitute in its place.

In reply to this communication, he received a demand, in form the most offensive, and in substance the most extravagant, that ever was made in the course of any negotiation. It was peremptorily required of him that in the very outset of the business, when no answer had been given by the French government to his first proposal, when he had not even learnt, in any regular shape, the nature or extent of the objections to it, and much less received from that government any other offer or plan of peace, he should in twenty-four

hours deliver in a statement of the final terms to which his court would in any case accede—a demand tending evidently to shut the door to all negotiation, to preclude all discussion, all explanation, all possibility of the amicable adjustment of points of difference—a demand in its nature preposterous, in its execution impracticable, since it is plain that no such ultimate resolution respecting a general plan of peace ever can be rationally formed, much less declared, without knowing what points are principally objected to by the enemy, and what facilities he may be willing to offer in return for concession in those respects. Having declined compliance with this demand, and explained the reasons which rendered it inadmissible, but having, at the same time, expressly renewed the declaration of his readiness to enter into the discussion of the proposal he had conveyed, or of any other which might be communicated to him, the king's minister received no other answer than an abrupt command to quit Paris in forty-eight hours. If, in additions to such an insult, any further proof were necessary of the dispositions of those by whom it was offered, such proof would be abundantly supplied from the contents of the note in which this order was conveyed. The mode of negotiation on which the French government had itself insisted, is there rejected, and no practicable means left open for treating with effect. The basis of negotiation, so recently established by mutual consent, is there disclaimed, and, in its room, a principle clearly inadmissible is reasserted as the only ground on which France can consent

sent to treat : the very same-principle which had been brought forward in reply to his majesty's first overtures from Switzerland, which had then been rejected by his majesty, but which now appears never to have been, in fact, abandoned by the government of France, however inconsistent with that on which they had expressly agreed to treat.

It is therefore necessary that all Europe should understand, that the rupture of the negotiation at Paris does not arise from the failure of any sincere attempt on the part of France to reconcile by fair discussion the views and interests of the contending powers. Such a discussion has been repeatedly invited and even solicited, on the part of his majesty, but has been, in the first instance, and absolutely, precluded by the act of the French government.

It arises exclusively from the determination of that government to reject all means of peace—a determination which appeared but too strongly in all the preliminary discussions; which was clearly manifested in the demand of an ultimatum made in the very outset of the negotiation, but which is proved beyond all possibility of doubt by the obstinate adherence to a claim which never can be admitted—a claim that the construction which that government affects to put (though even in that respect unsupported by the fact) on the internal constitution of its own country, shall be received by all other nations as paramount to every known principle of public law in Europe, as superior to the obligations of treaties, to the ties of common interest, to the most pressing

and urgent considerations of general security.

On such grounds it is that the French government has abruptly terminated a negotiation; which it commenced with reluctance, and conducted with every inclination to prevent its final success. On these motives it is that the further effusion of blood, the continued calamities of war, the interruptions of peaceable and friendly intercourse among mankind, the prolonged distresses of Europe, and the accumulated miseries of France itself, are by the government of that country to be justified to the world.

His majesty, who had entered into the negotiation with good faith, who has suffered no impediment to prevent his prosecuting it with earnestness and sincerity, has now only to lament its abrupt termination; and to renew, in the face of all Europe, the solemn declaration, that, whenever his enemies shall be disposed to enter on the work of a general pacification, in a spirit of conciliation and equity, nothing shall be wanting on his part to contribute to the accomplishment of that great object, with a view to which he has already offered such considerable sacrifices on his part, and which is now retarded only by the exorbitant pretensions of his enemies.

Westminster, 27th Dec. 1796.

Speech of Earl Camden, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to both Houses of Parliament, Jan. 21, 1796.

My Lords and Gentlemen,
I HAVE received his majesty's commands to meet you in parliament.

N

It gives me the most sincere satisfaction to be authorized to inform you, that notwithstanding the advantages which the enemy possessed at the commencement of the last year, and the successes which attended their operations in the former parts of the campaign, the general situation of affairs is on the whole most essentially improved.

The continued and brilliant successes of the Austrian armies upon the Rhine; the important captures of the Cape of Good Hope and of Trincomale by his majesty's forces, and the decided superiority of his fleets, are circumstances of the utmost importance to the common cause; and their effect is strengthened by the internal distresses, the ruined commerce, and increasing financial embarrassments of the enemy.

The crisis lately depending in France has led to an order of things in that country, such as will induce his majesty to meet any disposition to negotiation on the part of the enemy with an earnest desire to give it the fullest and speediest effect, and to conclude a treaty of general peace when it may be effected on just and suitable terms for himself and his allies.

The treaty of commerce between his majesty and the United States of America having been mutually ratified, I have ordered copies of it, by his majesty's command, to be laid before you.

I have the pleasure to announce to you, that her royal highness the princess of Wales has been happily delivered of a princess: an event, which, by giving additional stability to his majesty's august house, cannot fail to afford you the highest satisfaction.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I observe with the sincerest pleasure that notwithstanding the continued pressure of the war, the commerce and revenues of this kingdom have not in any degree fallen from that flourishing state of advancement, which in the last session of Parliament was a subject of such just congratulation. This circumstance affords a decisive proof that your prosperity is founded on a solid basis, and leads me to indulge the flattering hope, that whatever additional burthens you may find it necessary to impose, will not be materially felt by the people.

I have ordered the public accounts and estimates for the ensuing year to be laid before you, and have no doubt of your readiness to provide such supplies as a due sense of the exigencies of the kingdom shall suggest, and the wise policy of strengthening his majesty's exertions for procuring a solid and permanent peace shall appear to render necessary.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It is with regret that I feel myself obliged to advert to those secret and treasonable associations, the dangerous extent and malignity of which have in some degree been disclosed on several trials, and to the disturbances which have taken place in some parts of the kingdom. It has at the same time been a source of great satisfaction to me to observe the successful and meritorious exertions of the magistrates in several parts of the kingdom, and the alacrity which his Majesty's regular and militia forces have universally manifested in aid of the civil power; whenever they have been called upon for the pre-

servation of the peace, and support of the laws. It remains for your prudence and wisdom to devise such measures as, together with a continuance of those exertions, and the additional powers, which, by the advice of the privy council, I have thought it necessary to establish in different counties, will prevent the return of similar excesses, and restore a proper reverence for the laws of the country.

The superior and increasing importance of the agriculture and manufactures, and particularly of the linen manufacture of the kingdom, will command your utmost support. Under the present situation of Europe you cannot fail to attend with peculiar vigilance to the general state of provisions : and if circumstances shall at any time render your interposition advisable, I have no doubt of your adopting such measures as shall best apply to the existing necessity of the times.

I am desirous of pointing your attention to the protestant charter schools, and other institutions of public charity and improvement.

Your unanimity and zeal can never be of more importance than at the present crisis, in order to impress the enemy with a thorough conviction of the resources of his Majesty's kingdoms and to procure a favourable termination to your honourable efforts. His Majesty has the fullest reliance on your firmness and attachment, and on the fortitude, spirit, and perseverance of his people.

It will be my ambition, as it is my duty, to represent your zeal to his majesty's service ; and it will be my personal and most anxious wish to co-operate with your efforts in the common cause in which we

are all equally engaged and interested, and my utmost endeavours shall be used to secure the happiness and prosperity of this kingdom, and to protect and maintain its most excellent constitution.

Speech of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to both Houses of Parliament, April 15, 1796.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IN releasing you from farther attendance in parliament, I am peculiarly commanded by his majesty to thank you for that conspicuous zeal and unanimity, so honourable to yourselves and so impressive on our enemies, which have marked your conduct through the whole session, in promoting by your energy and temper the interests of your country, and in supporting by your spirit and liberality the common cause of the empire.

His majesty has taken the steps which appeared most proper for setting on foot a negotiation for general peace, if the enemy should be disposed to enter into such negotiation on grounds consistent with the safety, honour and interest of his majesty's kingdoms and of his allies.

If his majesty's views in this respect should fail, he has no doubt that the valour of his subjects, the resources of his kingdoms, and the exertions of the powers engaged with him, will ultimately produce this desirable end.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I am to thank you, in his majesty's name, for the cheerfulness and liberality with which you have provided for the current services of

the year, and it affords me the highest satisfaction to reflect that these objects have been attained by burthens, so judiciously imposed, that they can scarcely affect the lower orders of the people. It is equally satisfactory to observe that your strength and prosperity remain undiminished, notwithstanding the pressure of the war, and it will be my endeavour to cherish your resources, and apply your liberality with œconomy and prudence.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The inquiries I had ordered to be made with regard to the produce of the last harvest, and the measures taken by you to prevent the export of grain, must relieve the public mind from an apprehension of scarcity. If any illicit means should be attempted, to evade the provisions of the laws, which have been enacted upon this important subject, I shall not be inattentive in exercising those powers with which I am entrusted.

The vigorous measures you have adopted for the suppression of insurrection and outrage, and the wise provisions you have made for preventing the extension of similar offences, must have the most salutary effects.

The new regulation of licences under the superintendence of magistrates, will tend to promote tranquillity and sobriety. The establishment of more frequent sessions of the peace will afford an easy and expeditious administration of justice in the different districts throughout the kingdom. The liberal increase of the salaries of the judges, and the alteration of the civil bill jurisdiction, for the convenience of the lower ranks of the people, will ensure the constant

and regular attention of his majesty's judges to the civil and criminal business that will remain to be done on the circuits.

These measures cannot but demonstrate to the people at large the firmness and the temper of parliament, which, whilst it is determined to repress the excesses of licentiousness and outrage, is at the same time anxious to ensure to the country those permanent advantages of security, peace and good order, which are to be derived from a prompt and upright administration of justice.

I cannot too strongly recommend it to you to give effect to these benefits by your example and presence, and I am confident, that when you are relieved from your duty in parliament, all ranks and descriptions of his majesty's faithful subjects will feel themselves protected by your exertions and authority in your different counties.

Your kind declarations in favour of my administration make the deepest impressions upon my feelings. If I have any claim to your confidence and good opinion, it arises from the fidelity with which I have represented to his majesty your loyalty and zeal, and from the sincere desire I feel to conform my conduct to your sentiments.—Great Britain and Ireland form one empire; they are inseparably connected; they must stand or fall together; and we are all equally engaged, because we are all equally interested in the common cause of defending and upholding our religion, our laws, and our constitution.

Speech of Earl Camden Lord Lieut. of Ireland to both Houses of Parliament, October 13, 1796.

My

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have his majesty's commands to acquaint you, that he has thought it necessary to require your attendance in parliament at this early period, and to resort to your deliberative wisdom at a time when the ambitious projects of our enemies have threatened to interrupt the happiness and prosperity of his people, by making a descent on this kingdom and Great Britain. And although his majesty looks forward with the utmost confidence to the spirit, loyalty, and ability of his faithful people of Ireland to repel such an attack, it will yet become your wisdom to neglect no precautions which may preclude the attempt, or secure the speediest means of turning it to the confusion of the enemy.

His majesty has been graciously pleased to direct an addition to be made to the regular forces in this kingdom, by troops sent from Great Britain, the greater part of which is already arrived; and in pursuance of his majesty's commands, I have also encouraged the loyalty and zealous disposition, which has generally displayed itself, to associate in arms, under his majesty's authority, for the better security of property, and the preservation of tranquillity and good order.

In consequence of the steps which his majesty has taken to restore peace to Europe, and secure its future tranquillity, a way has at length been opened for an immediate and direct negotiation; and I am commanded to acquaint you, that it is his majesty's intention to send a person to Paris, with full powers to treat for the restoration of general peace.

The apparently hostile dispositions and conduct of the court of Spain has led to discussions, of which I am not able to acquaint you with the final result; but, whatever may be their issue, they cannot but afford to Europe a further proof of his majesty's moderation and forbearance, and cannot fail to animate your utmost exertions in defending the dignity, rights, and interest of the empire against every aggression.

In reviewing the events of this year, it must afford you the greatest satisfaction to observe, that by the spirit and exertions of his majesty's navy, the commerce of this kingdom has been protected in a degree almost beyond example; and in no part more completely, than by the skill, activity, and bravery of the squadron stationed on the coasts of this kingdom.

The success of his majesty's arms in the East and West Indies has been highly honourable and advantageous to the empire; and evinces, in the strongest manner, the valour and good conduct of his forces both by sea and land.

The steady and dignified conduct of the emperor, and the intrepidity of the Austrian forces under the command of the archduke Charles, have given so essential a change to the aspect of affairs on the continent, as to inspire a well-grounded confidence that the final result of the campaign will be such as materially to promote his majesty's endeavours to obtain a safe and honourable peace for himself and his allies.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The expediency of the vigorous measures which you have adopted

in the last session of parliament, has been amply proved by the outrages, which they were intended to suppress, having in a great measure subsided. I am, however, to lament, that in one part of the country good order has not yet been entirely restored, and that in other districts a treasonable system of secret confederation, by the administering of illegal oaths, still continues, although no means within the reach of government have been left untried to counteract it.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have ordered to be laid before you an account of such articles of expence as are not included in the estimate of the current year, and which the present circumstances have rendered necessary; and when you consider the great interest for which we are engaged, and the objects for which we are contending, I doubt not that you will grant the supplies which may be requisite for them with your accustomed cheerfulness and liberality; and when the ordinary accounts and estimates for the ensuing year shall be laid before you, I trust you will then proceed with the zeal you have always manifested in providing for the exigencies of the state, and the honourable support of his majesty's government.

You will not fail at a proper time to continue your attention to the manufactures, the agriculture, and the commerce of the country, and to extend your accustomed benevolence to the protestant charter-schools, and the other institutions of education and charity which have been so long fostered by your liberal encouragement.

The prosperity and resources of the kingdom, so highly improved by your meritorious care, still remain unimpaired by the pressure of war; and I trust to your unremitting attention for the further advancement of your national prosperity.

You have learnt the steps which his majesty has taken to procure the blessings of general peace upon a solid and permanent basis. Should these gracious endeavours of his majesty not be followed by the success which he has every reason to expect, he is satisfied that the affections, courage, and perseverance of his people, will enable him to frustrate the designs of our enemies, and to maintain the honour and dignity of his crown.

It will afford me the highest satisfaction to be aided at this important crisis by your advice, and I rely with a confidence you have taught me to indulge, upon your liberal interpretation of my conduct, and upon that support I have so amply experienced since I received his majesty's commands to repair to this country; and it will be peculiarly gratifying to me, if I should have the good fortune, in the administration of the king's government, to impress upon your minds the full extent of his majesty's paternal care of this kingdom, and of my own anxiety to promote, by every means, its interests its safety, and its prosperity.

A Proclamation by the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland.

Camden,

WHEREAS by an act of parliament passed in this kingdom, in the 56th year of his majesty's reign, entitled

entitled, "An act more effectually to suppress insurrections, and to prevent the disturbance of the public peace," it is enacted, that it shall be lawful for the justices of the peace of any county, assembled at a special session in manner by the said act directed, not being fewer than seven, or the major part of them, one of whom to be of the quorum, if they judge fit, upon due consideration of the state of the county, to signify by memorial, by them signed, to the lord lieutenant, or other chief governor, or governors of this kingdom, that they consider their county, or any part thereof, to be in a state of disturbance, or in immediate danger of becoming so, and praying that the lord lieutenant and council may proclaim such county, or part thereof, to be in a state of disturbance, thereupon it shall be lawful for the lord lieutenant or other chief governor or governors of this kingdom, by and with the advice of his majesty's privy council, by proclamation, to declare such county, or any part of such county, to be in a state of disturbance, or in immediate danger of becoming so, and also such parts of any adjoining county or counties as such chief governor or governors shall think fit, in order to prevent the continuance or extension of such disturbance.

And whereas twenty-four justices of the peace of the county of Down, (several of whom being of the quorum) being the major part of the justices of the peace duly assembled, pursuant to the said act, at a special session of the peace, holden at Hillsborough, in the said county, on Friday the 11th day of November instant, have, by

memorial by them signed, signified to his excellency the lord lieutenant, that certain parts of the said county are in a state of disturbance, and have thereby prayed that the lord lieutenant and council may proclaim the parishes of Tullylish, Aghaderg, Donaghcloney, Moira, Maralin, and Seapatrick, being parts of the said county of Down, to be in a state of disturbance, of which all justices of the peace and other magistrates and peace officers of the said county, are to take notice.

Given at the council chamber in Dublin, the 16th day of November, 1796.

Decree of the National Assembly of the United Provinces for the Abolition of a privileged Church.

1. THERE cannot, nor shall be longer any reigning or peculiarly privileged church permitted in the United Netherlands.

2. All placards and resolutions of the former states-general, tending to oppress the dissenting churches, are revoked and rendered void.

3 No distinctive dress shall be worn, or church ceremonies be exhibited except within the respective buildings of either religious persuasion. Nor shall any bells be rung in future, for the service of the church.

4. A commission shall be appointed, as speedily as possible, to investigate all those difficulties, which are the remains of a predominant church; to examine into the funds of payment, and to devise regulations, in some wise, for the future subsistence of teachers and others connected with the church.

5. A circular missive shall be dispatched throughout all quarters of the republic, exhorting the proper persons to remit and do away all personal suppressive burdens laid on those of the dissenting churches, and requesting their immediate answer, for the satisfaction of this assembly.

13th August.

Proclamation of the National Assembly of the Batavian People against the Importation of British Manufactures.

The National Assembly, representing the Batavian People, to the Batavians, Health and Fraternity.

THE British minister issued on the 3d of this month a royal proclamation, by which, "the free navigation of Great Britain to the United Provinces is granted, as well as the exportation of all kinds of merchandize, except military and naval ammunition, provided they be exported under a neutral flag." France, however, is excepted. This is an artifice which the Batavian people see and properly appreciate—a lure which they disdain. Have we not sketched to the eyes of all Europe, in our manifesto of the 2d May of the present year, the perfidious traits of the conduct of this same minister? Did we not evince in the most evident manner how this minister completed his want of faith, when on the flight of the last Stadtholder he seized more than a hundred ships richly laden; and several ships of war; when, deaf to every representation, he dared to appropriate this booty; when, by false advices, he enticed into the English ports several ships which were then at sea; when, violating the rights of nations, and considering

as nothing the most solemn treaties, he changed the protection which he had promised, into a declaration of good and legal capture of the Dutch ships; when he endeavoured to get possession of our colonies in the most traitorous manner; when he effectively established himself in several of our most important possessions; when he furnished money to the unnatural emigrants who were more influenced by love for the orange party than for their country, and whom he continually excited to come and tear down the standard of liberty in their own country, and to waste it with fire and sword? In a word, is not the British minister the sworn enemy to the well-being of the United Provinces, and is not he furious that the republic still exists? Let him delude himself with the artificial calculation of the consequences of the present measure! Let him imagine that his lure of the love of gain may either open a source of finance, or in case the Batavian republic disdain it, may sow discord, inflame the spirit of party, and alienate the hearts of the people from the legitimate government! But your representatives, oh, Batavian people! are and will remain, notwithstanding, faithful to their destination; they will not engage in a measure which would render the most essential service to the enemy of the nation, check the wise and great project of their grand ally, and retard that peace which is the object of our wishes.

The English people are on the eye of awaking, and of forcing the minister to accept an equitable and speedy peace. To avoid carefully every thing that may prolong the most terrible war of which history makes mention, is our most sacred

sacred duty: and to spare no means that may hasten the moment of a peace suitable to the interests of the Batavian people, of their faithful ally, of the British nation itself, and of humanity—such is our most serious object.

The momentary advantage of the few must not be balanced against the well-being of the public, the well-being and prosperity of the public which you wish, fellow-citizens, is our principal object. We know that the British minister at this moment wants specie and circulating capital. He has wasted millions of money and rivers of blood; the present measure evinces his embarrassment. The glorious victories of the French have shut up several ports against the English, and will shut up still more. England, on the other hand, is full of her manufactures, of pillaged merchandize, particularly of those articles with which our rich ships returned from the East Indies have furnished him. The British minister must besides make at this period his usual contracts in the Baltic for the maintenance of his marine, and for the supplying of his other wants: and without drawing upon the Dutch merchants, it appears, that he could not succeed in this.—Good faith, Batavian glory, feel all your dignity?

What Batavian heart is not filled with indignation, on considering, that the enemy of our country would offer us for sale those very effects which he has robbed us of so shamefully? and is it permitted to us to hesitate a single moment, in consoling ourselves for this loss of gain, and in frustrating the grand object of this enemy? Citizens, his object is no other than

to exchange for money innumerable British merchandize; the faculty of being able to dispose of the price of these purchases to his own advantage: to put an end to the just murmurs of the English people; to prolong the war, and, above all, to excite the indignation of the French republic, which the proclamation excludes from the free navigation. It is therefore, in virtue of all these motives, that we have thought proper to determine upon what follows, as we do determine by these presents.

Article 1. It shall not be permitted to import into the United Provinces any British manufactures whatever, any British merchandize in general, and particularly any effects of whatever nature they are, which proceed from the effects laden on board the ships of the East India company, seized or carried to Great Britain, in any manner, or under any pretext, whether the said effects come directly from Great Britain, or by any other channel.

2. Upon the importation of all effects of this kind, they shall be first confiscated to the profit of the Batavian people, and deposited in proper magazines, in order to remain there in depot, and not to be sold until it shall be ulteriorly demanded on the part of the Batavian people.

3. All persons who may have participated directly or indirectly in such importation, or who may have favoured it, or to whose consignment such effects may have been addressed and expedited with their knowledge, shall be not only responsible, independently, and besides confiscation of the effects, but shall be proceeded against before the judge of their domicile

micile, as having entered into a connection with the enemy, to the ruin of the country, in case it appears, that after the promulgation of the proclamation they have had any knowledge of it, and have not informed the office of convoys and licences within twenty-four hours, or have not informed the administration of the place where they dwell.

4. It is also forbidden, under the same penalties, to the inhabitants of this republic, to accept or pay any bills of exchange drawn from Great Britain.

5. The exact execution of our present serious resolution is confided to our committee for the affairs of the marine, with the particular injunction to neglect no means to watch over such an importation, with the authority to establish in the necessary places, either in the towns or in the flat countries, such extraordinary surveyors, receivers, or clerks, as they shall judge necessary, in order to fulfil our intentions.

6. The committee for the affairs of the marine is qualified, in case of the seizure of the effects prohibited in Art. 1. to order *de plano* (without form of process) upon its responsibility, the confiscation, and to effect the deposit in the necessary magazines mentioned in Art. 2. In consequence, in this respect, the ordinary form of proceeding is suspended in cases of frauds committed with regard to the marine rights, and to every contravention of the placards issued on that subject, which shall remain suspended with respect to those who shall present themselves as defenders in the affairs above-mentioned.

7. The present proclamation

shall be published and stuck up. We direct and entreat the supreme authorities to make the necessary dispositions, in order that our present object may be duly effected; and more especially to direct all the municipalities in each province, to lend every assistance to the committee for the affairs of the marine, and to support it against all opposition to the accomplishment of the duties imposed on our committee, by our present proclamation.

8. This proclamation shall be sent to the committees for the affairs of the marine, and for the East India trade, in order to serve as information and advice to them.

Done in the national assembly at the Hague, Sept. 16, 1796, second year of Batavian liberty.

(Signed) J. J. CAMBIER.
D. VAN LAER.

Proclamation of the States General of the United Provinces.

THE states general of the United Provinces to all those who may see or hear these presents, health and fraternity: Be it known, that in compliance with the wish and desire of the Batavian people, and the approbation of the respective confederates, we have passed an act, according to which a general national assembly for the administration of federal affairs, as well as to form the plan of a constitution for all the republic, to be submitted to the approbation or refusal of the Batavian nation, should be convoked and put in activity: that this important work, of so great an interest for our country, has been conducted actually, under the divine benediction, by the choice

choice of the citizens having the right of suffrage in all the republic, to the point that the members who will compose this general national assembly, and who will represent together all the Batavian people, have been effectively elected, or will be elected, are ready to begin their labours. - In consequence whereof, we entreat and charge the elected members, forasmuch as they are not yet arrived here, at the Hague, to repair there immediately, in order to assemble on Tuesday, the first of March next, at the place destined, by eleven o'clock in the forenoon, that they may be enabled, by a commission to be named by us, conformably to the act passed to open their assembly; that thus on the point of terminating our proceedings, at the moment when this assembly shall be constituted, we have thought it our duty solemnly to inform, by our present proclamation, our fellow-citizens thereof, and to testify, in the first place, our gratitude to the Supreme Being; that in the midst of all the difficulties which have weighed down this republic since the revolution of the month of Jan. 1795, and which have menaced even the total loss of its liberty and of its independence, we behold at last the desired issue of our continual cares, that our political liberty and independence have been confirmed, and that also the nation will see itself perfectly and really represented by an assembly elected by herself, and which will be in effect honoured with her confidence, a circumstance which never yet happened to our ancestors; for which reason we may with good cause expect from it such a plan of

a constitution, under the approbation of the whole people as may be proper to regulate and establish its happiness on a stable footing, and may also assure ourselves firmly that this assembly will employ the power and authority which have been trusted to it, in such a manner as may be necessary for the safety and well-being of our country; by means of which all and each will be able to enjoy individual liberty, under the protection of the law to defend their own interests in union with the general interests, and to assist the prosperity of the republic to advance in such a manner as that she may be restored to her ancient splendour, and that her importance abroad may be re-established and defended as in former times.

We pray and require, therefore, the representatives of the people in the respective provinces, the country of Drenthe and Batavian Brabant, to publish and affix our present proclamation in all places where it is the custom to make such publication and affixing: we order, at the same time, all and every one whom it may concern, to acknowledge the said national assembly as such, and to obey it according to the act passed before; and we inform by the present, the military as well as others, that as soon as this national assembly shall be solemnly constituted, they will pass immediately into the service of the said assembly, and will be obliged to pay it the same obedience they have until now owed us: forasmuch as we declare, by our present proclamation, publicly and solemnly, that all authority which may have belonged to our assembly will then pass, with our consent,

consent, into the hands of the above-named national assembly.

Done and decreed in the above-mentioned assembly of the lords of the states general of the United Provinces, at the Hague, this 19th day of February, 1796.

(Signed) By order,
HUBERT, VT.
W. QUARLES.

Proclamation of the Dutch National Convention for manning the Navy, published at the Hague, March 16.

CITIZENS OF THE NETHERLANDS!

Dear Countrymen,

THE unjust and destructive war in which we have been involved by the British ministry cannot but attract our whole attention. It is the first object of our solicitude, that by our courage and prudence in the conduct of it, we may procure an honourable peace, firmly establish our freedom, and maintain the independence of the state, and the glory of our ancestors. Our navy, under divine providence, is the natural and only means to set bounds to the immeasurable insolence of the British ministry, and to defend our country against their treacherous conduct and cruel treatment. To this object the endeavours of the best patriots have been uniformly directed since the time when our heavy chains were broken by the assistance of our French brethren, since the day when the Stadtholder left the Batavian shores, the day when we began to breathe a freer air, and were at liberty to exert ourselves for the improvement of the sources of our prosperity, our trade, our fisheries, our navigation, our colonies, and our manufactures. By their navy, fellow-

citizens, did our ancestors become great. The Batavian flag was known, feared, and honoured, in each of the four quarters of the world. Under our late government it was insulted, and became the ridicule of nations. It is therefore our first duty to restore our marine. The zeal of the committee of marine has done much, where nothing scarcely had before been done. Its exertions were incessant. But in the present state of our navy, all hands seem to have lost the habits, and all hearts the inclination necessary for the service. The Batavian youth are no longer accustomed to the labour requisite on board the armed fleets of their country. Is our nation then less brave, less indignant against its enemies; or do we less love our native land than in the time of a Ruyter or a Tromp?—No, fellow-citizens, no; far from us be such a thought! We rely with confidence on your patriotism, and cannot doubt but you will act with vigour in the present critical situation of our country; for why should we conceal that such is our situation; when to make it known must procure the remedy? Our ships, which are very numerous, and more than sufficient to secure us a superiority in our seas, and to cut off from the enemy all supplies of provisions and stores from the north, and thus compel them to peace—our ships are in want of men. The recruitings proceed with languor, and the measures hitherto taken have had little effect. Nor should this excite our wonder: they were of a partial nature, and not in consequence of the expression of the will of the assembly, representative of the whole Batavian republic. This will is now made known;

known: supported by you it shall deliver our country. Let the people be called together in all the towns and villages of the Netherlands. Let the example of Haerlem be proposed to them; that town so zealous for liberty, that it has already raised two hundred young men for the navy. Let all the constituted authorities remind the Batavian youth, that their country looks up to them for her defence; they will not be deaf to her call. The time of oppression is past. The fleet of the republic is under the command of true patriots, who do not consider their comrades as slaves, but as fellow citizens.—The attention of the representatives of the people will be continually directed to provide for the wants of the mariner, and they will consider the rewarding of heroism and faithful service, as the most pleasing part of their great labours. Let, therefore, fathers exhort their sons; sisters, their brothers; and the people in general, the youth of the country, to acts of heroism, and to engage in the naval service, to maintain the honour of the Batavian flag, and defend their native land. When they shall thus nobly have fulfilled their duty, they will find their reward in our tender care for them and their relatives, in the approbation of every noble mind, and the congratulations and gratitude of all their countrymen.

VAN DE CASTEELE.

Manifesto against Great Britain, by the National Assembly representing the Batavian Nation.

THE Batavian nation, once more unjustly attacked by the kingdom of Great Britain, has just taken up

arms. This nation, so often ill treated, oppressed, trod upon, and pillaged, under the mask of friendship, now animated and excited by liberty, and at length breathing for the first time after so long an interval, resumes the primitive energy of its brave and valorous character, courageously rears its head, and will no longer suffer its prosperity to be undermined by envious neighbours. It will no longer allow itself to be dragged in the dust; and it will cease to be the sport of the infamous and ambitious ministers of England, who, by the dazzle of piratical treasures, blind the English nation, which fancies itself to be free, with respect to the terrible calamities they have brought on Europe, and on the whole of the human race. The Batavian people will defend their rights and their independence; they will save their country from the ruin by which it is threatened.

Will Europe still doubt, that the Batavian republic has not rightfully drawn the sword from the sheath, when she is constrained to a just defence? Will Europe still doubt that the Batavian republic has been led to the very brink of utter destruction, by the disastrous policy of the same ministry? Will Europe still doubt that the regenerated Batavian republic will not, with the help of its illustrious ally, vigorously repel the arrogant domination of the English cabinet, and will not consolidate the liberty so dearly and perilously acquired, at the expence even of all by which she is interested?

When England attempted, by the force of arms, to subjugate her American colonies, which she had driven to a just insurrection, and

when the scourge of war extended to other empires the states general of the United Provinces were careful to observe a strict neutrality; they did not suffer Dutch vessels to transport any other commodities to America, those excepted which were declared free by the express terms of treaties. The most efficacious precautions were carefully taken to prevent war-like stores from being conveyed to the American colonies, as well as to prevent any fraudulent commerce from being carried on with them; precautions which did not a little shackle and injure our own commerce to the West Indies.

It availed the republic, however, but little, to observe the conditions of treaties with exactness, as to what was by them prohibited; the English ministers consulting merely their temporary convenience, went so far as to dispute what these very treaties allowed; they would not suffer the republic to enjoy those very advantages of treaty which England herself had enjoyed in a similar case; but violating the rights of nations, they condemned the cargoes as prizes to the crown, and employed the materials in the royal arsenals; other vessels were forfeited by the arbitrary sentences of partial courts of justice. The privateers and armed ships of England, seeing that their piracies were legalized, multiplied their depredations, and the merchant-vessels of Holland daily became the victims of their brutalities. Finally, the atrocities of the British ministers were carried to such a point, that they no longer respected the flag of the states, but carried a convoy of Dutch vessels into the ports of England, declaring ships richly laden to be lawful prizes, and violating, as well in Europe;

as elsewhere, our neutral territory. The only mode which could be adopted to put a stop to these unprecedented injuries, without, however, breaking with the kingdom of Great Britain, was employed by their high mightinesses.—This mode consisted in joining with all possible speed the alliance of the three northern powers, concerted by the empress of Russia, and destined to protect, by the force of arms, the rights of the neutral nations, each of them more or less violated by England.

Their high mightinesses, we say, would have acceded to this treaty, had not an obstacle been thrown in the way by the perfidious machinations of the English cabinet. This was the signal which led England to break every tie, to distribute letters of marque for making reprisals on the inhabitants of the republic and their possessions, and to declare open war against the United States. A ministry to which all means were alike, could not want pretexts for that purpose. It was not at the same time difficult for their high mightinesses to demonstrate the frivolity of all these pretended grievances; but what purpose could this answer with a rapacious, obstinate, and unjust ministry, which was desirous to revenge on a peaceable ally the loss of the British colonies, and to appease, for a time at least, by the booty obtained by an unforeseen attack, the murmurs of the English nation?

It was soon after learned, that the squadrons and armed vessels of England captured, by virtue of orders already furnished, the Dutch vessels they fell in with beyond seas; without the smallest suspicion on our side; and against the faith of treaties:

treaties. We learned the cruel manner in which the island of St. Eustatia was devastated, by seizing on the possessions of the merchants, which, when collected, formed treasures; while richly laden vessels returning from the ocean, were surprised unawares in the channel by small vessels, which readily made them their prey. By such vile means, unworthy of a generous nation, did the British ministers dishonour the flag of their king; for can it be considered in any other point of view, than that of acting, under the royal flag, the part of pirates?

The Batavian republic was at length, after so many losses, forced to provide for her defence, to maintain her rights and independence by the dint of arms, and to protect her commerce and her possessions. Ah! if she could then have combated under the banners of liberty, how would the English ministry have repented of its rashness and perfidy! But the English cabinet knew all its influence in this country. It was aware that it could succeed in shackling within the republic the preparations of war: it was certain of finding in Holland partizans who would contrive to put into his possession our ships of war, and who would find the means to prevent the display of all our strength. The event soon proved that the English ministers were not mistaken. They mocked our feeble efforts, which, even before they were carried into effect, were paralyzed in their outset by the adherents they had in this country. These adherents supplied them with intelligence of all that was concerting here. Supported by the Stadtholderian influence, they even contrived to render

nugatory the orders given by their high mightinesses for the junction of the Batavian squadron with the French fleet. It was easy for the English ministry, after such treasons, to obtain successes in that war. And this is what they call glory! But when a particular occasion presented itself—when a fleet belonging to the states accidentally met with an opportunity to display its courage and its valour the Batavian mariners, although novices in fighting, proved that they had not degenerated from the bravery of their ancestors. They drove the English fleet, covered with confusion and shame, into its own port, without having lost one of the merchant vessels they had under convoy.

A war carried on in such a way necessarily terminated in a treaty of peace burthensome to the States. Instead of being indemnified for the incalculable losses they had sustained in their commerce, they considered themselves as fortunate to be enabled by the speedy assistance of the French forces, which checked the English in the two Indies, to save a part of their possessions; while they found themselves obliged to yield to the enemy the important factory of Negapatnam on the coast of Coromandel; and to allow to British vessels the free navigation of the coasts of the Molucca islands, notwithstanding it might have been foreseen that the navigation of the English in those seas would tend to nothing less than the complete destruction of our trade in the East Indies.

We shall not enter into details concerning what passed in the sequel, when the Batavian nation, seeing how much its interests were constantly

constantly every where sacrificed to those of its ancient rival, even by the persons appointed to defend its rights, meditated a fundamental regeneration in the form of the government. We shall not retrace how England, knowing that the limitation of the scandalous usurpation of power and influence, on the part of the Stadtholder, would also diminish its influence in this republic. How, we say, the British ministry, far from interceding for the Batavian nation, or coming to its succour, when legions of foreign troops seized on these countries, committing the most atrocious disorders, pillages, and violences, considered, on the contrary, this devastation and this oppression with a malignant satisfaction; and concurred, when the mischief was completed, in guaranteeing, in a solemn manner, the system of a tyranny which resulted from it.

When the French nation, wearied with the insupportable tyranny of kings, shook off its yoke, and formed itself into an independent republic, the British ministers thought that they could not have a better opportunity to dismember a part of that fine empire. They accordingly, united in the treaty concluded at Pilnitz, on the 27th of August, 1791, by the princes of Germany. The French republic, well knowing that that of the United Provinces of the Netherlands would be constrained by England to take a part in this plot against its liberty, declared war against the British ministers, as well as against their subject William V. stadtholder of the Seven United Provinces, and his partizans.—It

is thus that the Batavian nation was once more drawn against its will into this bloody war by its dependence on those same ministers: its treasures were lavished, and its arsenals nearly emptied, to aid the extravagant plans of Pitt and his cabal. Auxiliary English troops were sent to this republic, and when a defeat, sustained near the Meuse by a part of the French army, had procured a momentary advantage, the army of the States was forced to pass the limits of our frontiers, and those of France, and to wage an offensive war on the French territory. Soon, however, the victorious French repulsed their enemies on all sides, and from day to day the armies of England and the States retrograded towards our frontiers. The republic found itself on the brink of its ruin, since appearances pointed out that the theatre of war would be removed to the very heart of its provinces, and all the country inundated. Never were the States in so critical a position since the war with Spain; but this danger brought about their deliverance; Providence defeated the perfidious plans of its enemies, who were desirous rather that the republic should be destroyed than that it should be free. When the frost permitted the crossing of the rivers, the valorous French troops drove before them the English bands with so much speed, that the latter had not time to effect their infernal design; they fled, but their road was traced by fire and pillage. It was nothing but their speedy and precipitate retreat that preserved the republic from a total devastation. We soon witnessed the extraordinary

traordinary spectacle which the citizens presented on all sides; holding out their arms to their conquerors as to their only deliverers. We saw the allied troops sack and plunder, and those who were called our enemies respect public and private properties.

It was thus that the Netherlands were delivered from their most dangerous enemies. The stadtholder abandoned, in a dastardly way, his country and his friends, and sought an asylum at the court of the king of England. The standard of liberty was planted in all places, while the French republic declared the Batavian nation free, and re-established it in its primitive rights.

The British ministers, enraged at seeing this republic still exist without being in their hands, attempted at least to destroy it another way, by totally undermining its extensive commerce. Upwards of one hundred ships, the greater part richly laden, which, either through foul winds, or as a measure of precaution, had sought shelter in British ports, as well as several Dutch ships of war, were laid under embargo, as if to prevent them from falling into the hands of the French. Their high mightinesses, it is true, sent commissioners to London to claim them, demonstrating, by the most solid proofs, that the Batavian republic was no longer under the dominion of France, since the solemn declaration of its independence, and that England ought to conduct itself towards the Batavian nation, as towards a free people; they added, that the Dutch merchants would not risque the entry of their vessels into the ports of the republic, if it

was for no other purpose than to surrender them to the French. The British ministers had, however, already made up their minds to appropriate this booty to themselves; and to augment it, they disseminated on all sides false rumours touching the situation of affairs in this country, to the end that they might, in the same way, allure into their ports the merchant vessels belonging to the republic, which were still at sea. They have since entirely violated the rights of nations; and all the Dutch vessels, to which his majesty the king of Great Britain had granted his high protection, were, in violation of the treaty of Breda, perfidiously declared lawful captures.

But what puts the seal to the acts of hostility and bad faith which the present British ministers have exercised against this republic, is the treacherous mode in which they have endeavoured to make themselves masters of her colonies. For this purpose they sent letters, signed by the Prince of Orange, and dated at Kew, the 7th of Feb. 1795, to several of the colonies of the republic of the Netherlands in the East Indies and to the Cape of Good Hope. In these letters, this perfidious and ci-devant minister and commander in chief of these states, after having abandoned all his posts, ordered, on his individual authority, the respective governors to put the colonies of the States under the protection of the British arms; that is to say, in the artful and customary language of the English ministry, to surrender them to England. Notwithstanding this felonious stratagem has failed in the greater part of the colonies, through the fidelity of their

their governors, it was impossible to prevent the Cape of Good Hope from falling into the hands of the English; and several important possessions of these States, in the East Indies, have shared the same fate.

While all this was taking place, the British ministry conceived the plan of attacking also by land this free republic, and of employing for that purpose those soldiers, who, being more attached to the prince of Orange than to their country, emigrated on the flattering promises of England.—The fugitives were not only well received in the States of his Britannic Majesty in Germany, but were even kept in the pay of England; and if the desertion of the greater part of the army of the republic could have been brought about, there is no doubt but they would have been led against their country under English commanders, for the purpose of renewing here, if the fact were possible, the scenes of 1787: of kindling up, as in La Vendée, a disastrous civil war, and of thus destroying the Batavian republic by intestine commotions.

Is it therefore surprising that the Batavian nation, now free, seeks to reinforce itself against such unprecedented and numerous outrages, by an intimate alliance with a republic which snatched it from the gripes of its enemies? A treaty of peace and alliance was accordingly concluded at the Hague, on the 16th of May, 1795, between the two free republics of France and Holland. That treaty of mutual defence by which the independent Batavian nation, supported by a powerful neighbour, and unshaken by the influence of a foreign

minister, will be put into a condition to employ for the future its forces against its aggressors, and of paying them in their own coin, has also been cemented.

His majesty, the king of Great Britain, after so many hostilities have been exercised, was at length pleased to proclaim, on the 19th of September, 1795, by his council of state, a manifesto of war against the republic, but in which no ground of complaint was alledged. His majesty, it is true, says in this manifesto, “that for some time divers acts of outrage, contrary to the honour of his majesty’s crown, and of the legitimate rights of his subjects, had been committed in the United Provinces, and that the ships of war which sailed from the ports of the United Provinces, had received orders to take and sink all British vessels.” The acts contrary to the honour of his majesty’s crown, which have been committed in the Netherlands, are the acts of his majesty’s own troops, and the English nation will, undoubtedly, sooner or later, punish their authors; and with respect to the orders given to the ships of war of the republic, to repel violence by violence, has not the independent republic, so cruelly treated, a right of resistance? His majesty had forgotten that the Netherlands were no longer under the stadtholderian yoke, and that his majesty’s ministers had lost forever, as we trust, for the safety of the country, all influence over the independent Batavian republic.

It is, therefore, with a perfect confidence in that love of the country, in that energy, and in that courage with which liberty alone can inspire a nation, for a long time insulted and oppressed, that

that the independent Batavian nation solemnly declares in the face of Europe, through the organ of its legitimate representatives, that, obliged to defend itself against the acts of perfidy and violence of the neighbouring kingdom of Great Britain, it will repel every act of aggression on its liberty, its independence, its rights, and its legitimate possessions; and that it will put in execution all possible means to receive satisfaction and indemnity for the incalculable losses it has sustained through a perfidious ally:—in the firm hope that Divine Providence, who has so miraculously preserved this country from a total ruin, will bless its arms, and will not allow violence and oppression ever to fix their fatal abode on its free territory.

Done at the Hague, May 2, 1796,
second year of Batavian freedom.

Manifesto of Spain against Great Britain.

Madrid, October 11.

HIS Majesty has transmitted to all his councils a decree of the following tenor:

One of the principal motives that determined me to make peace with the French republic; as soon as its government had begun to assume a regular and stable form, was the manner in which England behaved to me during the whole of the war, and the just mistrust which I ought to feel for the future from the experience of her bad faith, which began to be manifested at the most critical moment of the first campaign; in the manner with which Admiral Hood treated my squadron at Toulon, where he was employed solely in

ruining all that he could not carry away himself; and afterwards in the expedition which he undertook against the island of Corsica—an expedition which he undertook without the knowledge, and which he concealed with the greatest care from Don Juan de Langara, while they were together at Toulon.

This same bad faith the English minister has suffered clearly to appear by his silence upon the subject of all his negotiations with other powers, particularly in the treaty concluded on the 19th November, 1794, with the United States of America, without any regard to my rights, which were well known to him. I remarked it again in his repugnance to the adoption of my plans and ideas which might accelerate the termination of the war, and in the vague reply which lord Grenville gave to my ambassador, the Marquis del Campo, when he demanded succours of him to continue it. He completely confirmed me in the certainty of his bad faith, by the injustice with which he appropriated the rich cargo of the Spanish ship le St. Jago, or l'Achille, at first taken by the French, and afterwards retaken by the English squadron, and which ought to have been restored to me according to the convention made between my Secretary of State and Lord St. Helens, ambassador from his Britannic Majesty; afterwards by the detention of all the ammunition which arrived in the Dutch ships for the supply of my squadrons, by affecting always different difficulties to put off the restitution of them. Finally, I could no longer entertain a doubt of the bad faith

of England, when I learnt the frequent landing from her ships upon the coasts of Chili, in order to carry on a contraband trade, and to reconnoitre the shore under the pretence of fishing for whales, a privilege which she pretended to have granted her by the convention of Nootka. Such were the proceedings of the British minister to cement the ties of friendship and reciprocal confidence, which he had engaged to maintain according to our convention of the 25th May, 1793.

Since I have made peace with the French Republic, not only have I had stronger motives for supposing an intention on the part of England to attack my possessions in America, but I have also received direct insults, which persuade me that the English minister wishes to oblige me to adopt a part contrary to the interests of humanity, torn by the bloody war which ravages Europe, for the termination of which I have not ceased to offer my good offices, and to testify my constant solicitude.

In fact, England has developed her intentions, has clearly evinced her project of getting possession of my territories, by sending to the Antilles a considerable force, and particularly destined against St. Domingo, as the proclamations of her general in that island clearly demonstrate. She has also made known her intentions by the establishments which her commercial companies have formed upon the banks of the Missouri, in South America, with a design of penetrating through those countries to the South Sea. Finally, by the

conquest which she has made of the colony of Demerary, belonging to the Dutch, and whose advantageous position puts her in a condition to get possession of posts still more important.

But there can no longer remain any doubt of the hostile nature of these projects, when I consider the frequent insults to my flag, the acts of violence committed in the Mediterranean by her frigates, which have carried away soldiers coming from Genoa to Barcelona, on board Spanish ships to complete my armies; the piracies and vexations which the Corsican and Anglo-Corsican corsairs, protected by the English government of that island, exercise against the Spanish trade in the Mediterranean, and even upon the coasts of Catalonia, and the detention of different Spanish ships, laden with Spanish property, and carried to England, under the most frivolous pretences, and especially the rich cargo of the Spanish ship the *Minerva*, on which an embargo was laid in the most insulting manner to my flag, and the removal of which could not be obtained, though it was demonstrated before the competent tribunals that this rich cargo was Spanish property.

The attack committed upon my ambassador, Don Simon de las Casas, by a tribunal of London, which decreed his arrest, founded upon the demand of a very small sum, which was claimed by the undertaker of an embarkation. Finally, the Spanish territory has been violated in an intolerable manner upon the coasts of Galicia, and Alicant, by the English ships the *Cameleon* and the *Kangaroo*. Moreover, Captain George Vaughan
3
commodore

commodore of the Alarm, behaved in a manner equally insolent and scandalous in the island of Trinidad, where he landed with drums beating and flags flying, to attack the French, and to avenge the injuries which he pretended to have received, disturbing, by the violation of the rights of my sovereignty the tranquillity of the inhabitants of the island.

By all these insults, equally deep and unparalleled, that nation has proved to the universe, that she recognizes no other laws than the aggrandisement of her commerce; and by her despotism, which has exhausted my patience and moderation, she has forced me, as well to support the honour of my crown, as to protect my people against her attacks, to declare war against the King of England, his kingdom and vassals, and to give orders to take the necessary measures for the defence of my domains and my subjects, and to repulse the enemy.

Signed by the King, and the Secretary of the Council of War.

Done at the Palace of St Laurento, Oct. 5, 1796.

On Saturday, the 8th of October, war was proclaimed at Madrid in the usual form.

Letter of General Beaulieu, sent to the Genoese Government on entering the Genoese Territory.

Head Quarters, March 30, 1796.

Most Serene Republic,

THE circumstances of the war, and, above all, the insolence of an enemy whose unjust pretensions know no bounds, compel me, at length, to enter your territory, with a part of that force which has been entrusted to my command by his Imperial Majesty.

I am persuaded, that after what has passed at Genoa, your Republic will consider the Imperial troops as friends. Far be it that they should do you the least injury; their object is only to prevent the enemies of good order from invading your states, the defence of which is committed to me.

The republic may be assured that I shall consider its territories as a friendly country, and that the strictest discipline shall be maintained. All provisions, wood, and straw, shall be paid for in ready money. I require only quarters and a free passage for my troops; and I trust the most Serene Republic will issue proper orders that the troops of his Imperial Majesty may meet with no obstacle, and that every occasion of dispute may be avoided.

(Signed) **BARON BEAULIEU,**
General of Artillery.

Address of the French Minister Foy-poult, at Genoa.

Most Serene Doge,

THE executive directory of the French Republic have made choice of me to reside at the Republic of Genoa in quality of minister plenipotentiary.

On their part I assure the most serene government of Genoa, of the lively interest the Republic of France takes in the prosperity and safety of the Genoese nation.

This sentiment is merely the consequence of the natural and reciprocal esteem of two people signalised by their courage and energy in the defence, and for the recovery of their liberty. Other powerful considerations ought to contribute to cement for ever the good harmony that subsists between

Genoa and France, the proximity of the two countries, the industrious activity of the inhabitants, the antiquity of their commercial and political connection, and, in fine, the remarkable situation of the Genoese territory, bordering on two nations who have long meditated to divide it between them, and France who could reap no advantage in aggrandizement at her expence.

The Genoese nation, and its most serene government, may rely on a constant succession of good offices on the part of the French nation, and reciprocally the French nation has a right to expect a loyal and sincere return on the part of the most serene government of Genoa. They have a right to think the latter will never give protection to those perfidious French, who are the contempt of the whole universe, to those emigrants who cowardly fled their country to conspire against it. The executive directory feel the full extent of the duty imposed on them by the confidence of a great nation, from a free, a generous, and magnanimous people.

The executive directory are about to crush the remains of those enemies who disturb the tranquillity of France, while their energetic measures have already guaranteed to Europe their immovable stability, and announce to all that the national power confided to them, ought and will be faithful and sincere in respect to foreign nations.

Truth and justice are the only basis of their diplomatica. In fine, they trust they are worthy of that greatness and national generosity, not merely to limit their cares to the interest of France

alone, but also to extend them to the happiness of those nations which have shewn themselves the sincere friends of the French. They may henceforward regard their equity and power, as forming the tutelary guide of their preservation.

I have the honour to present my credentials to the most Serene Doge; and to assure him, that in the exercise of my function, I shall ever be animated with an ardent desire to be personally agreeable to the serene government of Genoa, and to obtain the confidence and the esteem of the Genoese nation.

Copy of the Note of the Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, dated 22 Messidor (July 10), fourth year, to the Secretary of State.

FOR several days past movements have manifested themselves among the inhabitants of Genoa and its environs, the cause of which could not escape the undersigned, because it is injurious to the French Republic. It is falsely insinuated to the people, that the French wish to take away their property, their arms, their churches.

Under the eyes of the most serene government the priests deviate from the spirit of peace, which should be peculiarly characteristic of their speeches and actions; they inflame the imaginations of the people by religious ceremonies, grounded on the danger which the Genoese nation is supposed to run. The women collect in great numbers, and repair in crowds to the churches, praying Heaven to protect them against the banditti who are come from the mountains. These movements have been directed

rected against the French, in such a manner, that last Wednesday, July 6, a band of women assailed, on the bridge of Lavignano, two Frenchmen, who were peaceably taking a sketch of the bridge.

The undersigned cannot believe that the most serene government is provoking by any particular measure this alarm, which has no foundation, since the French Republic is the friend of nations that are at peace with her; since she respects their liberty, their commerce, and their property. These truths must be demonstrated to the senate of Genoa; and it can not but be by some base perfidy that the instigators of the present ferment speak to the people of the just fate of Arquata, and divers places which the insurrection in Lombardy had changed into dens of assassins and robbers.

As it is important to stop in its growth an evil which might prove fatal in its consequences, the undersigned requests the most serene government to take the measures in its power to undeceive the people, respecting the false impressions endeavoured to be made on them. The men who mislead them are known; the Genoese government can no longer suffer their plots and insolent declamations against the French, without offending the French Republic, and becoming responsible for the misfortunes which might attend upon a reciprocal irritation of minds. It ought to deprive the impostors of the faculty of deceiving, by all the exaggerations which they do not cease to devise and to circulate, by informing the people of the demands which General Buonaparte and he undersigned have really ad-

ressed to the senate, and of the general motives on which they were founded.

The undersigned begs the most serene government to communicate to him the effective measures which, in its wisdom, it shall resolve on, to prevent the consequences of the present ferment, in order that he may be able to acquaint the Executive Directory, and the general of the army of Italy, with its real dispositions.

(Signed) FAYPOULT.

Letter from the Commissary Director Sucy, to the Commandant of Fort La Lauterne.

St. Pierre d'Arena, 25 Fructidor.

SIR,

THE agents of the government here have guaranteed our landing goods in the harbour of St. Pierre d'Arena, nevertheless two English sloops have gone out of port, and passed before your post, in order to carry off our vessel, and it was not till the sloops were at a distance with their prize that you commenced firing, which you did not keep up, and which you discontinued when the English ships were within reach. Yet you cannot be ignorant of the fact, because we fired more than thirty times before you were disposed to oppose this violation of neutrality.

You will, Sir, acknowledge the receipt of the present,

(Signed) S. SUCY.

R E P L Y.

COMMISSARY DIRECTOR,

THE commandant of Fort Lauterne has the honour to acquaint you that he could never have imagined that the English sloops of war which came out of the har-

hour would be guilty of a violation of neutrality, and the rather, as they had given their word of honour not to make reprisals for 24 hours after their departure; and even then not within cannon shot of the garrison.

For these reasons I could not interdict the departure of the sloop alluded to from this harbour.

As soon as I received the accounts of the violence committed on the French tartan, I gave directions for my batteries to prevent the accomplishment of the attempt began on the said tartan, and at the same time to maintain our neutrality.

If the effect of these directions has not answered my expectation, the miscarriage is not to be ascribed to any neglect of mine.

I have the honour to be,

With the most sincere esteem,
sir,

Your obedient humble servant,

BEDIANI, Lieutenant-colonel.
Fort Lauterne, 12th Sept. 1796.

Letter from his Excellency M. Barthelemy, Ambassador of the French Republic, to the Burgomasters, Chief Magistrates, Landamman, and Council of the Twelve Swiss Cantons.

Magnificent lords,

THE executive directory having thought proper to renew the credentials of several of the envoys of the French republic to foreign powers, has just transmitted to me those by which it has been pleased to accredit me to the very respectable Helvetic body, in quality of ambassador of the French republic. I enclose them in this.

I flatter myself, magnificent lords, that the knowledge you already

have of my sentiments for all the members of the illustrious Helvetic confederation, will leave you no doubt of my zeal to cultivate the confidence of which you have already given me such satisfactory proofs; and I also hope, magnificent lords, that you will be persuaded beforehand, that, as the faithful interpreter of the constantly amicable dispositions of the French government to your country, I shall not cease to exert myself zealously in concurring to the success of its views, in whatever may be the best calculated to strengthen the indissoluble ties which constitute the happiness of the two nations, and to secure the tranquillity and prosperity of the Helvetic body.

I pray God, &c.

(Signed) BARTHELEMY.

Basle, March 2, 1796.

Letter of the Executive Directory to the Highly Respectable Helvetic Body.

Very dear, great friends, allies, and confederates,

THE wish we entertain to keep up and cultivate a friendship and good understanding with you, induces us to appoint citizen Barthelemy to reside in Switzerland in quality of ambassador of the French republic.

The knowledge we have of the principles and sentiments of citizen Barthelemy, authorises us to think that the choice we have made of him to fill this important post, cannot but be agreeable to you. It is with this persuasion that we pray you, very dear great friends, allies, and confederates, to grant him a full confidence in whatever he may be charged to say to you from us, and more particularly

larly when he shall express to you our wishes for the prosperity of the Helvetic body, our anxiousness to concur in whatever may contribute to its satisfaction, and to strengthen the bonds which unite the two republics.

Given at Paris, under the seal of the French republic, 15 Pluviose, fourth year of the French republic, one and indivisible.

REUBEL, President.

By the executive directory.

The secretary general.

LA GARDE.

By the minister of external relations,

CH. DELACROIX.

Declaration of the Executive Directory, dated Paris the 16th Germinal (5th April) to the Senate of Basle.

THE executive directory is credibly informed, that last year a plan was formed to attack the French frontiers, by marching the corps of emigrants commanded by the prince of Conde, first into the Frickthal, and from thence through the territory from Basle, against the department of the Upper Rhine, the Mont-terrible, Doubs, and Jura; that this plan, so far from being laid aside, is again resumed; and that preparations are actually making to carry it into effect. This plan is supported by several inhabitants of Switzerland, who employ all their interest and influence to facilitate its execution. The known sentiments of several magistrates of Basle, and other inhabitants of note, are by no means qualified to appease the solicitude of the directory on this head, it being notorious that they treat with as much aversion the friends of the French republic, as they shew predilection for what-

ever concerns the Imperial armies, and the interest of the emperor.

Thus it must be supposed, that if, in the execution of that plan, the enemy violated the territory of the canton of Basle, the magistrates who compose the government of this city would endeavour, by pleading the impossibility of resistance, to ward off the consequences of the violated neutrality of the canton; of course, there does not exist at present, sufficient security that its neutrality will be respected. Under these circumstances, the directory finds itself obliged to declare to the magistrates of the city and canton of Basle, that, unless they adopt vigorous, sufficient, and unsuspecting measures for the defence of their own territory, and the maintenance of the respect due to their neutrality, it is resolved to take every step that shall be requisite for the protection of the frontier departments against every kind of insult; and the directory renders them answerable for all the unhappy consequence that may result from the military operations which circumstances may require.

Letter from the Sovereign Council of Basle to his Excellency M. Earthelemy, Ambassador from the French Republic in Switzerland.

WE have received, with your excellency's letter of the 16th Germinal, (5th April) a paper, coming from the executive directory, and as it appears extracted from their registers—we pass over this unusual form, because it is to be supposed that it was through mistake that the paper was so transmitted to us, and that without doubt the intention

intention of the directory was solely to transmit to us, through the medium of the minister for foreign affairs, the result of their deliberations. But if the form surprised us, the contents of the paper excited our surprise in a much greater degree; of this our reply will convince your excellency.

The executive directory announce to us, that the corps of emigrants meditates an invasion of our territory. It does not belong to us to call in question the proofs which the directory say they have received; we shall confine ourselves to observe, that at the opening of each campaign mention has always been made of a project of this kind, and that nevertheless it has never been carried into execution; so that we are still to know, whether the reports that are spread are merely a trick of war, or whether such a design has been renounced either from the uncertainty of decisive success, or the want of accordance with other events that were to concur with it; or finally whether, and much more probably, it be because the emperor, faithful to his engagement to respect our neutrality, has forbidden the peace of an independent people to be disturbed, who for several ages, contented with their limits, have taken no part in the dissensions of the great powers of Europe. In short, we can assure you that at present the danger, if danger does exist, does not appear to be imminent. The corps of emigrants is at too great a distance from our frontiers; it does not form a sufficient force to dare to attempt an invasion, and we do not perceive yet preparations which are the forerunners of hostilities,

and indispensable to the execution of hostilities.

The second point of the note of the executive directory concerns the defence of our territory and the demand of a sufficient guarantee. No people can give such a guarantee. If belligerent powers, with their fortresses, their arms, their efforts in every sense, cannot procure the guarantee, that their territory shall not be violated, much less can a neutral state procure and assemble forces, whose mass would perhaps afford more umbrage than it would inspire security. Besides the expence of such a force, and the provisions that it would require, are above our means, which the circumstances of the times weaken more and more. But there is another kind of guarantee, which we deem more sure than a great assemblage of troops; it is the firm resolution of all the governments of Switzerland, not to depart from the principles of neutrality which they have inherited from their ancestors, and of which all our neighbours have a positive conviction; it is the sacred word, which the members of the Helvetic body, either separately or united, in solemn diet, have given. It is the local difficulties that would attend a passage through our territory, without being exposed to a certain loss from the measures of prudence, which the attacked canton might take, and without renouncing every hope of retreat, by the arrival of contingents from our confederates as zealous to avenge the outrages offered to neutrality, as religious in the observance of the duties of neutrality. It is the dispositions taken to be
warned

warned in time of every species of danger, to circulate the alarm, and to be in a condition even to repel and punish aggression when the danger should have made its appearance. Finally, it is the experience and the success of those dispositions, during four years of a war the most bloody of which modern history has preserved the remembrance.

We proceed to the accusations, which the executive directory have made against certain magistrates and private persons of our canton and of the other states of the Helvetic body. So vague an accusation, and of such a kind, is probably without example. The moral person of the sovereign in republics is manifested only by resolutions emanating from the council of the state, and not from the particular opinions of individuals; and whatever be the difference of opinion amongst the latter, there is a first opinion, which is as general as it is essential and fundamental; it is the love of our country, and the deep and universal conviction, that neutrality is the basis of our political existence: It unites all minds, all counsels, all governments. We invite the executive directory to consider here only the assembly. We are to be gained by proceedings of justice, benevolence, and friendship; our hearts are to be alienated by indefinite reproaches and random suspicions. What if these suspicions should perhaps be founded only on documents, dictated by men, whose reprehensible views either of vengeance or malevolence, of ambition or cupidity, should have led them to exaggerate what is insignificant, to blacken what is innocent; and to disguise what our political actions in their

true point of view would disclose?

Finally, the executive directory render us responsible for the fatal effects which may result from military operations. Governments, we know, are responsible for the faults which they commit with the intention of violating their duties. But tranquillized by our principles, and proud of the sense of the purity and equity of our measures, we accept this responsibility. We are one for all in the bosom of our councils, and it is in the same sense that we rely not only upon all our own resources, but upon all the members of the Helvetic confederation. Responsibility can only alarm those who, breaking the ties which have united for several ages the two nations, should prepare evils of which human prudence cannot calculate the issue to their authors.

Very different sentiments have animated your excellency during the course of your painful mission. The executive directory have testified in the renewal of your credentials their just and honourable satisfaction. We have no doubt that they will receive with favourable dispositions the answer which we have the honour to address to your excellency, after having deliberated in concert with the Helvetic representatives.

We pray God to take you into his holy and powerful keeping.

(Signed) The burgomasters and council of the city and canton of Basle.

Basle, April 9, 1796.

Letter of M. Barthelemy, Ambassador from the French Republic, to the Canton of Basle, 20th Floreal, (May 9), 1796, Fourth Year of the French Republic.

Magnificent

Magnificent Lords,

THE orders of the executive directory of the French republic oblige me to recall the attention of your honourable canton to the circumstances and motives which dictated the declaration of the directory, I was charged to transmit to you, on the 16th of Germinal last. The answer you have made has not been such as was expected. Charged with the care of the defence of the territory of the republic, and of its glory, the executive directory was bound to look forward to events, and to render abortive, by denouncing to you, the projects of the enemies of France, and of its republican constitution. It was bound to invite you to take measures capable of removing its apprehensions, and making its neutrality respected; and it has demanded of you what were these measures.

If the terms of its declaration were severe, it was because the object of it was serious: it was because experience of the attempts and projects of our enemies, already more than once denounced, gave it reason to conceive inquietude and suspicion. It was because positive reports announced that these projects were about to be renewed. It was because it was then necessary to be certain, as to the more than equivocal sentiments of many of the Helvetic states, some of whom had not dreaded to throw a doubt on the existence of the French republic, by refusing to pronounce on the acceptance of the credentials of its ambassador, and deferring the epoch of their determination by insulting and ridiculous delays.

When a government so powerful as that of the French republic

is thus unacknowledged; when this neglect is founded on the regard which is thought due to criminal fugitives, whose whole proceedings tend only to harass their country, against which they are in a permanent conspiracy, while their measures tend only to involve in their fall the states blind enough to be misled by them; when the Swiss Cantons, the ancient allies of France, dare to hold a conduct so reprehensible, it is very surprising that the executive directory should, for a moment, withhold the aspect of kindness, to assume towards you that of inquietude? There are still other considerations, on which I believe I need not enlarge here. They are, doubtless, painful, and belong to the guarantee, that the French republic expects to find in the sentiments and affections of the governments and people of neutral states.

Such are the views which have animated and still animate the executive directory. They expect from you, with the least delay, a frank and amicable explanation, capable of dissipating the doubts and reviving in our government the sentiments of good will. It has given me orders for my ultimate conduct, in case that your answer should not fulfil this end.

Answer of the Canton of Basle to M. Barthelemy, Ambassador of the French Republic, May 11, 1796.

WE see with real pain, by your excellency's letter of the 20th Floreal, that our sentiments seem to be misunderstood, and that we have reason to apprehend the executive directory of the French republic may suspend their dispositions of kindness towards us. When the war commenced, we declared

clared for a neutrality, to preserve which has since that time been the constant object of our cares, of our zeal, and of our solicitude; and no sacrifice has been avoided for maintaining it in proportion to the dangers to which it was in certain epochs exposed. Nothing afflicts us more profoundly, than when the fidelity of our conduct and the purity of our intentions seem to be doubted, since these form the most solid basis of our happiness, independence, and tranquillity.

We pray your excellency to assure your government that we shall never depart from the principles that have been transmitted to us from our predecessors, and that our greatest ambition is to convey the deposit unimpaired to those who shall succeed us. This is the first duty of our situations, and the true means of conciliating the confidence and the gratitude of our fellow-citizens. It is, however, necessary to observe, that since our letter of the 9th of April, we have not confined ourselves to mere wishes for the maintenance of our neutrality. Our uneasiness relative to this object having been communicated to the minister of his Imperial majesty, he has written to us, by order of the emperor, that certainly he had not the least thought of acting; nor of permitting the emigrants to act against the cantons, in any manner which might disturb the tranquillity of their territory. We have prepared our signals and our alarm guns, which, on account of the armistice and the winter season, had been neglected; and it is generally known that by these means a very great force can be assembled in a

few days. We have exercised our troops, and they are ready to march on the first signal. They will be added to the contingents of the other cantons which assemble in our's, and are directed to redouble their vigilance in the posts confided to them. The representatives of the Helvetic body, deputed to us for considering the state of affairs, for acting in the name of the whole confederation, and informing their constituents of every danger which may approach our states, allow no means to escape them of consolidating the repose of the common country. We have written to our co-allies, to remind them of the treaties which unite us, and we have received the unanimous assurance that all are ready to fly to our assistance and defend our frontiers.

We conclude by praying your excellency to transmit those details to the directory; and, above all, to fortify them against the exaggerated reports that an excess of zeal may have occasioned.

Official Note, transmitted by Mr. Wickham, Minister Plenipotentiary from his Britannic Majesty to the Senate of Berne, the 26th of June 1796.

MAGNIFICENT AND POWERFUL LORDS,

IN consequence of the resolution agreed to and published by your state, respecting all the French indiscriminately who have taken refuge in your country, several of the heads of families of these unfortunate victims to their attachment to the ancient laws of their country, have addressed themselves to me, to obtain the means to repair to England, where they hope at last

to find repose, and a secure asylum against the cruelty of their persecutors.

It is with extreme concern, magnificent lords, that I find myself obliged to refuse their request, and to declare to all of them that I cannot grant a passport to any of them until I have received orders from my court. I think it necessary, magnificent lords, to communicate to you my resolution upon this subject, in order that the persons, to whom it relates, may not be suspected of any neglect or tardiness in obeying the ordonnance made respecting them. God forbid that, in taking such a resolution, I should pretend to set bounds to the munificence of my sovereign, or the generosity of his subjects, which I hope will exist as long as the monarchy itself. We have always, magnificent lords, a confidence that our means will be increased by divine favour, in proportion as they are employed in assisting the unfortunate.

But it is my duty, in this unforeseen case, to take no steps without having previously communicated to my court all the circumstances which have preceded, accompanied, and followed this measure, and entreated his Majesty to give me the most distinct orders for the regulation of my conduct in all that relates to this business.

I do not hesitate to avow that I have not been without hope that the delay, which might be caused by my resolution in the execution of the order against those who have no other asylum but England, would have offered to your lordships an opportunity of considering of every mitigating circumstance, of which this case is capable. Perhaps

also this delay may lead those persons, who have urged this measure, to think deliberately both upon its nature and the consequences which may ensue from it.

Whatever may be the event, magnificent lords, in adopting and communicating this resolution to your lordships, if I can be the means of saving any one of those respectable families from exhausting their last resources in taking a long and dangerous voyage, I shall think that I have performed my duty to my God and my king; and I dare answer, that whatever may be the affection and friendship which the king, my master (after the example of his august predecessors) feels for your lordships, these sentiments must be much strengthened, when I shall have laid before him a fresh act of your's — of that generous and enlarged humanity which forms the distinguished character of his reign, and which our two nations have formerly exercised to the unhappy refugees from that same country.

With the sincerest wishes for the prosperity and happiness of your state, I am,

Magnificent and powerful lords,
your lordship's most devoted
servant,

(Signed) W. WICKHAM.

Articles of the Concordat agreed upon among the different Parties in Geneva, as well as the Resolution taken by the Syndics and Council on this Subject.

ART. 1. RESPECT to the law, obedience to the magistrate, engage both parties united, to maintain the government at the risk of their lives, with dispatch, and entire readiness, as often as necessity shall

shall require it, to suppress every act of insubordination or violence ; to cause the legitimate authority to be respected, and the free and impartial administration of justice and the laws.

2. A full and entire abrogation of all the sentences pronounced by the revolutionary tribunals, and the sincere and loyal abjuration of all public and personal vengeance passed against any individual whatever. Such persons so proscribed, may rest assured of an inviolable asylum in the bosom of the union of all the citizens, for which we now labour, and of which we shall give an example—This surely shall be pronounced by the nation, as the first article of the preliminaries upon which that union shall be founded.

3. A sincere mutual return, and inviolable attachment of both parties thus united in the three fundamental principles, already consecrated by our primitive laws, and the present constitution ; namely, political equality, removal from public offices, and the separation of powers.

4. The citizens who have hitherto expressed a dislike to the revolution of 1792, declare, “ That with respect to the new legislation, now in a state of formation, they will confine themselves in demanding that a more moderate application should be made, with respect to the removal from office, and the separation of the powers, than that which exists at present ; as also the re-establishment of the forms of our ancient government, which are not incompatible with the three fundamental principles announced above. The citizens attached to the revolution of

1792, acknowledge that these demands accord with the true interests of the republic, and receive that declaration with pleasure ; they consider it as inviolable and sacred, and declare, on their part, that they will formally adhere to it.

5. The assembly decree, that this address shall be printed, made public, and sent to the syndics and administrative council, desiring, that, in their wisdom, they will incessantly consider of the means adapted to the public interest, and of solemnly consecrating the reciprocal engagements contained therein.

(Signed) L. A. CONSTANTINE.
BLANC.

*Geneva, 31, August, 1795,
Fourth Year of the Ge-
nevese Equality.*

Extract from the registers of the administrative council.—Monday, August 31, 1795, fourth year of the Genevese equality.

*Official Note of Count Bernstorff,
Danish Minister of State.*

THE system of his Danish Majesty, uninfluenced by passions and prejudices, is merely governed by reason and truth, and constantly such modifications are adopted as are rendered both just and unavoidable by the obvious change in the posture of public affairs. So long as no other than a revolutionary government existed in France, his majesty could not acknowledge the minister of that government ; but now that the French constitution is completely organized, and a regular government established in France, his majesty's obligation ceases in that respect, and M. Grouvelle will therefore be acknowledged in the usual form. For the rest, this step remains

remains an isolated measure, being neither more nor less than the natural consequence of circumstances; and an additional proof of the complete and truly impartial neutrality of the king.

February, 1796.

Citizen Grouvelle, Minister Plenipotentiary from the French Republic in Denmark, to his Excellency Count de Bernstorff, Minister of the Council of State to his Danish Majesty, and of the Department for Foreign Affairs.

*Copenhagen, 27th Ventose;
4th Year of the Republic.*

THE German papers, sir, have inserted the extract of an instruction, which appears to have been addressed in a circular manner by you to the ministers of Denmark, at the different courts, and which concerns the resolutions adopted by his majesty, to give to the character of minister plenipotentiary from the French republic, in which character I have resided for two years and a half at this court, a suitable publicity by admitting me to a private audience. I have every reason to consider this extract as authentic, and in this character I feel myself bound to address you. Of whatever reflections the principle, and spirit of that extract may be susceptible, my design is not to comment upon it all. The government, whose representative I am, possesses, as well as myself, a scrupulous respect for the independence of governments, and even a regard for their private convenience. The tyrannical and intriguing system of asking on every subject official explanations, would be as contrary to their principles as to my own character. To make an

incident of a phrase, to attach a diplomatic importance to each word, to render the slightest discussion personal, to season with arrogance the *ennui* of a laborious epistolary controversy, is a part which we have lately seen played by certain agents, who quarrel for want of business, who know not how to serve their court, but by insulting others, and who represent nothing more than the vices of their nations; ridicule and contempt are attached to them; their example is fit to be recollected, only because it is proper to be avoided. As the French republic makes it her glory to follow a contrary system to that of the powers who acknowledge such ministers, I honour myself for being a contrast to them in all my proceedings.

But, sir, I cannot dispense with fixing my attention upon the conclusion of the extract of your instruction above mentioned, and seeing that the result is announced in terms which by their too general acception, may lead to abusive interpretation. I have thought that it is necessary to have an amicable understanding with you.

In speaking of my admission, and of the public acknowledgment of my character, you say, that this step is isolated, and means nothing but what is in itself. Do you not apprehend that the disaffected will see, in this mode of expression, a sort of restriction, of implicit reserve; that they may go so far as to suppose that it alludes to I know not what other declaration or anterior measure which may have been adopted to the same courts to which your ministers may have held this official language? That even attributing the publication to you they

they may give a sort of credit to the inductions? Undoubtedly you will see with pain that the public receives them; for however forced they may be, they injure the idea which the court of Denmark wishes always to give of the frankness of its proceedings. That after having so long delayed a measure, become necessary to her own consideration, as well as to the dignity of the republic, she might be again suspected of wishing to destroy the good effect secretly, and to weaken whatever advantage the measure might produce to France. Would not this be a real inconvenience? I only wish to point out what in this concerns your own reputation.

On the other hand, sir, the French government, now established on a new constitution, resumes its rank among the other European powers. It will of course be extremely cautious not to incur the charge of inconsistency, nor to suffer any stain to attach on its dignity, nor in any respect to sanction by injustice the detraction of its calumniators. The government well know the influence of public opinion, and will not fail so set themselves right in the estimation of the world, when their adversaries are busily employed in corrupting it.

Although they feel themselves far superior to flattery and ostentation, and direct all their operations with that confidence which arises from the wisdom of their councils, and the energy of their measures; yet the value they set upon their connection with Denmark, renders it impossible for them to behold, with an eye of indifference, a circumstance which conveys a harsh

reflection on their conduct. The abuse that might be made of your note, gave them much concern, and it was with extreme satisfaction that they received a testimony of the rectitude of your intentions. A loyal government stoops not to a disavowal, because it asserts nothing but the truth. A wise government ought to condemn false reports, but a benevolent government, or only an impartial one, will not reject overtures to an explanation, especially if it is demanded with amicable views.

It is with this view, sir, that I now discharge this important duty, a duty which, though painful, is still necessary to prevent an interruption of the existing harmony between our respective states, which ought to be united more closely than ever. If personal consideration were of any weight, I should give my opinion that this is not an unimportant object, and perhaps the occurrences, which preceded my admission, were not of the most conciliatory nature, and may produce some embarrassments in the event, at least with respect to this court. The first observation I submit to your wisdom, and the latter remark to your delicacy.

(Signed) GROUVELLE.

Answer of Count Bernstorff.

SIR,

I AM very sensible and grateful for the sentiments expressed in the letter which I have had the honour to receive from you. They increase my esteem, and though I cannot add any thing to that which I have verbally pronounced to you, I enter with pleasure into your wishes; and I do not hesitate to give you friendly explanations, even on the
object

objects which do not admit of ministerial discussions. The instructions which I gave to some of the king's ministers at different foreign courts are of this kind: it is become public without our knowledge; it is nothing like a declaration to these courts. We have made no declaration; it is a simple official instruction, only designed for the information of those to whom it is addressed, and which relates to the anterior correspondence, and which breathing only the justice rendered to the present French constitution, could not surely involve us in a dispute with her, but rather with those who do not love that constitution. This is so clearly evident, that I should only weaken it by further explanation.

You know, besides, that your admission has been without the smallest reserve, absolutely in the usual and most solemn forms that we know. We never do things by half, and as you are witness of our conduct and proceedings, I should love to chuse you yourself as judge, and I depend upon your impartiality. In the same manner I entreat you to believe in the high consideration with which I am, &c.

BERNSTORFF.

Copenhagen, March 19, 1796.

Proclamation of the Queen of Portugal for making Lisbon a free Port.
Donna Maria, by the Grace of God, Queen of Portugal and the Algarves, &c. &c.

BE it known to all to whom this law shall come, that taking into my royal consideration the many and very important advantages which would necessarily result to the commerce of the subjects of these kingdoms and their dominions, by the

establishment of a free port; and well aware, that the port of Lisbon, from its situation, security, and facility of navigation with the ocean, is preferable to those of other nations which have adopted similar establishments; conforming myself to the opinion of my royal board of commerce, agriculture, manufactures, and navigation, of those kingdoms and their dominions, and of others of my council, very learned and zealous for the good of my royal service, and of the public utility—It is my will, and I am pleased to create and establish, at Junquiera, joining to the city of Lisbon, a free port, to take entire and due effect from the first day of January, in the year next ensuing of 1797, having destined for its exercise and the deposit, the houses and warehouses of Fort St. John, with the ground adjoining, whereon to build the further necessary accommodations, there to receive and deposit all goods and merchandize, of whatever quality or kind they may be, as well for foreign countries, (except for the present sugar and tobacco) as from national ports situate beyond the Cape of Good Hope, for the purpose, at the option of the proprietors of the said goods, of disposing of them for the internal consumption of the kingdom, provided they are entitled to lawful entry, and on paying the customary duties, at the respective custom-houses; or to be exported to foreign ports, or national ones beyond the said Cape of Good Hope, on paying only towards the benefit of my royal revenue, for protection and deposit, the duty of 1 per cent. on the amount of their value, calculated on the invoice to be produced by the captains of the vessels,

vessels, or their consignees, by them signed and certified on oath; the liberty of franquin still, however, to remain as heretofore, for all vessels that shall require it, according to the rules as established by the custom-house of this city; suppressing all other duties, and revoking all and whatever dispositions that may oppose or infringe on the liberty and freedom, which are to constitute the advantages of the establishment.

Further to animate and promote in this capital, a concurrence and abundance of articles of the first necessity, I am pleased to declare that all qualities of grain, meat, and food, which are free from paying duties inward, shall not only enjoy the free liberty of exportation, but shall be also free from payment of the aforesaid contribution imposed on other goods, and continue to be received and dispatched through the same departments as heretofore.

In case it should happen that the crown of Portugal should enter into war (which God forbid) with any power whose subjects might be interested in goods in the free port, in which condition it is to be understood the aforesaid grain, meat and food, are included, no arrest, embargo, sequestration, or reprisal, shall on that account be made thereon; but on the contrary, they shall remain in the utmost freedom and security, as if each individual had them placed in his own house, to dispose of them as he may judge most suited to his interest.

The administration of the aforesaid free port shall be constituted under the superintendence of a general comptroller, with the ne-

cessary officers under him that I may be pleased to appoint; and it is my will to order, that he shall be independent of all and every jurisdiction, and only subordinate to the tribunal of the royal board of commerce, through which will be forwarded the necessary orders to meet occurring circumstances, and bring up to my royal presence all representations tending to maintain, and preserve inviolate, the good faith of this establishment, in due conformity to the particular regulations which I have ordered to be formed for the government of the aforesaid administration, and officers employed in conducting it; and also to serve as a guidance to all captains of ships and their consignees, for their conduct on the entry and shipping of all goods claiming the benefit of this institution.

Dated at the palace of Queliez,

May 13, 1796.

Manifesto, or Declaration of the Queen of Portugal, against the Republic of the United States of the Netherlands.

WHEREAS the Portuguese envoy extraordinary with the republic of the United States of the Netherlands, has, in his report of the 15th of June, transmitted to her majesty the copy of a letter which he received from the committee for foreign affairs of the republic, in which has been notified to him the fixed resolution of abstaining from all political communication with him, as representative of her majesty, the queen of Portugal, till the conclusion of a peace with the French republic.

Besides which, the said envoy ultimately signifies, in his letter,

that all commercial transactions had also been suspended; her majesty has therefore resolved, under the present circumstances, to suspend in a like manner, on her part, all commerce with the states general of the Netherlands, to prohibit her subjects all transactions, of mercantile connections, with the subjects of the republic, and to forbid them all navigation to the harbours of the said states.

Her majesty has been farther pleased to ordain, that all transaction in the interior of her dominions with the subjects of the United Provinces be suspended; and that their capitals shall, under no pretence, be carried out of the kingdom.

The departure of all Dutch ships, which are in the harbours under the dominion of her majesty, is also entirely stopped, because there they must remain under embargo till further orders.

That this resolution may reach the knowledge of every one, and be put in force, it has been publicly posted up.

The secretary of the tribunal of commerce.

(Signed) RICOBONO GOMES.
DE CARVALHO.

Lisbon, July 19, 1796.

The above manifesto was revoked two days after it was issued; and the Portuguese minister, M. Pinto, transmitted a letter on the 23d of July upon the subject to the Dutch ambassador at Lisbon, citizen Geldemeester. In this letter M. Pinto declares, "that the embargo laid on the Dutch ships in the Portuguese harbour had been taken off, that her majesty the queen of Portugal, wished for nothing more than to preserve peace and friendship with the Batavian

republic; that she hoped there subsisted no other cause of disagreement between both states, and that the Dutch government would observe reciprocity with regard to the commercial connections; and that the temporary embargo had been occasioned by the measures manifested in Holland against Portugal, and her majesty thought it very strange that Portugal should not have been considered like other friends of France who were at peace with the Batavian republic."

Copy of the Letter sent by the King of Naples to the Marquis del Vasto, who, after the receipt of it, set out for Rome as Ambassador Extraordinary, and concluded there the offensive and defensive Treaty between Naples and the Pope.

HIS holiness acquaints me by letter of his determination to reject the unjust and execrable conditions of the French, on which account he demands of me, though rather late, speedy succour. Notwithstanding this is against my original plan, I hesitate not a moment to grant it to him, as it concerns our holy religion, to which I have constantly been devoted. As his holiness demands of me, at the same time, to send some person with whom he may consult on our common affairs, I have appointed you, the marquis del Vasto, for this purpose. Depart immediately, and have at heart the honour of God and the holy church, the good of the state, and the tranquillity of my subjects, who daily give fresh proofs of their attachment and fidelity to me.

Done in the camp of
St. Germano.

FERDINANDO REX.
Proclamation.

Proclamation of the King of Naples.

THE long war which still desolates Europe, which afflicts so many nations, and costs so much blood, and so many tears, is not a mere political contest, but a religious war. Our enemies are the foes of christianity; not content with destroying it in the breasts of their own nation, they would also banish it from every quarter of the globe, and replace it by atheism or enthusiastic idolatry. Religion openly reprobates their projects. They aim at the overthrow of all princely government, and to attain this, they disturb the peace of nations, stimulate them to revolt against their lawful sovereigns, plunge them into the most dreadful anarchy, and sink them in an abyss of confusion and misery. Belgium, Holland, and so many German and Italian provinces have become the wretched victims of their seduction, and thirst for plunder. Those unfortunate countries groan and lament, but in vain, under the vain despotism of their oppressors, while the calls of justice and humanity are unattended to. It was necessary that religion, the most powerful obstacle of their horrid projects, should be removed and destroyed, in order that this fence being once broken down, all laws, both divine and human, might be violated without shame or reserve.

Religion, whilst it informs us of our duties, ought also to inspire us with courage. The religious citizen well knows that he was born for himself and for others; that at the moment of his birth he contracts the obligation to love his native land, to protect it in times of distress, and even to hazard his

life in the defence of the country where he reposes in safety, and finds a livelihood for himself and his family, especially when that country is invaded by an enemy, who spares neither law nor property, neither life nor religion; who, wherever he makes his appearance, insults, profanes, and destroys the churches, breaks down the altars, persecutes the priests, and tramples under foot the most sacred emblems of the church of Christ. It is impossible that a citizen, devoted to the cause of religion, should remain unconcerned at the dangers which threaten his country; prompted by the impulse of his conscience and a proper sense of his own welfare, he will hasten to its defence, join the military force, and co-operate in a vigorous resistance; he will place his confidence in the God of Hosts, who often strikes an unexpected blow, and disperses his enemies like chaff before the wind.

I myself will set you the example of zeal and courage; I will put myself at the head of my dearly beloved subjects, assembled for the defence of their country, fully relying on the protection of the King of Kings, and the Lord of Lords, who guides the counsels of princes, and enlightens their minds, if with sincerity they implore his holy name. Yet at the same time I shall neglect no proper means for procuring peace and tranquillity to the people whom Divine Providence has entrusted to my care. But in order to obtain this end, we ought not to neglect the necessary precautions, that we may be prepared for every event. Negotiations for peace shall occasionally be set on foot, but they must be

carried on with arms in our hands, that we may not be obliged to submit to destructive and disgraceful conditions, which this enemy, so apt to avail himself of the weakness of his adversaries, might choose to dictate. For this purpose lend me your assistance, ye prelates of the realm, ye who are the depositaries and first defenders of our holy religion, and support my exertions with a zeal worthy of your apostolic mission. Summon the inhabitants of your dioceses to join me and my troops, to repel the enemy, if he should dare to approach our frontiers. Explain to them the justice and importance of our cause, and convince them that it is their bounden duty to concur in its defence. Let the voice of the church be heard through her ministers, and invite her children to support the cause of God, and to offer up prayers to him; that, in his mercy, he may grant us either a just peace, or a glorious triumph.

(Signed) FERDINAND.

Naples, May 18, 1796.

Edict of his Majesty the King of Naples and the two Siciles, addressed to his Subjects.

We, FERDINAND IV. by the Grace of God, &c. &c.

SINCE the time when peace was interrupted in Europe, we redoubled our care to preserve the public tranquillity, and to put the state in a safe condition of defence. We were, therefore, disposed to augment our land and sea forces, and to raise a considerable host of brave warriors on the frontiers of this kingdom. We afterwards put ourselves at the head of our courageous troops, firmly resolved to use all

the means in our power, and even to sacrifice our royal person. These effective preparations, added to lawful and becoming steps to obtain peace, give us hopes that our dominions will forthwith enjoy tranquillity. At the same time we ought not to conceal, that in order to gain the proposed end of our designs, it is absolutely necessary to double the said preparations for the defence of the state, and the acceleration of a lasting and honourable peace, and to station a still greater force than the present on the frontiers of our kingdom. We address ourselves to all the classes of our beloved subjects, and hereby do require them to contribute with all their power to the speedy augmentation of the army stationed in cantonments. We expect, amongst others, that the brave young men who have enrolled themselves for the defence of religion the throne, and the country, will now repair without delay to the frontiers, in order to put themselves under our immediate and personal command, with their brave comrades; and we hope that, in consequence of this, other volunteers will, in greater number, repair to the cantonments, that we may bring together a formidable army, and be enabled to secure the safety and tranquillity of the state, either by a permanent peace, or by brilliant victorious.

Done at Naples, Sept. 12, 1796.

Proclamation issued at Petersburgh, relating to Dutch Ships.

WE, count Alexander Nikolazenwitsch, do hereby give directions for the immediate release and departure of all the Dutch vessels,

together with their respective crews, on which an embargo was laid last year; but we also prohibit, by this proclamation, the entry of any vessel from that country into our ports, and such as do arrive shall be treated the same as French ships. In other respects they shall not be molested.

The original was signed by her majesty.

CATHERINE.

Zarskoselo, May 20, 1796.

Copy of a Dispatch from Count Osterman, Chancellor to the Empress of Russia, to M. Bulzow, Russian Charge d'Affaires at Madrid, dated Petersburg, December 25, 1795.

SIR,

THE empress was already informed, through the public prints, of the treaty of peace concluded between Spain and the French, and the unpleasant sensations which this unexpected and disagreeable transaction had produced in her Imperial majesty's mind, were greatly increased when this intelligence was confirmed by the minister of his Catholic majesty. The empress, however, has during the new connection which so happily subsists between her and his Catholic majesty, met with too many opportunities of learning the true sentiments of that prince, not to be thoroughly convinced that the concurrence of the most imperious circumstances can alone have determined him to act in direct opposition to his principles. No doubt it has been for him a task infinitely hard, to enter into negotiations with those, who with their own hands murdered the chief of his illustrious family, and to conclude a

peace with these disturbers of the tranquillity and safety of all Europe. No one knows better than her Imperial majesty to value and appreciate all the difficulties and obstacles, which his Catholic majesty must have had to surmount, before he could prevail upon himself so adopt a measure, which to all appearance has been brought about through the most urgent necessity, and the most threatening danger.

Her Imperial majesty being at a loss to account for the motives which can have determined his Catholic majesty thus to insulate his interest from that of the coalition, cannot but persevere in the opinion, that notwithstanding this sudden change, his Catholic majesty will continue sincerely to interest himself in the success of the operations of the evangelic powers; and so far from throwing any obstacle in the way of the new measures which those powers may find it necessary to pursue, rather support them by every means, which the system of neutrality he may, perhaps, think proper to adopt, does not preclude.

His Catholic majesty cannot yet have forgotten the high importance of the cause for which the coalesced powers are contending—to restore order and tranquillity, to lead the nations back to a sense of their duty, and to shield all Europe from the most dangerous infection.—These are the important motives which have induced the coalesced powers to unite their counsels, and exert their joint efforts to render them triumphant.

It is for this purpose, that the three courts have just now, by means of a solemn treaty of alliance,

strengthened the ties by which they were united. Their reciprocal interest is therefore so intimately connected and interwoven, and their determination so firm, that it would be impossible to obstruct the operations of one of them, without forcing the others most warmly to embrace his cause. Of this description is especially the situation of her Imperial majesty with respect to the king of Great Britain; so that in case of need, her Imperial majesty would be obliged to assist and support him to the utmost extent of her power, but fortunately such connections subsist between his Catholic majesty and the king of Great Britain, in consequence of several treaties renewed in the year 1793, as can never cease to be dear to his Catholic majesty, and neither the conveniency nor usefulness of which can have been lessened by a change of affairs produced by the most imperious circumstances.

This important consideration, in addition to that which proceeds from the favourable disposition of his Catholic majesty towards the common cause, cannot but render her Imperial majesty perfectly easy with respect to the conduct which his Catholic majesty is likely to pursue. Her Imperial majesty is of opinion, that it will be both candid and sincere, and it would be painful for her to suppose, that in any case whatever his Catholic majesty could favour measures tending to obstruct and oppose the avowed purposes of the three allied courts.

You, sir, will adopt the most proper means officially to communicate to the ministry of his Catholic majesty the tenor of this dispatch, and to make it the subject

of a conference you are to request of the Prince of Peace.

(Signed) COUNT OSTERMAN.

The Answer of his Excellency the Prince of Peace to M. de Bulzow, dated Santa Cruz, March 17, 1796.

I HAVE received your letter of the 22d of February, with a copy of the dispatch, which you, Sir, have received from your court by the last courier from London, and must return you in answer, that the King, my master, has with much pleasure learned the friendly terms, in which, on the part of her Imperial Majesty, he has been acquainted with the close alliance concluded with the courts of Vienna and London, which certainly cannot have been the result of the circumstances which existed in Poland, at the time when the forces of her Imperial Majesty might have been employed at a point, where all those monarchs who united for the preservation of their existence, and the mutual support of their rights, rallied. At that period, the King, my master, gave the strongest proofs of his grief at the misfortune of a beloved cousin, and foresaw that his dominions were drawing near that universal corruption, which results from madness without bounds. He waged war against tyrants, but was unable to learn who they were, for he did not know, following the capricious dictates of their levity, who were the good Frenchmen that defended the cause of their king. He was only able to discern, that but a few, victims of their sense of honour, were his true adherents, who followed him to the grave. The desire of the King, my master, was, however, so earnest, that not-

notwithstanding the ill-founded hopes held out by the combined powers, he prosecuted the most vigorous and most expensive war. There was no sovereign but the King, endeavoured to prevail upon, by the most advantageous proposals, to join his Majesty; notwithstanding this request was addressed to the Empress at different times, since the last months of 1791, and during the year 1792, by M. de Galvez, Spanish minister in Russia, and M. de Zinowief, who resided in the same quality at Madrid, but especially in October 1792, and December 1793, when M. de Amat, then Spanish chargé d'affaires at Petersburg, and soon after M. de Oris, minister of his Catholic Majesty, had long conferences on this subject, the former with count Osterman, and the latter with count Besborodko. Notwithstanding all this, there did not exist the least circumstance which promised an active co-operation on the part of the Empress, nor does it appear that the occupation of Poland could have prevented her from co-operating in favour of the common cause. It was under these circumstances that the King, my master, no doubt from fear and apprehension of sinister consequences for his kingdom, resolved to make peace, convinced, that if he were left without assistance in the war, that support, which might be promised him for the attainment of peace, would prove still less efficacious. This is the true situation of Spain, and his Catholic Majesty obliges himself to fulfil whatever he has promised for the benefit of the common cause, in which, at the same time he must, for the future, decline participa-

tion in any measure, which has no certain and consistent object.

(Signed) THE PRINCE OF PEACE.
Note sent by Baron de Budberg, Chargé d' Affaires from Russia, at Stockholm, to the Foreign Ministers, relative to the non-admission of M. de Schwerin, who went to Petersburg for the Purpose of notifying the Marriage about to take place between his Swedish Majesty and the Princess of Mecklenburgh Schwerin.

THE Empress having given orders to M. the Count d'Ostermann, to acquaint the Swedish ambassador, that the mission of M. de Schwerin not being agreeable to her Majesty, he could not be admitted; the chargé d'affaires (M. de Budberg) has received orders to declare that the motive of this refusal was founded as much on the unfriendly proceeding of the Regent, as on the principles of his political conduct with regard to Russia. Both the one and the other being diametrically opposite to those ties of affection, of friendship, and of good neighbourhood, which originally have been the basis of this sort of missions, and which have never been adopted between courts that were not united by similar ties, or being so, have not taken care to cultivate and fulfil the duties of them. That this was the situation, as to Russia, in which Sweden had been placed, since the Duke de Sundermania, who holds the reins of government, not content with having formerly insulted her Majesty the Empress, in endeavouring to surprise her by insidious and delusive overtures and propositions, entered into a public treaty with the French assembly, with those men who

solemnly,

solemnly insulted the memory of the late King, by erecting a monument to the memory of his execrable assassin. That her Majesty the Empress was neither ignorant of the motives nor the object of those treaties. That it was notorious that the Regent had recently received from the French a sum of money to be employed in armaments, and that he was now in full negotiation with them for a treaty of alliance, the principal stipulations of which are directed against Russia; so that her Majesty the Empress had every reason to expect an approaching rupture on the part of Sweden, unless the King's coming of age (which, happily for the repose of that kingdom and of the north, was an event not far distant,) should put a stop to it, and thereby avoid this lamentable extremity.

Tenor of the Letters of Convocation addressed by the King of Prussia, as Duke of Magdebourg, and of the Duke of Brunswick, as Co-Director of the Circle of Lower Saxony, to the different States destined to enjoy the Advantages of the Neutrality.

We, by the Grace of God, Frederick William, King of Prussia, &c. Charles William, Duke of Brunswick, &c.

The apprehension of a speedy opening of a new campaign with France, and the new dangers to which Germany will be exposed by the chance of a war that has already been so fatal to her, have determined us, the King, in consequence of our solicitude and patriotic attachment, and in consequence of the pacific relations which we maintain with France, to distribute as much as possible to our co-estates of the north, the inestimable blessing of repose and security

from the troubles and misfortunes of war; that is to say, as far as these states will, on their part, accord with our intentions, which are of general utility. To this end negotiations have already been entered into with the French government, relative to a new line of neutrality, and in order to be able with the more efficacy to assure that neutrality; and to afford protection and safety to the states comprised within it, we, the King, are ready to march a considerable army; and we, the Duke, have also taken a resolution to reinforce that army with our troops, the Electoral Court of Brunswick Lüneburg having also manifested the same intentions. These combined troops being therefore to protect the neutrality of the north of Germany, it is as just as it is absolutely indispensable; that they should be provided and provisioned by the states which shall enjoy this advantage, and that each, individually should hasten in proportion to its means, to procure them the necessary provisions. But this object requires, on account of the urgency of circumstances, the most speedy dispositions. The most proper means for attaining this end is by the convocation of a common and extraordinary assembly of all the Upper States of the Circles of Lower Saxony, with the States of the Lower Rhine and of Westphalia, as well as of the other States that shall be comprised in the line of neutrality, in order that we may be able to deliberate upon this subject, and to regulate the distribution of the maintenance of the troops upon an equitable footing, proportioned to the faculties of each state; for, on the speedy furnishing of the objects necessary for this main-

maintenance will alone depend the maintenance of the common safety of the north of Germany.

Those, therefore, whose territory is comprised in the said line of neutrality, and which, consequently, will enjoy the benefit of this protection, being principally implicated in this case, we have, in our quality of Prince and Director of the Circle of Lower Saxony, addressed to them conjointly the present letter of Convocation, in order to unite them to assemble, by their deputies, furnished with the necessary instructions on the 20th of the month of June, in the town of Hildesheim. We have no doubt that they acknowledge, in its full extent, the urgency of the case, and of the actual conjunctions, as well as of the importance it is to procure to the north of Germany security and repose; and that in consequence they will adhere and contribute every thing that can attain the common end, sufficiently in time to avoid being surprised by danger.

We, the King, shall depute to the common assembly of the States, our intimate Counsellor Von Dohm, directorial minister to the Circle of the Lower Rhine and Westphalia, and plenipotentiary to the Electoral court of Cologne, furnished with necessary powers; and we entreat, very amicably, this assembly to give from this time faith and confidence to all that he may propose on our part, upon the subject of the affairs in question.

April 22.

ROYAL PRUSSIAN EDICT.

Frederick William, by the Grace of God, &c.

WE have signified to the ambassador of the French republic, Caillard, by a note from our ca-

binet ministry, that we will permit such national Frenchmen, who reside in our dominions as our temporary subjects, (*Subditi temporarii*) and who have real right to the protection of the French nation, and wish to preserve those rights, to get their names inscribed in a register which will be opened for that purpose by the said ambassador, but in such a manner, that all those subjects shall, the same as before, remain our temporary subjects, (*Subditi temporarii*) that they likewise shall submit to our laws, ordinances, and jurisdiction, and not make the least pretensions to any immunities granted by the law of nations only to ambassadors, and the persons actually belonging to embassies.

We have further given orders to inform the said Caillard, that the national Frenchmen, qualified as above, are at liberty to wear the French national cockade in our dominions, but the wearing of the said cockade is hereby rigidly forbidden to all other persons. It therefore results from these premises:

1. That the wearing of the cockade shall be confined to Frenchmen of the afore-mentioned description, together with the ambassador, and the persons belonging to the embassy.

2. That national Frenchmen shall all be entitled to have their names registered, the registering to relate only to their connection with France, and to leave them subject, as before, to our laws, ordinances, and jurisdiction, as our temporary subjects.

3. That all persons belonging to the French colonies established in our dominions; farther, all Frenchmen in our service, by oath of allegiance

allegiance and duty, even if they do not belong to the above-mentioned colonies; as likewise all those in general who are described by this article as our perpetual subjects, (*Subditi perpetui*) shall not have a right to have their names inscribed in that register, or to wear the French national cockade.

Berlin, 16 July.

Declaration of the King of Prussia, put against the Gates of the City of Nuremburg, July 5.

HIS majesty the king of Prussia, our most gracious Lord, makes known by this public notice to all magisterial persons, burghers and subjects, and most graciously declares, that in taking possession, by virtue of the judgments of the Aulic council of the empire, given in the years 1583 and 1587, respecting his territorial sovereignty, as far as the gates of the Imperial city of Nuremburg—all private property shall remain inviolate: no person be opposed in the exercise of his well-acquired rights and privileges, but that he rather shall be protected therein by his Majesty; and every possession shall quietly remain in the enjoyment of all territorial and feudal imposts and duties.

His Majesty will only exercise the rights of sovereignty to him belonging, and grant farther to the inhabitants of the suburbs of Nuremburg, his sovereign assurance, that they and those who belong to them, shall be exempt from all military duty and levy.

In other respects, every one is hereby cautioned to demean himself quietly and calmly, and to shew the more respect to the military, as they will observe the best discipline on their part, and avoid every excess.

By his majesty's most gracious and special command.

HARDENBERG.

Anspach, July 3d, 1796.

Nuremberg, August 16.

Submission of the Imperial City of Nuremberg, to the King of Prussia.

OUR magistrates have, under the present circumstances, applied to the Prussian minister of state, Baron Von Hardenberg, testifying to his excellency the general wish of the citizens to live in future under the beneficent laws of his Prussian majesty. His excellency did not hesitate to intercede for us with the French commander in chief, general Jourdan, to obtain a fixed contribution in lieu of all requisitions, which has been granted accordingly until the pleasure of the French Directory shall be known. In other respects, Baron Von Hardenberg made answer to our deputies, that it was beneath the dignity of his sovereign to take advantage of our present situation, that his majesty would defer making known to us his real sentiments till we shall be fully at liberty to announce our wishes according to the forms of our present constitution.

Declaration delivered to the Magistrates of Nuremberg on the 29th of September, 1796, by the Prussian Minister, Baron Von Hardenberg, relative to the Proposal of its being united with the King's Dominions.

THE undersigned has the honour, in the name of the king, his most gracious master, to declare to the most worshipful the magistrates and burghers of the city of Nuremberg, that the proof of confidence and attachment which it gave to his majesty, by the voluntary offer of submitting to his sceptre, made in so solemn and decided a manner, has been received by his majesty with

with true pleasure and grateful approbation, and will be esteemed in its full value; but that his majesty according to the situation of matters cannot as yet resolve himself to accept of that voluntary submission, and to ratify the annexed agreement of subjection and exemption, but that his majesty will nevertheless find sufficient motives in that unequivocal mark of the confidential attachment of the city, to make it experience, by preference, his favour and benevolence, and is already prepared to do every thing in his power to promote the welfare and safety of the city; while his majesty, after a farther developement of circumstances and events, will also never have any objection to answer as much as possible to the farther wishes of the city.

The said minister delivered a similar declaration to the cities of Weissenberg and Winsheim,

Rescript, published by Order of the King of Prussia, respecting the Prussian Territories on the left Bank of the Rhine.

Frederick William.

WE having been informed that an opinion has been propagated through a part of our state of Westphalia, situated on the left bank of the Rhine, to wit, the provinces of Cleves, Meurs, and Gueldres, in the actual possession of the French troops, that sufficient remonstrances and protestations had not been made on our part against the various innovations and oppressions which the French commissaries and agents exercise over our faithful subjects; we have therefore thought it good to make this public declaration, by means of our regency, jointly with our

chamber of war and of territory; and we do publicly declare, that we have never ceased, nor shall we ever cease, to interest ourselves in behalf of our said subjects, by the intervention of our envoy to the French republic; and that it is far from our intention to depart from the basis of the treaty of Basle respecting the civil or financial administration of those countries.

In concluding the treaty, by which the war between our state and the French republic was put an end to, it was never our intention to grant them more than a mere military possession of our provinces on the left side of the Rhine, till peace should be concluded with the emperor: and this intention, which has been taken as a basis in the negotiation is sufficiently manifest by the tenor of the 5th article, which expressly declares, "that the troops of the republic shall occupy these countries belonging to us."

The difference between provinces conquered from an enemy, and those which belong to a power in alliance, and which have been merely conceded for a temporary military occupation, is sufficiently evident, and it is obvious that they ought not to be treated in the same manner.

It is therefore impossible for us to believe that the French government, considering the amicable ties subsisting between us and it, will still oppose such evident reasoning. It cannot fail to conceive, that neither sequestration nor confiscation of the goods of the clergy, nor the projected sale of woods, nor the enormous contribution of three millions imposed

on the country between the Meuse and the Rhine, which would entirely ruin the country, can take place with any regard to appearance of justice.

It has already in effect given our envoy at Paris the most positive assurance, that the measures taken with respect to the clergy should be put an end to, and that the ecclesiastics should remain in quiet enjoyment of their goods and revenues: we therefore constantly expect the revocation of the order for the sale of woods, and, in general, a renunciation of all those destructive innovations relative to our dominions.

We shall not by any means recognize as valid the sale of woods, which has already taken place, to our great astonishment; and we are positively determined to have recourse to the purchasers for restitution in kind, or for the value at which the property sold shall be estimated by our agents, and for the damages which shall result from the waste committed on these woods.

In those cases where the purchasers cannot be found, we shall exercise our severity on all those who are employed by these last for cutting and carrying wood. We, in consequence, exhort our faithful subjects in the said provinces to remain assured of our lasting and efficacious protection, and to wait with confidence, for the return of that ancient order of things so highly to be desired.

At Wesel in our chamber of war and territory, 29th December, 1796, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty.

BARON DE STEIN,
First President.

Given at Emmerick, in our regency, the 29th December,

1796, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty.

ELBERS.

Treaty of Peace between the Duke of Wurtemberg and the French Republic.

THE French republic and his serene highness the duke of Wurtemberg and Teck, equally animated with desire of terminating the war in which they have been engaged, and for renewing that intercourse of commerce and of good neighbourhood which must be reciprocally advantageous to them both, have appointed the under-named plenipotentiaries; the directory, in the name of the French republic, citizen Charles Delacroix, minister of external relations; and his serene highness the duke of Wurtemberg and Teck, baron Charles Woepwart, minister of state and president of the chamber of finances, and Abel, counsellor of legislation, who, after having respectively interchanged their full powers, agreed on the following articles:

ART. 1. There shall be peace, amity, and good understanding, between the French republic and his serene highness the reigning duke of Wurtemberg and Teck: consequently all hostilities shall cease between the contracting powers from the date of the present treaty.

2. The duke of Wurtemberg revokes all adherence, consent, and accession, open or secret, given by him to the armed coalition against the French republic, or any treaty of alliance, offensive or defensive, which he may have contracted with it. In future he shall withhold from the powers at war with the republic any contingent or aid

aid in men, horses, provisions, money, warlike stores or otherwise, under whatever title they may be demanded—even though he should be called upon as member of the Germanic empire.

3. The troops of the French republic shall have free passage into the states of his royal highness, and permission to reside and to occupy all the military posts necessary for their operations.

4. His serene highness the duke of Wurtemberg and Teck renounces in favour of the French republic for himself, his successor, and all who have any claim, all his rights to the principality of Montebard, the lordships of Hericourt, Passavant, and other dependencies, in the county of Hohenbourg, also the lordships of Riquewirth and Ostheim, and generally cedes to it all the property, rights and landed revenue, which he possesses on the left bank of the Rhine, and the arrears due to him. He renounces all right against the republic for all claims he might pretend to have against the French republic, for the privation hitherto of the said rights and revenues; and any other claim of whatever denomination anterior to the present treaty.

5. His serene highness engages not to permit the emigrants and priests, banished from the French republic, to reside in his states.

6. There shall immediately be concluded between the two powers, a treaty of commerce on grounds reciprocally advantageous. In the mean time all commercial relations shall be renewed on the same footing as before the present war. All articles and commodities belonging to the soil, the manufactures, the colonies or fi-

sheries of France, shall enjoy in the states of his royal highness, liberty of transit, exempted from all duties except the tolls on carriages and horses. French drivers shall, with respect to the payment of the said tolls, be treated as the most favoured nation.

7. The French republic, and his serene highness the duke of Wurtemberg, respectively engage to remove the sequestration of all effects, revenues, or goods, seized, confiscated, detained, or sold, belonging to French citizens on the one hand, and to the inhabitants of the duchies of Wurtemberg and Teck on the other; and to admit them to a legal exercise of their respective engagements and rights.

8. All the prisoners respectively made shall be delivered up within a month reckoning, from the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, on paying the debts they may have contracted during their captivity. The sick and wounded shall still be taken care of in their respective hospitals, and shall be delivered up immediately on their cure.

9. Conformably to the sixth article of the treaty concluded at the Hague, on the 27th Floreal of the third year, the present treaty of peace and amity is declared to be common with the Batavian republic.

10. It shall be ratified, and the ratification exchanged within a month, reckoning from the signature, and sooner if possible.

Paris, 20th Thermidor, fourth year of the French republic, one and indivisible.

(Signed) CH. DELACROIX.

CHARLES, baron de Woepart.
ABEL.

The

The directory agrees upon and signs the present treaty of peace with the duke of Wurtemberg, negotiated in the name of the French republic by the minister of external relations, named by the executive directory, by an arret of the 11th Thermidor, (present month) and charged with instructions for that purpose, at Paris, 21st Thermidor, 4th year of the French republic; one and indivisible.

(As an authentic copy)

(Signed) REVELLIERE LEPEAUX,
president.

LAGARDE, secretary
general.

This treaty was ratified by the legislative body.

Treaty of Peace between the French Republic and the Margrave of Baden.

THE French republic, and his serene highness the Margrave of Baden, desirous of re-establishing between both countries the relations of friendship and good neighbourhood which existed between them before the present war, have appointed as their plenipotentiaries, namely, the executive directory, in the name of the French republic, citizen Charles Delacroix, minister of foreign affairs, and his serene highness the margrave of Baden, the baron de Reitzenstein, his chamberlain, and great baliff of Lorrach, who, after having exchanged their respective powers, have resolved on the following articles:

ART. 1. There shall be peace and good understanding between the French republic and his serene highness the margrave of Baden. In consequence, all hostilities shall cease between the contracting parties, to reckon from the ratification of this present treaty.

2. The margrave of Baden revokes all adherence, consent and access, public or secret, by him given to the coalition armed against the French republic, every contingent or succour, in men, horses, provisions, money, ammunition, or other stores, under any pretence whatever, even if he should be required as member of the Germanic empire.

3. The troops of the republic shall pass freely through the dominions of his serene highness, reside there, and occupy all military posts necessary for their operations.

4. His serene highness the margrave of Baden, for himself and his successors, cedes to the French republic all the rights that may belong to him upon the lordships of Rodemachern and Hesperingen, in the *ci-devant* duchy of Luxemburgh; the portion belonging to him in the county of Sponheim, and his rights upon the other portion; the lordship of Grevenstein, the bailiwicks of Beinheim and Rhod, and generally all the territories, rights, and revenues, which he possessed, or pretends to have a right to possess on the left bank of the Rhine. He renounces all demands upon the republic respecting the arrears of the said rights and revenues, and for every other cause anterior to the present treaty.

5. His serene highness, the reigning margrave of Baden, as well in his own name, as in that of his two sons, the princes Frederick and Louis of Baden, for whom he interests himself strongly, cedes and abandons, with entire guarantee to the French republic, the two-thirds of the manor of Kutzenhausen, situate in the *ci-devant* province

province of Alsace, with all its rights and dependencies, together with the arrears of the said rights and revenues, which might remain due, renouncing all demands upon the republic thereto relating, and for every other cause anterior to the present treaty.

6. His serene highness the margrave of Baden also cedes for himself and his successors, all the islands of the Rhine which may belong to him, all the rights to which he may pretend upon the said islands, as likewise upon the course and the different branches of that river; especially the rights of tolls, high jurisdiction, direct lordship, civil or criminal justice, or police.

There shall not be included, under the denomination of the different arms of the Rhine, the small branches, and the dead or stagnant waters left in consequence of the inundations of the ancient course of the river, and known to the watermen by the names of Alt-wasser, Alt Rhine, or Old Rhine.

7. Each of the contracting parties shall be at liberty to finish the work of the dykes, which may be thought necessary for the preservation of his territory; but this is to be done so as not to injure the country on the opposite bank. All disputes which may arise from this object, as also from the establishment and preservation of the towing path, shall be decided by juridical means, between the respective governments.

8. His serene highness engages to leave, or cause to be left, on the right bank of the Rhine, a space of thirty-six feet broad, to serve as a towing-road in the navigable parts, or in those which may become so. This road shall be cleared

of every thing that may injure its usage. It is, however, agreed, that the houses which stand on the ground which it is to take up, or which would be necessary for continuing it, shall not be demolished without paying a just and previous indemnity to the owner.

9. The punishment of offences relative to navigation, which may be committed on the said towing-road, shall belong to the French republic.

10. The portions of that road, as likewise the islands on that river, which belonged by special right to his serene highness, or which were possessed by ecclesiastical bodies or commonalties, are ceded, without reserve, to the republic. The lay or private communities shall continue to enjoy, under the sovereignty of the republic, the portions which were in their possession. It is however agreed, that the said sovereignty shall not be exercised over houses depending on the margraviate, which may be deemed necessary for continuing the towing-way, but only on their sites, after they shall have been demolished in execution of Art. 8.

11. The navigation of the river shall be free for the citizens and the subjects of both contracting parties.

12. The tolls gathered on that part of the river Rhine which flows between the dominions of the contracting parties are abolished for ever. There shall be none established hereafter on the natural bed of the river.

13. The stipulations contained in the preceding treaties between France on the one part, and his serene highness the margrave of Baden, or the emperor and the

empire, on the other, relative to the course of the Rhine, its navigation, the works to be constructed for the preservation of its bed and its banks, shall continue to be executed in as far as they are not contrary to the present treaty.

14. His serene highness engages not to permit the emigrants, and the priests transported from the French republic, to reside in his territories.

15. There shall be concluded, without delay, between the two powers, a treaty of commerce on grounds of reciprocal advantage. Meanwhile all commercial relations shall be re-established, such as they were before the present war.

All commodities and merchandise, being the produce of the French soil, manufactories, colonies, and fisheries, shall enjoy in the territories of his serene highness the liberty of transit and staple, exempted from all duties, except those of the tolls upon waggons and horses.

The French waggons shall be treated, with regard to the payment of those duties of toll, like the most favoured nation.

16. The French republic and his serene highness the margrave of Baden, respectively engage to grant replevy on the sequestration of all effects, revenues, or estates, confiscated, detained, or sold from French citizens on one part, and on the other, from the inhabitants of the margraviate of Baden, and to admit them to the legal exercise of the actions and rights which may belong to them.

17. All the prisoners of war respectively taken shall be delivered up within one month, to count

from the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty, on paying the debts which they may have contracted during their captivity.

The sick and wounded shall continue to be taken care of in the respective hospitals; they shall be given up immediately after their recovery.

18. Conformable to the treaty concluded at the Hague, the 27th Floreal of the third year, the present treaty of peace and friendship is declared common with the Batavian republic.

19. It shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged at Paris, within one month, to reckon from its signature, and sooner if practicable.

Paris, 5 Fructidor, of the fourth year of the French republic, one and indivisible.

(Signed)

CHARLES DELACROIX,
SIGISMUND CHARLES JOHN
Baron de REITZENTEN.

The Executive Directory resolve and ratify the present treaty of peace with the margrave of Baden, negotiated in the name of the French republic by the minister for foreign affairs, appointed by the Executive Directory by the resolution of the 28th of last Thermidor, and charged with their instructions for that purpose.

Paris, 8th Fructidor, fourth year of the French republic, one and indivisible.

(Signed)

REVELLIERE LEPEAUX, *presi.*
By the Executive Directory,

(Signed) LA GARDE, *sec. gen.*

The Council of Ancients approved of the above treaty on the 31st of August.

Treaty of Peace between the French Republic and the King of the Two Sicilies.

THE French republic and his majesty the king of the Two Sicilies, equally animated with the desire to make the advantages of peace succeed to the miseries inseparable from war, have named, viz. the Executive Directory, in the name of the French republic, the citizen Charles Delacroix, minister for foreign affairs; and his majesty the king of the Two Sicilies, the prince Belmonte Pignatelli, gentleman of the chamber, and his envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to his Catholic majesty, to treat, in their name, the clauses and conditions proper to re-establish good understanding and friendship between the two powers, who after having exchanged their respective full powers, have agreed on the following articles :

Art. 1. There shall be peace, friendship, and good understanding, between the French republic and his majesty the king of the Two Sicilies: in consequence, all hostilities shall definitively cease, reckoning from the day of the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty. Meanwhile, and till that period, the conditions stipulated by the armistice concluded on the 17th Prairial of the 4th year (5th of June, 1796) shall continue to have full power and effect.

2. Every interior act, engagement, or convention, on the one part or the other of the two contracting parties, which are contrary to the present treaty, are revoked, and shall be regarded as null, and of no effect; in consequence, during the course of the present war, neither of the two

powers shall furnish to the enemies of the other, any succours of troops, ships, arms, warlike stores, provisions, or money, under whatever title or denomination that may be.

3. His majesty the king of the Two Sicilies shall observe the most strict neutrality towards all the belligerent powers; in consequence, he pledges himself to prevent indiscriminately access to his ports to all armed ships of war belonging to the said powers, which shall exceed four, according to the regulations acknowledged by the said neutrality. All stores or merchandise, known by the name of contraband, shall be refused them.

4. All security and protection shall be granted against all persons whatever, in the ports and roads of the Two Sicilies, to all French merchantmen, of whatsoever number they may be, and to all the ships of war of the republic, not exceeding the number specified in the above article.

5. The French republic and the king of the Two Sicilies engage to take off the sequestration from all effects, revenues, goods seized, confiscated, and kept from the citizens or subjects of both powers, in consequence of the present war, and to admit them respectively to the legal exercise of all civil rights that may belong to them.

6. All prisoners made on one side or the other, comprising mariners and sailors, shall be reciprocally restored within a month, reckoning from the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty, paying the debts which they may have contracted during their captivity; the sick and wounded shall continue to be taken

care of in their respective hospitals, and shall be restored upon their recovery.

7. To give a proof of his friendship for the French republic, and of his sincere desire to maintain the most perfect harmony between the two powers, his majesty the king of the Two Sicilies consents to set at liberty every French citizen who may have been arrested and detained in his states, on account of his political opinions respecting the French revolution; all goods and property, moveable or immoveable, which may have been sequestrated on the same account, shall be restored to them.

8. From the same motives which dictated the preceding articles, his majesty the king of the Two Sicilies engages to cause all proper search to be made for discovering, by legal means, and for giving up to the rigour of the laws, the persons who stole, in 1795, the papers belonging to the late minister of the French republic.

9. The ambassadors or ministers of the two contracting powers shall enjoy in their respective states, the same prerogative and precedence which they enjoyed before the war, excepting those which were allowed them as family ambassadors.

1. Every French citizen, and all persons belonging to the household of the ambassador or minister, or to that of the consuls and other authorised and acknowledged agents of the French republic, shall enjoy, in the states of his majesty the king of the Two Sicilies, the same freedom of religious worship as is enjoyed by the individuals of those nations, not Catholics, which are the most favoured in that respect.

11. There shall be negotiated and concluded, without delay, a treaty of commerce between the two powers, founded on the basis of mutual utility, and such as shall insure to the French nation advantages equal to all those which are enjoyed in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies by the most favoured nations. Until the completion of this treaty, the commercial and consular relations shall be reciprocally re-established on the same footing as before the war.

12. In conformity with the sixth article of the treaty concluded at the Hague on the 27th Floreal, in the third year of the republic (16th of May, 1795, old style,) the same, peace friendship, and good understanding, that are stipulated in the present treaty between the French republic and his majesty the king of the Two Sicilies, shall subsist between his majesty and the Batavian republic.

13. The present treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged, within forty days from the date hereof.

Done at Paris 19th Vendemiaire, in the 5th year of the French republic, one and indivisible, corresponding with the 10th October, 1796, (old style).

(Signed) CHARLES DELACROIX.
The Prince of BELMONTE
PIGNATELLI.

Offensive and Defensive Treaty of Alliance between the French Republic and Spain.

THE executive directory of the French republic and his Catholic majesty the king of Spain, animated by the wish to strengthen the bonds of amity and good understanding happily re-established between

between France and Spain by the treaty of peace concluded at Basle on the 4th Thermidor, and the third year of the republic, (July 22, 1795) have resolved to form an offensive and defensive treaty of alliance for whatever concerns the advantages and common defence of the two nations ; and they have charged with this important negotiation, and have given their full powers to the under-mentioned persons ; namely the Executive Directory of the French republic to citizen Dominique Catherine Perrignon, general of division of the republic and its ambassador to his Catholic majesty the king of Spain ; and his Catholic majesty the king of Spain, to his excellency Don Manuel de Godoi, prince of peace, duke of Alcudia, &c. &c. &c. who, after the respective communication and exchange of their full powers, have agreed on the following articles :

Art. 1. There shall exist for ever an offensive and defensive alliance between the French republic and his Catholic majesty the king of Spain.

2. The two contracting powers shall be mutual guarantees, without any reserve or exception, in the most authentic and absolute way, of all the states, territories, islands, and the places which they possess, and shall respectively possess. And if one of the two powers shall be in the sequel, under whatever pretext it may be, menaced or attacked, the other promises, engages and binds itself to help it with its good offices, and to succour it on its requisition, as shall be stipulated in the following articles :

3. Within the space of three months, reckoning from the mo-

ment of the requisition, the power called on shall hold in readiness, and place in the disposal of the power calling, 15 ships of the line, three of which shall be three deckers, or of 80 guns, twelve of from 70 to 72, six frigates of a proportionate force, and four sloops or light vessels, all equipped, armed, and victualled for six months and stored for a year. These naval forces shall be assembled by the power called on in the particular port pointed out by the power calling.

4. In case the requiring power may have judged it proper for the commencement of hostilities to confine itself to the one-half the succour, which was to have been given in execution of the preceding article, it may, at any epoch of the campaign, call for the other half of the aforesaid succour, which shall be furnished in the mode and within the space fixed. The space of time to be reckoned from the new requisition.

5. The power called on shall in the same way place at the disposal of the requiring power, within the space of three months, reckoning from the moment of the requisition, eighteen thousand infantry, and six thousand cavalry ; with a proportionate train of artillery, to be readily employed in Europe, and for the defence of the colonies which the contracting powers possess in the Gulf of Mexico.

6. The requiring power shall be allowed to send one or several commissioners for the purpose of assuring itself whether conformably to the preceding articles, the power called on has put itself in a state to commence hostilities on the

day fixed with the land and sea forces.

7. These succours shall be entirely placed at the disposal of the requiring power; which may leave them in the ports and on the territory of the power called on, or employ them in any expeditions it may think fit to undertake, without being obliged to give an account of the motives by which it may have been determined.

8. The demand of the succours stipulated in the preceding articles, made by one of the powers, shall suffice to prove the need it has of them, and shall bind the other power to dispose of them, without its being necessary to enter into any discussion relative to the question whether the war it proposes be offensive or defensive; or without any explanation being required, which may tend to elude the most speedy and exact accomplishment of what is stipulated.

9. The troops and ships demanded shall continue at the disposal of the requiring power during the whole duration of the war, without its incurring in any case any expence. The power called on shall maintain them in all places where its ally shall cause them to act, as if it employed them directly for itself. It is simply agreed on, that during the whole of the time when the aforesaid troops or ships shall be on the territory or in the ports of the requiring power, it shall furnish from its magazines or arsenals whatever may be necessary to them, in the same way and at the same price as it supplies its own troops and ships.

10. The power called on shall immediately replace the ships it

furnishes, which may be lost by accidents of war or of the sea. It shall also repair the losses the troops it supplies may suffer.

11. If the aforesaid succours are found to be, or should become insufficient, the two contracting powers shall put on foot the greatest forces they possibly can, as well by sea as by land, against the enemy of the power attacked, which shall employ the aforesaid forces, either by combining them, or by causing them to act separately, and this conformably to a plan concerted between them.

12. The succours stipulated by the preceding articles shall be furnished in all the wars the contracting powers may have to maintain, even in those in which the party called on may not be directly interested, and may act merely as a simple auxiliary.

13. In the case in which the motives of hostilities being prejudicial to both parties, they may declare war with one common assent against one or several powers, the limitations established in the preceding articles shall cease to take place, and the two contracting powers shall be bound to bring into action against the common enemy the whole of their land and sea forces, and to concert their plans so as to direct them towards the most convenient points, either separately or by uniting them. They equally bind themselves, in the cases pointed out in the present article, not to treat for peace unless with one common consent, and in such a way as that each shall obtain the satisfaction which is its due.

14. In the case in which one of the powers shall act merely as an auxiliary, the power which alone shall

shall find itself attacked may treat for peace separately, but so as that no prejudice may result from thence to the auxiliary power, and that it may even turn as much as possible to its direct advantage. For this purpose advice shall be given to the auxiliary power of the mode and time agreed on for the opening and sequel of the negotiations.

15. Without any delay there shall be concluded a treaty of commerce on the most equitable basis, and reciprocally advantageous to the two nations, which shall secure to each of them, with its ally, a marked preference for the productions of its soil or manufactures, or at least advantages equal to those which the most favoured nations enjoy in their respective states.

The two powers engage to make instantly a common cause to repress and annihilate the maxims adopted by any country whatever, which may be subversive of their present principles, and which may bring into danger the safety of the neutral flag, and the respect which is due to it, as well as to raise and re-establish the colonial system of Spain on the footing on which it has subsisted, or ought to subsist, conformably to treaties.

16. The character and jurisdiction of the consuls shall be at the same time recognized and regulated by a particular convention. Those anterior to the present treaty shall be provisionally executed.

17. To avoid every dispute between the two powers, they shall be bound to employ themselves immediately, and without delay, in the explanation and developement of the 7th article of the treaty of Basle, concerning the frontiers

conformable to the instructions, plans, and memoirs, which shall be communicated through the medium of the plenipotentiaries who negotiate the present treaty.

18. England, being the only power against which Spain has direct grievances, the present alliance shall not be executed unless against her during the present war; and Spain shall remain neuter with respect to the other powers armed against the republic.

19. The ratifications of the present treaty shall be exchanged within a month from the date of its being signed.

Done at Ildephonso, 2 Fructidor, (Aug. 19) the 4th year of the French republic, one and indivisible.

(Signed) PERIGNON, and the PRINCE OF PEACE.

The executive directory resolves on and signs the present offensive and defensive treaty of alliance with his Catholic majesty the king of Spain, negotiated in the name of the French republic by citizen Dominique Catherine Perignon, general of division, founded on powers to that effect by a resolution of the executive directory, dated 20 Messidor, (Sept. 6) and charged with its instructions.

Done at the National Palace of the Executive Directory, the fourth year of the French republic, one and indivisible.

Conformable to the original.

(Signed)

REVEILLIERE LEPEAUX, presi.
By the Executive Directory,

LAGARDE, secretary general.

This treaty was ratified on the 26 Fructidor, (Sept. 12) by the Council of Elders.

Treaty between France and Prussia.

HIS majesty the king of Prussia and the French republic having deemed it proper to modify, in a manner agreeable to existing circumstances, the stipulations relative to the neutrality of the northern part of Germany agreed upon by the treaty of Basle, the 5th of April, 1795, and by the convention of the 17th of May; they named, to concert on that subject, viz. his Prussian majesty, Sieur Chretien Henry Count de Haugwiltz, his minister of state for the war department; and the French republic, citizen Antoine Bernard Caillard, its minister plenipotentiary at Berlin, who, having mutually exchanged their powers, have agreed on the following articles:

The French republic will abstain from extending the operations of the war, and from sending troops, either by land or sea, into the states included in the following line of demarcation:

This line to begin from the part of the Duchy of Holstein, situated on the North Sea, extending down the coast of that sea, on the side of Germany, and including the territory in which the Elbe disembogues itself, together with the Weser and the Ems, as well as the islands situated in those districts, as far as Forcum, from thence to the frontiers of Holland, as far as Anholt, passing Herenberg, and including the Prussian possessions near Sevenaer, as far as Bair on the Ysel; it will then continue down that river to the place where it mixes its waters with the Rhine; the line will then go up the latter river as far as Wesel, and farther on, to the place where the Roer throws itself into the Rhine; it will then extend

along the left bank of the Roer to its source; after which, leaving the city of Nedeback to the left, it will take its direction towards the Eder, the course of which it will follow until that river meets the Fuld, and then it will go up that river as far as its source.

The French republic will consider as neutral states all those in the line, on condition that they observe on their side a strict neutrality; the first point of which will be to furnish, for the future, for the continuation of the war, no pecuniary contributions of any kind whatever; to order back immediately, if they had not already done so, their respective contingent troops, and that in the space of two months, from the signing of the present treaty; and not to contract any new engagement, which may authorize them to furnish troops to the powers at war with France. The states which do not act agreeably to these conditions, shall be excluded from the benefit of the neutrality.

As for that part of the country of La Marck, which, being on the left bank of the Roer, is not included in the above line, it will nevertheless enjoy the benefits of this treaty in the fullest extent: but his Prussian majesty consents to allow the troops of the belligerent powers to pass through it, on condition that they do not there establish the theatre of war nor possess themselves of entrenched positions, &c. &c.

Given at Berlin, August 5th, 1796, old style, and the 18th Thermidor, 4th year of the French republic.

(Signed) CHRETIEN HAUGWILTZ.
ANTOINE CAILLARD.

Treaty of Peace between the French republic and the Infant Duke of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla.

THE French republic and his royal highness the infant duke of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, desiring to re-establish the ties of amity which formerly subsisted between the two states, and to put an end, as much as in their power, to the calamities of war, have accepted, with eagerness, the mediation of his Catholic majesty, and have named for the plenipotentiaries, that is to say, the executive directory, in the name of the French republic, the citizen Charles Delacroix, minister of foreign affairs, and his royal highness the infant duke of Parma, Messieurs the count Pierre Politi and Don Louis Boll; who, after having exchanged their respective powers, have determined upon and concluded definitively the following articles, under the mediation of his Catholic majesty, exercised by the marquis del Campo, his ambassador to the French republic, who has also presented his full powers.

ART. 1. There shall be peace and amity between the French republic and his royal highness the infant duke of Parma; the two powers shall carefully abstain from every thing that may alter the good harmony and union established between them by the present treaty.

2. Every act, engagement, or anterior convention, on the part of one or other of the two contracting powers, which might be contrary to the present treaty, shall be considered as null and void. In consequence, during the course of the present war, neither of the two powers shall furnish to the enemies

of the other any succours in troops, arms, warlike ammunition, provisions, or money, under whatever title and denomination it may be.

3. The infant duke of Parma engages not to permit the emigrants, or banished persons of the French republic, to stop or sojourn in his state.

4. The French republic and his royal highness the infant duke of Parma engage to remove the sequestration from all the effects, revenues, or goods, which may have been seized, confiscated, detained, or sold, from the citizens or subjects of the other power, relative to the present war, and to admit them to the legal exercise of the actions or rights belonging to them.

5. The contributions stipulated in the convention of armistice, signed at Placentia on the 20th of last Floreal, between general Buonaparte in the name of the French republic, and the marquises Pelliene and Phillippo delle Rosa in the name of the infant duke of Parma, shall be fully discharged. There shall neither be levied nor exacted any other; if there have been levied any contributions in money, or required any supplies in provisions, beyond what is settled by the said convention, the contributions in money shall be reimbursed, and the provisions paid for at the current price at the time of delivery. There shall be named on each part, if necessary, commissaries to execute the present article.

6. From the signature of the present treaty the states of his royal highness the infant duke of Parma shall be treated as those of friendly and neutral powers; if there shall be supplied any necessaries to the troops

troops of the republic, by his royal highness or his subjects, they shall be paid for at a price agreed upon.

7. The troops of the republic shall enjoy a free passage through the states of the infant duke of Parma.

8. One of the contracting powers shall not grant a free passage to the troops of the enemy of the other.

9. The French republic and his royal highness the infant duke of Parma desiring to establish and augment by stipulations, reciprocally advantageous, the commercial relations that existed between their citizens and respective subjects, determined as follows:

10. Silks, grain, rice, olive oil, cattle, cheese, wines, and other articles, the produce of the estates of his royal highness, shall be exported to the territories of the republic without any restrictions beyond those which the exigencies of the country may render necessary. The said restrictions shall never attach solely and especially upon the French citizen. There shall even be granted every degree of preference for the purchase of the objects (mentioned or alluded to in the present article) of which circumstances may suspend or restrain the exportation.

11. All articles being the produce of the republic, its colonies or fisheries, shall be imported, free of duty, into the states of his royal highness, and exported from France, subject only to such restrictions as local circumstances may render necessary.

12. All articles of French manufacture shall likewise be imported to the states of his royal highness, unless he may deem it expedient, for the prosperity of his own ma-

nufactures, to impose certain restrictions or prohibitions; but these restrictions shall in no case operate against French manufactures exclusively, to which his royal highness even undertakes to give all the preference he can consistently with the prosperity of the manufactures of his own states.

The above articles shall be executed with the most scrupulous reciprocity for the introduction of the manufactures of his royal highness's states into France.

13. The mutual duties on exports and imports shall be regulated by a separate convention: in case that such convention should not be ratified by the republic, it is expressly agreed that the said duties shall be reciprocally ascertained and collected in the mode observed with the countries the most favoured by the republic.

14. The produce of the lands of the republic, her colonies and fisheries, shall be conveyed freely through the states of his royal highness, or lodged in warehouses on their way to the other states of Italy, without the payment of customs, and liable only to a certain toll on their passage, for the support of the highways; which shall be regulated with all possible dispatch, and founded on a moderate footing between the contracting parties, at so much per quintal per league. The toll shall be payable at the first office for entering the goods.

The above article shall also be in force in all parts of the republic; and all goods and merchandize the produce of the states of his royal highness the infant duke of Parma shall be subject to the same regulations as above. And,

As the right of toll above mentioned

tioned has been retained only with a view to contribute to the support of the bridges and highways, it is expressly stipulated that the goods and merchandize conveyed by the rivers and navigable canals shall be reciprocally exempt from duties of every description.

The contracting parties respectively shall adopt the necessary measures for the due execution of the present and preceding articles.

15. In conformity to the sixth article of the treaty concluded at the Hague, the 22d Floreal, 3d year, the peace concluded by the present treaty is declared common with the Batavian Republic.

16. The present treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged in one month at most from the present day, exclusively.

Done at Paris, in the 5th year of the French republic, one and indivisible.

(Signed) CH. DELACROIX.
COUNT POLITI.
LOUIS BOLA.

SEPARATE ARTICLE.

His royal highness stipulates to grant a remission of one-fourth of the rights of importation on the goods and merchandize, being the produce of the republic, her colonies, fisheries, and manufactures, destined for the home consumption of the states, and also the right of exportation on the goods and merchandize, the produce of the states, and destined for the foreign possessions of the republic; provided the French republic agree to a reciprocal diminution of duties.

I. On the goods and merchandize arising from the states of his royal highness, at their entry on the territory of the republic.

II. On all goods and merchandize, the produce of the republic on being exported for the states of his royal highness.

Done at Paris, the day and year as above.

(Signed) CH. DELACROIX.
COUNT POLITI.
LOUIS BOLA.

A Proclamation by F. Santhouax, J. Raymond, M. Giraud, G. Leblanch, and P. Romme. Commissioners delegated by the French Government to the Windward Islands of St. Domingo.

To all the Citizens of the colony, and to all those who compose the Land and Sea Forces destined for its defence.

CITIZENS,

AFTER so many storms and critical emergencies, inseparable concomitants of a revolution, France enjoys at least a constitution worthy of a people who know how to value liberty.

Already under a truly republican government, the French people begin to rest from their long and arduous toil, and to enjoy the happy effects of the liberty which they have attained.

Firmly resolved to cause the constitution to be executed, the executive directory is constantly employed in searching out means to have it established in all parts of the Republic.

The sixth article of the constitution states, That the French colonies are inseparable parts of the Republic, and subjected to the same constitutional law.

It is particularly for the execution of that article, that we have received from the government the honourable mission intrusted to us; and at the same time, to let you

know all the means you ought to employ to preserve liberty and equality, which are the fundamental laws of the constitution.

Citizens rally at the voice of the delegates of the republic, since it is in her name, and for her dearest interests, that they are going to address you.

The ancient government of the colonies had distinguished three different classes—the whites, the coloured people, and the slaves. To those different classes, now united and honoured with the name of French citizens, we are going to speak alternately. We shall first address that portion of the people of the colony, which has most suffered under the tyrannic order which has been abolished, and we shall say to them: By the republican constitution, which the French nation has just adopted, you have recovered your primitive rights; but you must know the proper means to preserve them without trouble, and to transmit them without interruption, to your remotest posterity. Those ships, the warriors whom they bring to you; all those formidable preparations are designed against the English, who are the most cruel enemies of your liberty! They dare to indulge the hope of framing new chains for you. See these blood-thirsty tigers bending still your brethren under their homicidal whips. We cannot suffer any longer so dismal an object; join the forces which France sends to you, expel from the territory of the French republic those tyrants of mankind, pursue them even to their haunts, and destroy the last of them! What! is it not incumbent on you to revenge your bre-

thren, whom they keep fettered in the surrounding islands? Yes, citizens, every thing ought to impress you with an implacable hatred for those tyrants, whose most lucrative trade is, reducing you to slavery, misery, and death. What can withhold your vengeance? Rush on this impious race; make it disappear from that sacred spot, which too long has been the theatre of its crimes and depredations.

Labour and instruction, citizens, are necessary to the preservation of the people, and the constitution imposes them as a duty upon all citizens. The 15th article of the second title contains these words: Young men cannot be inscribed in the civic register, if they do not prove that they can read, write, and follow a mechanical branch of business. That clause, citizens, can and ought to take place only agreeably to the constitution, after the first day of the 12th year of the republic.

The manual operations of agriculture belong to the mechanic arts.

Yes, labour and agriculture particularly, is absolutely necessary to him who wishes to preserve his rights, and enjoy his liberty. Through labour we procure the necessary things to our existence and enjoyment; through labour only we can preserve our liberty.

Had your ancestors, the inhabitants of Africa, devoted themselves to the culture of their fruitful lands, they most assuredly would not have debased themselves by reciprocal bloody wars, of which greedy Europeans have availed themselves to reduce them to the most intolerable and degrading

ing slavery. What remains for you to do, in order to avoid all the misfortunes which are inseparable concomitants of idleness? Nothing, but to devote yourselves to the culture of the rich productions of the colony you inhabit! Many of you have been to France; they will tell you, that the people are there constantly occupied at useful labours, and agriculture in particular. Imitate that active people, who adopts you as brethren, and you will establish, by that means, a trade of exchange with them, which will cement and strengthen your brotherly relations.

Instruction is as useful to you as labour; by it you will transmit your rights to your children; by it you will learn how to fulfil the duty of good citizens: finally, by instruction you will attain that degree of morality, which distinguishes the civilized from the savage man, the honest from the perverse citizen.

The government will omit nothing to attain an object so interesting, and so worthy of its solicitude. Public schools will be established throughout all the colonies; your children shall there receive instruction; imbibe a taste for labour and morals, which are to accomplish their full generation. The republic will extend farther her cares for your children, for she wishes that a certain number of those who shall have produced a greater disposition and zeal for instruction be sent to France, with the consent of their parents, there to study in a more perfect degree those sciences or arts, to which they may have shewn a more decided inclination.

The same resources are likewise offered to the children of the whites, and of the coloured people; for the primary schools, which will be established, will be open to all individuals, born in the colonies, of whatever colour they may be. ALL MEN ARE EQUAL IN RIGHTS.

To you, Citizens, whom a barbarous custom had made formerly proprietors of slaves, we shall observe, that in consequence only of the most strange subversion of what is known under the name of justice and humanity, the most sacred rights of man had been forsaken in the former order of things, which allowed them to be reduced to the most insufferable and abject slavery; we shall tell you that a state so contrary to nature, though apparently favourable to your interests, was of too violent a nature to last long. How could the master shake off the thought of the dangers with which he was incessantly threatened? Does not the experience of ages and nations, transmitted by history, inform us, that tyranny has always fallen a victim to its own crimes? Undoubtedly, six hundred thousand slaves, unjustly and cruelly tortured in almost every instance of their lives, could not afford a great degree of security to the small number of their masters. They were most assuredly disturbed by the most cruel enormities.

Instead of the violent state in which lingered the late proprietors of slaves, liberty and equality, which flow from the constitution, offer to them nothing but true enjoyments and perfect security to their lives and fortunes.

In addressing those formerly distinguished

tinguished as whites, and people of colour, without possessions, we would say to them, that in a free state, all hands ought to be employed; that every one ought to make a choice of a kind of labour which, in concurring to the general welfare, would procure to the labourer not only existence, but the conveniences of life; that the colonial system being altered, they must no more establish their hopes of fortune on SLAVERY, for it is FOR EVER ABOLISHED on the whole territory of France. Let every one, therefore, make the best of his industry, devote himself to agriculture. Let not any ill founded shame keep him in inactivity, which is as dangerous to himself, as it is ruinous to the commonweal. Let him be convinced, that no occupation debases man; let him know, that with the wisest people of antiquity, agriculture was considered as the first of all occupations. Let them, therefore, renounce that state of vagrancy which the laws of the republic will punish.

In fine, we would repeat to them, that as all the inhabitants of the colony from this instant will form but one class, every citizen will have the same rights, and enjoy the same advantages; and that the republic establishes no other distinction among them, than those of virtue and vice, of talents and ignorance.

In the name of the republic, in the name of humanity, in the name of the sacred love of our country, we invite all citizens to concur with us in the restoration of order and agriculture; we invite them to forget their respective wrongs and quarrels, to make it now their sole

business to expel the enemies of the republic from the territory they have invaded, and soon to repair the evils and devastations which have been occasioned by hatred, passion, and civil war.

Done at the Cape, the 25th Floreal (May 15) the fourth year of the French Republic; one and indivisible.

The president of the commission,
SANTHONAX.

The general secretary,
PASCHAL.

Proclamation of the Executive Directory to the Armies of the Sambre and Meuse.

New cries of war are heard on the banks of the Rhine. What rage is it thus goads on our cruel enemy, who, amidst his disasters and our triumphs, has the temerity of breaking an armistice which he himself demanded, and you granted him, in hopes of a speedy peace? — Guided by the ferocious English, he receives their gold and contempt as the price of his submission, and of the blood of his bravest warriors. Let then the republican bayonet reach the tottering thrones of the monsters coalesced against the human race, and strike terror into their bosoms! let your irresistible valour within a few days put a period to that struggle of the liberty of the people against tyranny, which has lasted but too long; and let the haughty despots, who still dare to fight against that liberty, at last bow submissive at the aspect of the republican banners!

May 29.

Proclamation by General Buonaparte and commissary Salicetti, dated the 30th of Floreal (19th May).

THE

THE French republic, while it has sworn hatred to tyrants, has sworn fraternity to nations.

This principle, sanctioned by the constitution of the republic, is as much a principle of the army. The despotism which for so long a time has held Lombardy under its yoke, has been the cause of great calamities to France; but the French know that the cause of kings is not the cause of the people.

The victorious army of a monarch are insolent, and spread terror among the nations where they carry their victories; but a republican army, though forced to carry on a deadly war against the kings with whom it contends, promises friendship to the people whom its victories deliver from tyranny. Respect for the persons and property, and respect for the religion of the people, are the sentiments which actuate the government of the French republic, and their victorious army in Italy. Of this the good order which they have observed from the first moment of their entry into Lombardy, is no unequivocal proof.

If the victorious French consider the inhabitants of Lombardy as brethren, the latter ought to entertain a reciprocity of affection. The army must pursue its victories, and drive entirely out of Italy that despotism which has held Lombardy in chains. The independence of this country, and its good fortune, depend upon the success of the French enterprizes. Lombardy then ought to second them by all the means in its power. To assure the march of the troops provisions are necessary, which they cannot receive from France,

from which they are separated; they ought to find then these in Lombardy, where they are making their conquests. The rights of war give them security for obtaining them, and friendship ought to be eager to offer them.

Twenty millions of French money are imposed as a contribution for this purpose; the division will be made among the different provinces of Austrian Lombardy. The terms of payment, which admit of the least possible delay, will be fixed by particular instructions. It is certainly a moderate contribution for so fertile a country, particularly when we reflect upon the advantages which must result from it. The division might have been settled by agents of the French government, and this mode would certainly have been reasonable; but the French republic, not wishing to reserve to itself this right, has left it to the local authorities, and to the assembly of the state. It only points out to you, as the basis upon which you ought to levy this contribution, that it ought to be proportionably divided among those provinces which formerly paid imposts to the tyrant of Austria, and that it ought to fall upon the rich and the ecclesiastical bodies, who too long thought themselves privileged, and withstood all taxation; do not oppress the poorer class. If some requisitions be made in kind, the general in chief, and the commissary of the government, declare, that there shall be no surcharge upon the contribution. They will afterwards settle the price of the articles required, which they will pay to the venders with the produce of the contribution.

bution fixed as above, or with the receipts which they will give, instead of ready money.

Proclamation of Commissary Salicetti.

ART. 1. THE council established on the 9th May last by the archduke, at the moment of his flight, on which he devolved, by an edict, the exercise of the supreme power, is suppressed. The president of the supreme tribunal, the two presidents of appeal and of the first instance, and the president of the magistracy, who were appointed by the archduke to compose this council, are prohibited from continuing their functions.

2. The general council of decurions, concentrated into privileged classes, whose functions were reserved for extraordinary occasions, having become useless by present circumstances, is also suppressed: and the same prohibition is extended to the nobles and patricians who compose it.

3. The magistracy, known by the name of *magistrat politique de la chambre*, whose complicated functions having also become useless, tend only to throw obstacles in the way of the simple course of government, is likewise suppressed; and those who exercised the office are forbidden to assemble, except it be to replace, after receiving other instructions, the members of this body, when their functions shall be rendered subservient to the happiness of the people.

4. The authorities thus suppressed shall be provisionally replaced by a military agency, composed of citizens Maurin, Reboul, and Patrain.

5. The assembly of the state,

composed of thirteen members, to whom the government of all Lombardy is committed, is provisionally retained in the functions allotted to it by its institution. It shall exercise these functions in the name of the republic of France, under the inspection and controul of the military agents to whom it shall be accountable.

6. The municipal administrations are also retained in all the communes of Lombardy.

7. The municipal assembly existing at Milan, composed of thirteen members and a syndic, is also provisionally retained under the name of the municipality of the town of Milan.

8. The commandant of the fort of Milan shall be president of the municipal council, and shall exercise in it a military police, and also all the functions delegated by the French laws to the commandants of forts in a state of siege.

9. The members composing the municipality of Milan are Francois Viscanti, Antoine Caccianini, Galear Serbelloni, Felix Laticada, Charles Bignami, Antoine Corbetta, Fidelæ Sopransi, Gatean Porro, Pierre Verri, Joseph Violini, Jean Baptiste Sommarina, Paul Sangiorgio, Antoine Crespi, Cæsar Pelagata, Charles Ciani, Charles Parea.

10. The acts and deliberations of all the authorities created or preserved by the present decree, shall be in the name of the French republic.

Proclamation by Buonaparte, Commander in Chief of the Army of Italy, to his Brothers in Arms, dated Head Quarters at Milan, Prairial 1, (May 20.)

SOLDIERS

SOLDIERS, you have precipitated yourselves like a torrent from the heights of the Appenines; you have routed and dispersed all who have opposed your progress: Piedmont, delivered from Austrian tyranny, displays its natural sentiments of peace and friendship for France. Milan is our's, and the republican flag flies over all Lombardy. The dukes of Parma and Modena owe their political existence to your generosity. The army that with so much pride threatened you, has no barrier of protection against your courage; the Po, the Tessin, the Adda, have been unable to stop you a single day; those boasted bulwarks of Italy have been insufficient to delay your progress; you have surmounted them as rapidly as you passed the Appenines. So much success has carried joy to the bosom of our country; your representatives have ordered a fête, dedicated to your victories, which will be celebrated in all the communes of the republic. Your fathers, your mothers, your wives, your sisters, your lovers, will enjoy your success, and boast with pride that they belong to you. Yes, soldiers, you have done much; but does there remain nothing more to be done? Though we have known how to vanquish, we have not known how to profit of our victories. Posterity will reproach us with having terminated our course in Lombardy; but already I see you run to arms; a slothful repose fatigues you. Let us depart! We have yet forced marches to make, enemies to subdue, laurels to gather, injuries to revenge. Let those tremble who have whetted the poniards of civil war in France,

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who have basely assassinated our ministers, and burnt our ships at Toulon: the hour of vengeance and retribution is near at hand. But let the people remain tranquil; we are friends to all the people, and more particularly the descendants of Brutus, of Scipio, and the great men we have taken for our models. Re-establish the capitol, and place there, with honour, the statues of the heroes that rendered it celebrated; awaken the Roman people; debased by many centuries of slavery: such will be the fruit of your victories; they will form an epoch for posterity; you will have the immortal glory of changing the face of the finest country in Europe. The free French people, respected by the whole world, will give to Europe a glorious peace, which will indemnify them for the sacrifices they have made during six years; you will then return to your homes, and your fellow-citizens will say, shewing you, *this man was of the army of Italy.*

(Signed) BUONAPARTE.

The Deputies of the People of Albe, to Citizen Buonaparte, General in Chief of the French Army, to procure Liberty to Italy.

Citizen General,

LIKE Frenchmen we wish to be free. To live under no king or tyrant of any title. We wish for civil equality, and that the feudal monster should be thrown to the ground.

For this purpose we have taken up arms at the approach of your victorious troops, and we come to implore your assistance, to break the chains which have for a long time retained us in bondage.

R-

Worn

Worn down by the yoke of iron which presses on our heads, we never should have been able to succeed in relieving ourselves. Always courageous, and yet always debased, we have lived in expectation of the happy moment of your arrival.

Oh! most delightful moment! The time is at length arrived. Here are Frenchmen, our brothers and our friends: in our arms, in our houses, they are willing cordially to partake of our joy, to ratify our vows, and to fly with us to the destruction of the infamous throne of our tyrant.

The proclamation to the people and clergy of Piedmont and Lombardy, and to the Neapolitan and Piedmontese troops, prove to you our republican spirit, and the right which we have to a well-founded reliance on your generous protection.

Citizen general, behold all Italy extending forth its arms to your embrace, and calling you its deliverer. In giving it the blessings of liberty, you grant to this beautiful part of Europe its greatest lustre; your name will be rendered glorious and immortal in its history.

Our sons, and our latest posterity, will have it engraven in their hearts; and they will not have in their mouths a name more dear than that of general-Bonaparte.

Respect, health, and fraternity,
(Signed) IGNACE BONAFoux,
Albe,
JEAN ANTOINE,
Ramen of Versail,
Deputed commissaries.

*Bonaparte to the Republic of Venice.
Bretcia, 10 Prairial (May 29).*

IT is to deliver the finest coun-

try in Europe from the iron yoke of the proud house of Austria; that the French army has braved obstacles the most difficult to surmount. Victory, in union with justice, has crowned its efforts. The wreck of the enemy's army has retired beyond the Mincio. The French army, in order to follow them, passes over the territory of the republic of Venice; but it will never forget, that ancient friendship unites the two republics. Religion, government, customs, and property, shall be respected. That the people may be without apprehension, the most severe discipline shall be maintained. All that may be provided for the army shall be faithfully paid for in money. The general in chief engages the officers of the republic of Venice, the magistrates, and the priests, to make known these sentiments to the people, in order that confidence may cement that friendship which has so long united the two nations faithful in the path of honour, as in that of victory. The French soldier is terrible only to the enemies of his liberty and his government.

(Signed) BUONAPARTE,
The general of division,
chief of the etat-major
of the army of Italy.

(Signed) ALEX. BERHTIER.

*Proclamation by General Buonaparte,
Commander in Chief of the Army
of Italy, to the People of the Mi-
lanese.*

THE nobles, the priests, and the agents of Austria have misled the people of these fine countries; the French army, as generous as it is powerful, will treat with fraternity

ternity the peaceable and tranquil inhabitants; but they will prove as terrible as the fire of heaven to the rebels, and the villages which protect them.

ART. 1. In consequence, the commander in chief declares as rebels, all the villages which have not conformed to his order of the 6th Prairial. The generals shall march against such villages the forces necessary for subduing them; setting them on fire, and shooting all those taken with arms in their hands. All the priests and nobles who remain in the rebel communes, shall be arrested as hostages, and sent into France.

2. Every village where the assassin shall be sounded, shall be instantly destroyed. The generals are responsible for the execution of this order.

3. Every village on the territory of which any Frenchman shall be assassinated, shall be fined in a sum amounting to a third part of the contribution they pay annually to the archduke, unless they make known the assassin, arrest him, and send him to the French army.

4. Every man found with a musket, and ammunition of war, shall be immediately shot by the order of the general commandant on duty.

5. Every field wherein shall be found concealed arms, shall be condemned to pay one-third more than its actual revenue, by way of amends. Every house in which shall be found a musket, shall be burnt, unless the proprietor declares to whom such musket belongs.

All the nobles, or rich people, who shall be convicted of having stirred up the people to revolt,

whether by dismissing their domestics, or by designs against the French, shall be arrested as hostages, sent into France, and the half of their estates confiscated.

(Signed BUONAPARTE.
10 Prairial, (29th May).)

Proclamation issued by the Municipality of Milan, for abolishing the Nobility.

ART. 1. The order of nobility is abolished for ever.

2. No one shall bear any title of nobility, but shall be designed by the appellation of citizen, adding thereto the name of his employment or profession.

3. All the nobles shall, within the space of eight days, bring their patents of nobility to the commune, where they shall be burnt.

4. Every feudal authority, and all game laws are henceforth abolished.

5. All armorial bearings, liveries, and every distinction of nobility, shall likewise be suppressed within eight days.

6. Every corporation which exacts a proof of nobility as a qualification is abolished.

7. Those who shall contravene the present proclamation, will be regarded as convicted of aristocracy, and as enemies to the people.

June 12.

Buonaparte, Commander in Chief of the Army of Italy, to the Inhabitants of Tyrol.

Head Quarters at Tortona, 26 Prairial (June 14), 4th year.

BRAVE Tyroleans, I am about to pass through your territory, to force the court of Vienna to a peace,

as necessary to Europe, as it is to the subjects of the emperor. The cause I am about to defend is your own. You have been long vexed and fatigued by the horrors of a war, undertaken not for the interest of the people of Germany, but for that of a single family.

The French army respects and loves all nations, more especially the simple and virtuous inhabitants of the mountains. Your religion, your customs will be every where respected. Our troops will maintain a severe discipline; and nothing will be taken in the country without being paid for in money.

You will receive us with hospitality, and we will treat you with fraternity and friendship.

But should there be any so little acquainted with their true interests as to take up arms, and treat us as enemies, we will be as terrible as the fire from heaven: we will burn the houses, and lay waste the territories of the villages which shall take a part in a war which is foreign to them.

Do not suffer yourselves to be led into an error by the agents of Austria. Secure your country, already harassed by five years of war, from new miseries. In a little time the court of Vienna, forced to a peace, will restore to the natives their privileges which it has usurped, and to Europe the tranquillity it has disturbed.

The commander in chief,
(Signed) BUONAPARTE.

Buonaparte, Commander in Chief of the Army of Italy, to the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

*Head-quarters at Pistoja,
June 26.*

THE flag of the French republic is constantly insulted in the port

of Leghorn. The property of the French merchants is violated there; every day is marked by some attempt against France, as contrary to the interests of the republic as to the law of the nations. The executive directory have repeatedly preferred their complaints to the minister of your royal highness at Paris, who has been obliged to avow that it is impossible for your royal highness to repress the English, and to maintain a neutrality in the port of Leghorn.

This confession immediately convinced the executive directory, that it was their duty to repel force by force, to make their commerce respected, and they ordered me to send a division of the army under my command to take possession of Leghorn.

I have the honour to inform your royal highness, that on the 7th inst. (25th June) a division of the army entered Leghorn: their conduct there will be conformable to those principles of neutrality which they have been sent to maintain.

The flag, the garrison, the property, and your royal highness and your people, shall be scrupulously respected.

I am, moreover, instructed to assure your royal highness of the desire of the French government, to witness a continuation of the friendship which unites the two states, and of their conviction that your royal highness, conscious of the excesses daily committed by the English ships, which you cannot prevent, will applaud the just, useful, and necessary measures adopted by the executive directory.

I am,

With esteem and consideration,

Your Royal highness's, &c.

BUONAPARTE.

Ansio

Answer to the above Letter.

HIS royal highness is conscious of having nothing to reproach himself with relative to his frank, candid, and friendly conduct towards the French republic and its subjects. A sovereign in friendship with the republic cannot but regard, with the most extraordinary surprise, the orders given to your excellency from the directory. His royal highness will not resist the execution of them by force, but will preserve the good understanding with the republic, still flattering himself with the hope that your excellency will, on better information, revoke your present resolves.

Should it not be in your excellency's power to delay the entrance of your troops into Leghorn till further orders, the governor of that place has full powers to agree with you upon terms. This I am ordered, by my sovereign's express command, to communicate to you, with that respect in which I have the honour to remain, &c.

(Signed) VITTORIO FOSSOM-
FRONTI.

Florence, June 26, 1796.

Head-quarters at Leghorn, June 29.

*General Buonaparte to the Grand Duke
of Tuscany.*

ROYAL HIGHNESS,

AN hour before we entered Leghorn, an English frigate carried off two French ships, worth 500,000 livres. The governor suffered them to be taken under the fire of his batteries, which was contrary to the intention of your royal highness, and the neutrality of the port of Leghorn.

I prefer a complaint to your roy-

al highness against this governor, who, in his whole conduct, displays a decided hatred against the French.

He yesterday endeavoured, at the moment of our arrival, to make the people rise up against us: there is no kind of ill treatment that he did not make our advanced guard experience. I should, doubtless, have been justified in bringing him to trial before a military commission; but from respect for your royal highness, intimately convinced of the spirit of justice which directs all your actions, I preferred sending him to Florence, where I am persuaded, you will give orders to have him punished severely.

I must, at the same time, return my thanks to his royal highness, for his goodness in appointing general Straraldo to supply the army with every thing that was necessary. He has acquitted himself with equal zeal and success.

BUONAPARTE.

Answer of the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

GENERAL,

GENERAL Spannochi arrested by your order has been brought hither. It is a point of delicacy to keep him in arrest, until the motives of this step, which I presume to be just, are known to me, in order to give you, as well as the French republic and all Europe, the greatest proof of equity, conformably to the laws of my country, to which I have always made it my duty to submit myself.

I send this letter by the marquis Manfredini, my majordomo, whom I request you to inform in what Spannochi has been culpable. You may besides repose full confidence in him relative to all the objects

R 3 interesting

interesting to the repose of my subjects.

I ardently desire to receive a letter written by yourself, which in the present circumstances may render me completely tranquil, and at the same time assure the repose of all Tuscany.

(Signed) FERDINAND.

*Paris, 13 Thermidor (July 31) 4th
Year of the French republic.*

*The Executive Directory to Citizen
Bonaparte, Commander in Chief
of the Army of Italy.*

THE executive directory, who cannot but praise, citizen general, the indefatigable activity with which you combat the enemies of liberty; the executive directory, who participate with all the good citizens, with all the true friends of their country, with all the sincere republicans in the admiration which the great military talents you display inspire, and which give you a just claim to national gratitude, see with indignation the efforts which libellers, under different masks, are daily making to mislead the public, and to second the enemies of our country, by rumours which can have no other end, than to disseminate dissention among the friends of order and peace. The directory see with indignation the perfidy with which those confederate libellers have dared to attack the loyalty, the constant fidelity of your services; and they owe to themselves the formal denial which they give to the absurd calumnies which the necessity of fostering malignity has made them hazard, by accounts which tended to prove a stimulus to the directory to read their productions.

Some avowed royalists, flatly circulate a falsehood; others, calling themselves prime patriots, but pursuing the same end, comment upon it, and eke it out in their own way, under the pretence of combating their pretended antagonist. Both parties are thus at work to stop the progress of order, which is establishing; both second the enemies of the revolution; both wish to sow discord, and to disorganise the armies; both wish thus to sport with the good faith of their readers, of those who afford them subsistence, and indecently present to them, as facts, accounts which are nothing but the fruit of a disordered imagination.

No, citizen general, never have the friends of Austria been able to prepossess the directory against you, because the friends of Austria have neither access to, nor influence over the directory; because the directory know your principles, and your inviolable attachment to the republic. No, never has your recalc been the question; never have any of the members wished to give a successor to him who so gloriously leads on our republicans to victory. The libeller, who would feign to be your defender, dares assert that he knows the intrigues hatched against you, and of which some money affair was only the pretence: who assuming a virtue not his own, dares add, that delicacy made him pass in silence events which would only have made our enemies laugh; such a man imposes upon, such a man deceives the public; and is evidently unworthy their confidence. If this *well-informed* man, who, like his fellow calumniators, wishes to give himself an air of importance, pretending to know

all

all the secrets of state; if this man knows of an intrigue of such a nature as he states; let him discover it; let him make it known to the directory: it is important enough; it has, no doubt, sufficient interest for the public welfare. The march of our armies—for him who can bring it to light, not to dispense himself from denouncing it to those whom it is destined to lead into error. But the silence of that man, his silence, which will be his condemnation, will open the eyes of the public respecting the confidence they ought forthwith to give to his insinuations. You possess, citizen general, the confidence of the directory; the services you render every day entitle you to it; the considerable sums which the republic owes to your victories, proves that you at once occupy yourself with the glory and the interest of your country; all the good citizens agree on this point: you will not find it difficult to consign the boasts and calumnies of the rest to the contempt they from themselves merit, and still more from the spirit that dictates them.

(Signed)

REVELLIERE LEPEAUX, president.

LAGARDE, secretary general.

The Ambassador of Sweden to the Citizen Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Paris, August 2, 1796.

CITIZEN MINISTER,

IT is by the express order of my court that I have the honour to renew, before the directory, the steps I had already taken for the admission of M. de Rehausen, in the quality of chargé d'affaires of his majesty with the French republic.

Inviting you, citizen minister,

to take again into consideration a step so conformable to the good intelligence which subsists between the two countries, I beg you will permit me to make some observations which I submit to the directory.

The confidence which friendly and allied powers reciprocally owe each other, the respect which is its result, has always been indiscriminately granted to the person chosen by his sovereign to represent him; it is even inseparable from it. Both have, however, been neglected in the person of M. de Rehausen. His private sentiments can the less give umbrage to the government, as he would certainly sacrifice them in the exercise of his functions, if they could be contrary to the instructions he has received; and if in his conduct, or in his language, he could be wanting to the treaty which subsists between Sweden and France. And it is in this case only, if a misunderstanding should take place between the two governments, that his recall would become necessary. But since this is not the case, his sentiments cannot be considered as a valid motive of exclusion, and the refusal becomes consequently less an injury done to M. de Rehausen than a want of respect to his sovereign.

I must likewise remark, that M. de Rehausen being at Paris, has been appointed to attend ad interim to the affairs of Sweden, at a time when a rupture with Russia was every instant expected, and when the Swedish ambassador at that court was on the eve of quitting his post. His appointment could not, therefore, have been influenced by the empress of Russia, to

whom he is otherwise an utter stranger.

It is for these reasons, citizen minister, that I am unable to attribute to the person of M. de Rehausen the refusal of the directory to acknowledge him in his public character. This refusal appears evidently to announce the intention of disobliging, in the face of Europe, the most ancient friend of France. I hesitate to pronounce a more decisive supposition; it is too repugnant to the known wishes of the Swedes and the French themselves, as likewise to their respective interests; and at the same time, it would be difficult for the enemies of both countries, not to find great satisfaction in the disunion of which the French republic may have given the signal. It is prescribed to me to declare, that if M. de Rehausen be not acknowledged, his majesty will be obliged, in support of his dignity, to use reciprocity with regard to citizen Perrochel. This necessity will otherwise have no influence on the desire which his majesty will always have to strengthen the bands of friendship and good understanding which ought ever to subsist between the two powers. Please, citizen minister, to accept the assurance of my most sincere attachment.

(Signed)

E. N. STAEL DE HOLSTEIN.
CH. DELACROIX.

*Resolution of the 18th Thermidor,
(August 5) Fourth Year.*

THE executive directory having seen the official note presented by Mons. the baron de Stael, am-

bassador of Sweden, dated August 2, 1796, old stile,

Resolves,

Article I. The executive directory persisting in their refusal of admitting M. de Rehausen; they consequently charge the minister of general police to notify to him the laws of the republic concerning foreigners.

II. The executive directory recall citizen Perrochel, chargé d'affaires, and citizen Marivaux, secretary of legation, and formerly chargé d'affaires in Sweden.

III. The executive directory protest, nevertheless, that the Swedish nation may always rely on their sentiments of affection.

IV. The ministers of foreign relations and of general police, are charged, each in his capacity, with the execution of the present resolution, which shall be printed with the note.

(Signed)

REVELLIERE LEPEAUX, *president*,
By order of the executive directory,

(Signed) LAGARDE, *secretary*.
(A true copy.)

*Official Note from the Minister for
Foreign Affairs to the Ambassador
(Barthelemy) in Switzerland.*

THE French government is informed that the English, after having stopped, during the war, under the most frivolous prettexts, every neutral vessel, have just given the most positive orders to the commanders of their ships of war, to seize, indiscriminately, all the cargoes which they may suppose to be destined for the French.

Whatever injury France may have sustained from this conduct, she has, nevertheless, continued

to give the only example of the most inviolable respect for the law of nations, which constitutes the pledge and security of their civilisation. But after having long tolerated the offence of this Machiavelian system of policy, she at length finds herself compelled, by the most urgent motives, to have recourse to reprisals against England.

The executive directory, therefore, orders all the political agents of the French republic to inform the different governments, that the squadrons and privateers of the republic will act against the ships of every country, in the same manner in which those governments suffer the English to act against them.

This measure ought not to surprise them, since it would be very easy to demonstrate that it is imperiously prescribed by necessity, and is only the effect of a lawful defence. If these powers had known how to make their commerce respected by the English, we should have had no occasion to have recourse to this afflicting extremity.

They will recollect, that the French republic, ever generous, proposed to all the belligerent powers to respect commerce; but that this proposition, honourable to the government which made it, and dictated by a most perfect philanthropy, was rejected with pride, by a government accustomed to treat with contempt the most sacred laws of humanity, &c.

20th Thermidor (August 7).

Proclamation of the General in Chief of the Army of Italy.

Head-quarters at Castigliona, 19 Thermidor (August 6), fourth Year.

SOLDIERS,

YOU have conquered Italy a second time! In five days you have gained two pitched battles, and five inferior actions; you have taken fifteen thousand prisoners, three generals, eighty pieces of cannon, two hundred waggons, and six stand of colours. Those fierce Hungarians, triumphant last year on the Rhine, are now in your chains, or fly before you. You have crushed in an instant the principal enemy of the republic. So many high exploits ought not to make you proud, but to inspire you with confidence; they ought to teach you never to count your enemies, however numerous they may be. The conquerors of Lodi, of Lonado, of Castigliona, ought to attack and destroy them. You renew the boasted examples of Marathon and Platea; like the brave Greek phalanxes, the brigades of the army of Italy shall be immortal.

Receive then, soldiers, the mark of the satisfaction of your general; it only precedes that of the whole country, and of rising posterity.

Brave soldiers, be always impetuous in combats, and vigilant on your posts. Death shrinks trembling from the agile and resolutely brave: how often have you marched to meet it, how often have you seen it fly before you and enter the hostile ranks! It often overtakes the dastard, but never strikes the brave till his hour is come.

(Signed) BUONAPARTE.

Address transmitted by the French Ambassador at the Hague to the Dutch Convention, the 20th Thermidor, (7th August).

BURGHERS

BURGHERS REPRESENTATIVES!

The undersigned minister plenipotentiary of the French Republic has the honour to intimate, that occasions do not offer so frequently as he could wish of giving you publicly a repetition of those assurances of esteem and regard which he daily receives from the executive directory, as well towards your assembly as the people which you represent. This esteem is not limited to those public attestations which France has given to all Europe; nor to those less generally known, to which your commission for the management of foreign affairs can also testify.

The executive directory is steadily vigilant, is unceasingly busy; and the maxim applied to great undertakings—that all which is done must be esteemed trivial, while any thing remains to be accomplished, seems to have been adopted by the French government in the ratification of her engagements with the Batavian Republic. In that moment, when, during the winter, it maturely and wisely regulated the operations of war, and removed hostilities far from your dominions, it neglected in no manner to do away your slightest apprehensions; and the powerful intervention of the French government banished a remaining but insignificant shadow of counter-revolutionary designs, which being fanned in your vicinity, afforded some cause of disquietude. That government now directs its most ardent and zealous endeavours to secure the political existence of Batavia, and to procure it again a place among potentates, with the

rank to which it can with justice aspire.

But it views a government wisely and solidly formed, as one of the most certain means of attaining speedily this desired end; and the executive directory cannot conceal its opinion, that it is time by a powerful and lasting band, to fasten together again the bundle which runs the risk of being dispersed, and lost for want of these properties. Such would quickly be the inevitable consequence of an order of things, which should permit the burgher to adore exclusively his city or his province, looking on the country at large as a step-mother for whom he has no love, to whom he owes no allegiance, and whose lawful rights he misconceives.

“It is time”—these are the words of the executive directory,—“it is time, for the interests of the Batavian Republic, and for our contract with her, that the new order of things, expected by all the friends and lovers of liberty, should take place; and that all opposite pretensions should give way and disappear before a constitution triumphing over federalism and aristocracy. And it falls within the pale of our department to labour, in concert with the Batavian people, to establish their independency, by hastening the approaches of their revolution to the object which is its ultimate aim. These sentiments of the executive directory might be easily explained by examples which the national history affords—yes, by what has happened under our own eyes—were it not likely to produce the most painful recollections. They afford you,

you, burghers representatives, the too certain proof that an unequal combination of particular powers never form a bulwark of national strength.

Let the burghers, then, who are animated by a sincere wish to see the cause of liberty triumph, receive this most positive assurance, that the French government will applaud and encourage their endeavours, and will consider itself indebted to them, as it were, for a new ally, whenever it shall feel the auxiliary aid of a state constituted on the immoveable basis of harmony and indivisibility — of a state, which she can, with more confidence present to her friends and her enemies; particularly to the treacherous English, with whom we must quickly contend; who, viewing with indifference the miseries of Europe, under shelter of the advantages of their commerce, for these last four years, have, by their dealings with rage-blinded Austria, rather conspired their own destruction than ours.

Place yourselves, then, in a condition, burghers representatives, from this time henceforward, to defeat the chance-computations of their infamous politics; and introduce a constitution which will develop your national strength, and succeed federal anarchy, which destroys power by dividing it: a form of government the most defective and calamitous which your greatest enemy could wish to impose on you.

E. NOEL.

Message from the Executive Directory to the Council of Five Hundred on the 6th Fructidor (August 23d). Read in a Secret Committee.

CITIZENS LEGISLATORS,

THE directory can no longer leave you ignorant of the afflicting details which they receive from all parts, relative to the situation of the troops stationed in the interior of the republic. For several months has their constancy been put to the test by the most painful privations; and bewailing their distress, the directory have admitted more than once that resignation with which French soldiers forget their wants, when those of their country are put before their eyes. As long as the directory could flatter themselves with seeing the end of so critical a situation in the amelioration of the finances, they propped up the courage of the troops by hopes, and shut up in their own bosom all uneasiness; but the evils are too great to be any longer concealed; and however painful such a disclosure may be, it is impossible any longer to deny it to the alarming circumstances by which it is exacted. Pay, that sacred debt of the republic to those who devote themselves for her, has not been made for several months, regardless of the urgent requests of government: the treasury could not secure that part so interesting to its service, and the penury of its means ought alone to be reproached. All the bargains are suspended by the impossibility under which the treasury labours to fulfil the engagements made with contractors: provisions begin to be exhausted, and there remains no hope of renewing them: every where almost it has been forced to have recourse to requisitions; but this measure, the use of which is fatal, furnished but insufficient resources, and to execute them is dangerous above all in those departments,

ments, where civil war has only left to agriculture great ravages to repair. In several parts of the republic, the subsistence of the troops was compromised; the distributions were rarely made in the proportions determined by the law: and often were they suppressed for several days; the service of the magazines, which has only been supported till now by the officers of that branch, is on the point of failing in all the departments. In short, this is the confession most painful to the directory. There are hospitals where it has been found necessary to deny the sick soldiers the nutriment necessary for the recovery of their health. Discouraged by the disorganization of all branches of the service, the officers abandon their posts, to fly from the complaints which persecute them, and which they are unable to answer. In several places, funds designed for other purposes were carried off by force from the public treasury to supply the wants of the troops, and those illegal measures found an excuse in the imperious law of necessity. Every day courier follows courier, to bring to the directory and to the minister at war the intelligence of some misfortune, or the fear of some new danger. The directory conjure you, citizens representatives, to bestow the whole of your attention upon the afflicting picture which they present to you, and to occupy yourselves respecting the sources for supplying the public treasury with the means necessary for the subsistence of the troops in the interior; the exactest economy shall direct the use of those funds, and some reforms which the directory prepare, will soon diminish

the consumption and the wants. The armies, supported by victory, engage no longer the attention of the government but by the accounts of their success: all their solicitude ought therefore to be confined to the troops in the interior, who are not less entitled to the gratitude of the country, and who may expect from it the succours which it owes to its defenders.

(Signed)

REVELLIERE LEPEAUX, president.
LAGARDE, secretary general.

Proclamation of the Executive Directory relative to the Events that occurred during the Night of the 11th and 12th Fructidor (Aug. 28, and 29).

(12 Fructidor, August 29).

LET true patriots, let the friends of order rejoice! It is in vain that anarchy and royalism unite their efforts to shake the firebrands of discord, and to dissolve the republican government. Their endeavours shall be fruitless.

Some hundred villains, transported with rage at being prevented from exercising their robbery and their domination, no longer hoping to excite the people to insurrection, but by alarming them for liberty, have last night spread through the streets badges of aristocracy, and stuck up royalist proclamations. Armed with sabres, guns, and pistols, they meanwhile scoured the various parts of this great commune. They attempted to excite alarms by the sound of fire-arms. They every where exclaimed that the royalists had rallied to massacre all the patriots. They invited the people to their assistance. They imagined that, in the midst of this disorder, they should

should save their guilty accomplices, who had all departed at this very moment to the place where the legislative body had convoked the high court of justice; they were then to have indulged themselves in all the horrors which they had conceived in devising the conspiracy of Babœuf.

But the people, acquainted with their true interests, shewed only their attachment to the republic, and the constitution by which it is secured. They destroyed all the badges of despotism, which the most perfidious cunning had disseminated. They bestowed upon the monsters, who again wished to open the career of guilt, all the horror and contempt which they deserved. Confiding in a government with the real and sincere intention of which they are acquainted, all the citizens remained in the most profound tranquillity.

Thanks to the wisdom of the people, and to the courage and good conduct of the troops, to the indefatigable zeal of the magistrates appointed to watch over the public security, and to that of the brave republican generals, the tranquillity of Paris was preserved, and the designs of anarchy suppressed. They all have a right to the public gratitude.

Let the enemies of France at length discover the inutility of their efforts to mislead the mass of the people. Let its friends rally round the constitution, which secures at once our repose and our liberty, and let them second the efforts of a government resolved to maintain it with equal firmness against the attempts of all parties.

(Signed)

REVELLIÈRE LEPEAUX, pres.
By order of the Directory,
LAGARDE, secretary.

General Buonaparte to the Executive Directory.

*Head Quarters at Modena,
26 Vendémiaire (Oct. 17).*

YOU will find subjoined, citizens directors, the letter I have received from General Gentili. According to it, the Mediterranean is now free. Corsica, restored to the republic, will afford resources for our marine, and even the means of recruiting our light infantry. The commissioner Salicetti departs this night for Leghorn, to sail from thence to Corsica. General Gentili is to command provisionally the troops. I have provisionally authorised him to put in requisition several columns, in order to enable the government commissioner to occupy the fortresses till the arrival of French troops.

I shall send thither an officer of artillery, and one of engineers, for organizing affairs. The expulsion of the English from the Mediterranean will have great influence on the success of our military operations in Italy.

(Signed) BUONAPARTE.

7 Leghorn, 24th Vendémiaire (Oct. 15).
A. Gentili, General of Division,
commanding the Expedition, to General Buonaparte.

Long live the republic!—our country is rendered free!

THE Viceroy having announced that he was going to evacuate Corsica, the commune at Bastia formed in consequence a committee, which set at liberty all the republican prisoners, and has formed a deputation, which has arrived with that of Corsica, and other cantons, to renew, in the name of all the citizens, the oath of fidelity to the republic. I only wait a favourable wind to put to sea, and secure

secure to the republic the most important posts in the island. Bastia, its forts, and St. Fiorenzo, are already guarded by their inhabitants, conjointly with the English, who depart in three days.

I hope we shall find artillery and magazines.

(Signed) GENTILI.

Gentili to the French Commissioners.

Leghorn, 24 Vendemiaire (Oct. 15).

THE plan long ago settled by our compatriots to deliver Corsica from the tyranny of the English, the movements of the interior prepared by the republicans, the dispositions taken here by the patriots for supporting them, the debarkation already effected on the island, of a great many of our fellow citizens, and the numbers preparing here to follow them, have struck terror into the hearts of the English. They were sensible that they could not long maintain themselves in a country conquered by treason: Elliot is therefore evacuating Corsica, and re-embarking all the English troops.

At this moment, when we are about to put to sea, a numerous deputation of the communes of Bastia, and other places, have arrived, to give to us this happy news, which we are desirous of communicating to you.

The town of Bastia, faithful to its vows and attachment to France, has formed a provisional committee, which has named a deputation to come and offer the oath of fidelity to the French republic. Bastia, and its forts, as well as St. Fiorenzo, are guarded by the citizens. We are assured that in three days there will be no more English in the country. Hasten to give the

orders to go and occupy it; and render it back to the mother country!

(Signed) GENTILI.

Message of the Executive Directory to the Council of Five Hundred, Vendemiaire 25 (Oct. 16), Fifth Year.

Citizens representatives,

THE British cabinet, for the purpose of inducing the parliament to grant the necessary supplies for the ensuing campaign, has adopted two measures: the one has for its object to open the way for an immediate and direct negotiation with the republic; and the other, to restore the course of exchange between Holland and London, and to authorize the exportation of English merchandize to the ports of the United Provinces, and the country which it still affects to describe as Austrian Flanders.

The Batavian government, sensible of its real interests, has already seen the latter measure in its true light. It has rejected the pretended favour, and by an energetic proclamation has taken the necessary precautions to prevent the introduction of English merchandize, and to look upon those who shall purchase or use them as enemies to their country, a circumstance which has spread consternation over the English commerce and manufactories.

The executive directory, on its part, has published in the nine united departments, the 1, 2, 3, 5, and 6th articles of the 18th of the 2d year, and has roused, by particular orders, the attention of the officers of the customs in every part of the republic, who have already made many seizures and confiscations.

fiscations. But it is in vain that every effort is made to hinder the introduction of English merchandize, if no steps are taken to prevent their consumption in the interior of the republic.

The fourth article of the above-mentioned law specified, that every person who introduced or sold such merchandize, should be deemed suspected persons, and punished accordingly, pursuant to the decree of the 17th September. This law can no longer be in force; it is for your wisdom, citizens representatives, to substitute some others in its stead.

In England, the public execute severe justice on those who affect to prefer the produce of foreign to their own national manufactories. Can there be found in France, men, who are so far the enemies of their own country, as to oppose a measure so essentially necessary to the industry and prosperity of the nation, and which tends—to lessen those resources we furnish our enemies for prolonging the war they have excited against us? You have still, citizens representatives, legislative acts to form against those, who, in despite of the law, have, by their speculation of mercantile avidity, obtained stores of English merchandize. If you do not think it proper they should incur the penalty of confiscation, and the other punishments prescribed by the law, you may at least appoint a short period for their re-exporting the goods, which they ought not to have introduced, and that under such penalties as you may dictate. Yes, citizens representatives, the safety of the republic, perhaps, depends on the rigour

and promptitude of the measures you shall take on this occasion. Do you desire to re-animate your commerce, to relieve your manufactories, and to re-establish your trade? Would you deprive our enemies of their great resources for carrying on war against us? Would you force the British government to treat sincerely for peace, and would you have it brought to a conclusion? One of the most powerful means of promoting this great end of public prosperity, would be to take the most efficacious measures for prohibiting, until the return of peace, the sale or consumption of English merchandize in every part of the republic.

The executive directory invites you to take this object into immediate consideration.

(Signed)

REVELLIERE LEPEAUX,
president.

LAGARDE, sec. general.

On the 26th of October, the Executive Directory of the French Republic presented a second Message upon the subject to the Council of Five Hundred.

Citizens representatives,

IT is of moment that the executive directory should not conceal from you, that, by the official correspondence of its agents, and by private informations which they receive from all parts, they are certain, that if the legislative body does not take speedy measures to prevent the importation and sale of English goods in France, the Batavian convention will not delay revoking the decree which it enacted,

acted, to extend the same prohibition of Holland.

The executive directory ought to enable you to observe at the same time, that the uncertainty respecting the resolution you will deem proper to take on that subject, stops the progress of the happy effects, which had been produced by the sole proposition of seconding the measures taken by the Dutch, by reducing a pound sterling to 21 livres, 10 sous, which had been raised at that epoch to 24 livres, 5 sous, by the exchange.

They ought finally to remark, that if the prohibition they request is not decreed soon, if the delays on that point, or the modifications which destroy the main end of the principal object, should occasion the revocation of the measures taken by the Dutch, England will soon see vanish the embarrassment she feels to procure the supplies she stands in need of, if she wishes to prosecute the war, and that the British commerce would even then feel a mighty interest to see it prolonged.

The determination which you are about to take, citizens representatives, will thus have a most striking influence on the success of the negotiations which occupy that government at this moment for the restoration of peace.

(Signed) REVELLIERE LEPEAUX,
president.

LAGARDE, sec. general.

On the 2d of November, the Council of Five Hundred passed the following Resolutions.

ART. I. All articles manufactured in England, or in English establishments, shall continue to be

prohibited throughout the whole of the republic. From the date of the publication of this law, all persons are forbidden to expose such articles to sale, or to give notice that they are to be sold.

II. No article, containing articles of English manufacture, shall, under any pretext, enter the ports of the republic.

III. The necessity of putting into a port shall not furnish a plea for any deviation from the preceding article, where the vessel exceeds ten tons in burden.

IV. With respect to vessels above ten tons, proved to have been forced into port, the captain, on the moment of his arrival, shall produce to the commissioners of the customs an exact statement of the quantity, quality, and value of English merchandize according to the inventory; it shall be deposited in a magazine with three keys; one to be kept by the captain, the other by the commissioners, and the third by the municipal agent of the commune; and the ship shall not depart till the captain has proved that they have been all re-embarked exactly as they were delivered.

V. Articles of English manufacture in vessels taken from the enemy, or shipwrecked, or those which arise from confiscation, shall be deposited in magazines till they are again exported.

VI. Every person who shall have occasion to visit a magazine where English manufactures are deposited, shall, within three days after the publication of the law, give in to the municipal administration of the canton a detailed account of their quantity, quality, and value.

VII. Within the extent of three leagues

leagues from the frontiers, by land or sea, the preceding declaration to be made to the nearest office of customs, and the goods deposited in magazines appointed for the purpose.

VIII. After the expiration of the period fixed to make the declaration, the officers of the customs, accompanied by a municipal administrator, may visit the houses suspected to contain or conceal articles fabricated in England. Visits during the day may also be made by the proper officers, to discover whether any articles prohibited by this decree are concealed in magazines; and if any such are found, the whole house of the owner of the magazine may be searched.

IX. All military corps stationed on the frontiers, and all public functionaries, are enjoined to stop any article of English manufacture found on the territory of the republic.

X. Violations of this decree to be punished with arrest (the criminal to be brought before the tribunal of correctional police) and confiscation of the goods, vessels, carriages, horses, and beasts of burden; and the delinquent, besides, to be condemned to pay not less than double the value of the object seized; and imprisonment for a period not less than five days, nor more than three months. In case of a repetition of the offence the fine to be double, and the imprisonment for the space of six months.

XI. The value of the goods confiscated shall be given as a reward to the seizers, or to those who have assisted in the arrest.

A sixth of the confiscation is granted as an indemnity to the

municipal administrators and commissioners of the executive directory, in all cases where their presence is appointed by the law.

XII. Of English manufacture are considered all goods, whether directly brought from England, or coming indirectly from other countries.

1. All kinds of cloth and stuffs of wool and cotton, or mixtures of these materials; tanned nankeens, muslins, striped woollen and cotton cloths, and English tapestry.

2. All kinds of cotton or woollen caps, simple or mixed.

3. Buttons of every kind.

4. All kinds of metal; all wrought iron, cutlery, clock-work, steel, copper, tin, white iron, polished or rough, pure or mixed.

5. Tanned leather, dressed hides, or plain for carriages or boots, harness, and all sadlery wares.

6. Ribband, hats, gauzes, known as English wares.

7. All kinds of skins for gloves or breeches, and these articles in a manufactured state.

8. All kinds of glass and crystal, except vases of glass used in chymistry, and glasses for spectacles and watches.

9. Refined sugars.

10. All kinds of pottery known by the name of pipe-clay.

XIII. The refined sugars comprehended in the preceding article actually in the interior, are not subject to these declarations, and to be lodged in the magazines according to the preceding articles.

XIV. All the objects of foreign manufacture different from those pointed out in Article XII. of which the import is not prohibited by former laws, shall not be ad-

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mitted

mitted unless accompanied with certificates, that they are the produce of countries, at peace with France.

XV. Certificates shall be delivered by the French consuls, or by the public offices; they shall contain a formal attestation that the articles have been manufactured in the said country, and shall mention the name of the artist.

XVI. In addition to the penalties above pronounced, the names, surnames, ages, professions, and places of abode of the violators of the law and of their agents, shall by the special interference of the minister of the interior, be stuck up in all public places, and inserted in the periodical papers, under the general title of brokers of England, destroyers of French industry. For this purpose the commissioners of the executive directory, with the tribunals of correctional police, shall be bound to send to the minister of the interior the names, surnames, ages, professions, and places of abode, of all those against whom they shall have pronounced sentence in conformity to the present law.

XVII. All the regulations of the former laws, contrary to the present, are repealed.

The above resolutions were afterwards sanctioned by the council of ancients.

Message of the Executive Directory to the Council of Five Hundred.

20 Frimaire, Dec. 10.

THE multiplied wants of the republic call imperiously upon you to display and employ all her resources. You are not ignorant, that every branch of the public

service experiences the utmost distress. The pay of the troops remains unsettled; the defenders of the country suffer all the horrors of nakedness; their courage is decreased by the painful sense of their wants; the disgust arising from them naturally occasions desertion; the hospitals are in want of fuel, medicines, and all other necessities; the public alms and workhouses experience the same want, and for this reason they reject the needy and infirm citizens, who usually found an asylum in them. The creditors of the state, the contractors, who daily supply the wants of the armies, with great difficulty obtain only a small part of the sums due to them, and the distress which they experience on this account deters others who might supply these wants with more exactness, and on terms more advantageous for the republic. The public roads are impassable, and the communications interrupted. The salaries of the public functionaries remain unpaid. From one end of the republic to the other, the judges and administrators are reduced to the dreadful dilemma, either to expose themselves and their families to the utmost misery, or disgracefully to sell themselves to intriguers. The disaffected agitate every part of the republic; murder and assassination are organized in many places, and the administration of police, without activity and without force from want of provisionary means, is unable to check these disorders.

It is in your power to make this afflictive picture disappear; you can diffuse new life through all the parts of the public administration,

tion, and re-establish the social harmony, the springs of which are impeded, but not destroyed.

An important work, a simple work, but which tends directly to the end which you will wish to propose to yourselves, has already been presented to you on this subject, and you have adopted it. Wise principles, equitable bases, have been submitted to you for the establishment of contributions, and means sufficient to provide for the ordinary and extraordinary expences, which the consolidation of the republic and the happiness of the people require.

But until the laws which you are to lay down on those bases are enacted, until the reimbursements are in activity, until by a certainty of receipts the necessary order can be established for giving an invariable application to every branch of the public revenue; waiting the happy instant which is near, if you choose, you ought by a provisional resource to foster and re-animate all; you must restore motion to the divers departments of administration, which all hold together, and second each other, and which it becomes indispensable to extricate from the dangerous state of decline in which they are plunged.

(Here the directory points out the employments of the arrears due upon the last fourth part of the national domains sold by the law of the 28th Ventose, as the means of obtaining that desirable end: every purchaser of national domains, by virtue of the said law, who has not paid the whole amount of his purchase, is to pay the same in bills payable to order, and in ready specie, ten days after the pro-

mulgation of a law to be passed for the purpose, in his department; those sums are to be paid at the expiration of each term of payment stipulated, unless the purchaser will come forward sooner with his payments, and thus benefit his capital by receiving interest. The bills or securities are to be mortgaged upon the property bought by the purchaser, who, in case of default, is to suffer forfeiture; the estate is, of course, to be put up to sale by auction. If any administration neglects to enforce this payment, by putting up the estate to sale, its members are to be personally responsible. The bills thus issued by the purchasers of national domains as aforesaid, are not to have any forcible circulation, but they are to pass by confidence, at the responsibility of the drawers and endorsers, for metallic specie, their actual and natural value being mortgaged and secured upon the value of the estates in payment of which they were issued).

BARRAS, President.

Proclamation published by Citizen Salicetti, the Commissary of Government with the Armies of Italy and the Alps, to the Citizens of the Department of Corsica.

CITIZENS,

AFTER a train of events, as extraordinary as calamitous, you are at length restored to the unity of the republic. I am now, in the name of the government, to bear to you the tidings of peace and consolation; the constitutional act, which the people of France have accepted, will soon be presented to you, and your happiness will depend only on your execution of

it. It is by submission to the law that you are to find your liberty secured, the destruction of faction accomplished, and the conclusion of your miseries.

Profit at length by the lessons of experience; let the sources of division among you, which have been the spring of all your miseries, be dried up; and the spirit of party, which has been ever the forge in which your fetters have been formed, give place to the bonds of fraternity; and, above all things, let what has passed teach you not to give credit to men, unless when they speak the language of principle; and let him, who would hereafter substitute his will for law, be considered as a traitor, and abandoned to the vengeance of free-men.

It was a boundless confidence reposed in one of your fellow-citizens, who was far from deserving it, that misled you so much as to cause you to betray your dearest interests, to detach yourself from your mother-country, not only at the moment when she was bestowing on you the estimable boon of liberty, but while she was lavishing her treasures for the increase of your industry, for the formation of your havens, and for the cultivation of your fields. It was a blind obedience to the will of a mean, ambitious man, that led you to the commission of the most atrocious crime that republicans could commit, that of submitting to a king.

Citizens, you have great crimes, for which you should make reparation. The stigma with which you are branded can only be done away by a conduct such as to justify the generosity with which the French

republic has treated you, in restoring you to the plenitude of your rights. May you make such use of this indulgence, as is worthy of men who wish for freedom, without acquiring it by the horrors of anarchy! who are disposed to submit, without meanness, to the laws, and to acknowledge no other authority than that which may emanate from the republic.

The fatal error, of which during three years you have been the victims, should instruct you how far you ought to give credit to the profession of those who are the enemies of the republic. The English could not prevail on you to betray your duty but by a promise to preserve your liberty; and yet, while they loaded you with contempt, they plunged you in slavery. They were bound to have prevented crimes by the punishment of those who committed them; yet they encouraged every wickedness, by giving impunity to assassins. They had sworn to defend you against the French, whose just indignation you had provoked; yet, when their interest called them elsewhere, they abandoned you to the mercy of the republic, which you had mistrusted.

What a contrast does the generous conduct of republicans form to that of their enemies! They return to you with the olive-branch of peace in their hands—they forget the injuries which they have suffered—and if ever the recollection of them crosses their minds, it is only when they are anxious to caution you against new errors, by which new attempts may be made to seduce you from your duty. Let not those days of horror and of calamity pass from before your sight,

sight, in which the general council of the department lighted the torch of civil war, and reared the standard of rebellion in the *sci-disanti* assembly of Corsica. If you had then been commanded by energetic patriots, they would, by enlightening the people, have neutralized the influence of the traitor, who, while preaching liberty, sought only the means of enslaving you; and, if the administrators had then done their duty, they would have prevented those evils which have been the necessary result of this first act of rebellion, and you would not now have had occasion to blush at those disastrous events which have been the consequence of the errors into which by degrees you were misled.

The constitution insured to you not only the free exercise of your civil and political rights, but also that of religion, which has been so strangely abused for the purpose of deceiving you. The English had become the friends, the protectors of the pope; thus men without probity, and without virtue, deplored the decay of religion; and the cry of impiety was raised by those whose days were numbered only by the crimes they had committed, and by the immoral actions which disgraced them.

Ye ministers of religion! the constitution secures to you the freedom of worship; the government respects those who profess the doctrines of the gospel; and the consciences of citizens, are a sacred asylum into which the eye of its agents does not penetrate: but those who would preach discord in the name of the God of peace; those who would abuse the sacred ministry which they are called to fill,

and who would corrupt public opinion by the poison of fanaticism; such are men to whom the rigour of republican laws extends its severest punishments—a rigour enjoined both by policy and by respect for religion.

Ye numerous patriots, who during three years have groaned under the rod of those proud masters to whom you were sold, while you sighed for the moment in which you might take up arms to vindicate your rights; and above all, ye who, to secure the happiness of your country, have preferred exile to the shame of obeying a king; whose generous devotion to the service of your country has overcome all obstacles, has endured all wants, and has braved all dangers—it is your's to give the first example of civic virtue.

At the approach of the arms of the republic, those traitors, who had been most guilty, disappeared; no longer would they tread the ground they had sought to dishonour, without finding death at hand; and should any be found to remain in the country, the law will speedily overtake them; but in others it behoves you to see mistaken brethren, who, returning to their right reason, will merit by republican conduct your virtue and your esteem. Be united; forget your divisions, and unanimously swear on the altar of your country, and by the *manes* of your companions in danger and in glory, who died in battle in defence of the republic, *eternal hatred to royalty*.

Given at Bastia, the 24th of Nov.
5th year of the republic, one
and indivisible.

SALICETTI.
Treaty

Treaty of Peace, concluded between the King of Sardinia and the French Republic.

THE French republic and his majesty the king of Sardinia, equally animated by the desire of making a happy peace succeed to the war which divides them, have appointed, viz. the executive directory, in the name of the French republic, citizen Charles Delacroix, minister of foreign affairs, and his majesty the king of Sardinia, M. M. the Chevaliers de Revel and de Tonzo, to negotiate the clauses and conditions proper for re-establishing and consolidating good harmony between the two states, who, after having exchanged their full and respective powers, have agreed to the following articles :

I. There shall be peace and good neighbourhood between the French republic and the king of Sardinia. All hostilities shall cease between the two powers, reckoning from the time of signing the present treaty.

II. The king of Sardinia revokes all adhesion, consent, or accession, public or secret, given by him to the armed coalition against the French republic ; and all the treaties of alliance, offensive and defensive, which he may have concluded against the said republic with any power whatsoever. He shall not furnish any contingent in men or money to any powers armed against France, upon any pretence, or under any authority whatsoever.

III. The king of Sardinia fairly and entirely renounces for ever, for himself or his successors, in favour of the French republic, all the rights which he can pretend to have to Savoy, and the counties of Nice, Tenda, and Breuil.

IV. The limits between the states of the king of Sardinia and the departments of the French republic shall be marked by a line through the most advanced points of the frontier of Piedmont, the summits, *plateaux* (flat tops of hills) mountains, and other places hereafter described, as well as the intermediate summits and *plateaux*, viz. from the point where the frontiers of *ci devant* Francigny, Duchy of Aoste and Valais, unite to the extremity of the Glaciers, or Monts-Maudits.

1st, The summits or *plateaux* of the Alps at the rising of the Col-mayor.

2d, Little Saint Bernard, and the hospital situated there.

3d, The summits or *plateaux* of Mont-Alban, of the Col-de-Cresance, and of Mont-Iseran.

4th, Turning a little toward the south, the summits or *plateaux* of Cerat and of Gros-Ceval.

5th, Great Mont-Cenis, and the hospital which stands to the south-east of the lake of that mountain.

6th, Little Mont-Cenis.

7th, The summits or *plateaux* which separate the valley of Bardonnach from the Val-des-Pres.

8th, Mont-Genevre.

9th, The summits or *plateaux* which separate the valley of Quires from that of Vaudois.

10th, Mont-de-Vaudois.

11th, Mont-de-Viso.

12th, Mont de-l'Argenterie.

13th, The source of the Abayette and the Sture.

14th, The mountains between the vallies of Sture and Gesso, on one part ; and those of Saint Etienne or Tinea, of Saint Martin, or Vezubia, of Tenda, or of Roya, on the other.

15th, Leroche-Barbon, on the confines of the state of Genoa.

If some communes, habitations or portions of territories of the said communes, actually in friendship with the French republic, fall without the line of frontiers above described, they shall continue to make part of the republic, notwithstanding any inference that may be made to the contrary from this article.

V. The king of Sardinia engages not to permit emigrants or persons transported from the French republic to stop or reside in his dominions. He may, however, retain in his service the emigrants of the departments of Mont Blanc, and of the Maritime Alps, so long as they give no cause of complaint by enterprises or manœuvres tending to oppose the internal safety of the republic.

VI. The king of Sardinia renounces all demand of recovery, or personal claim which he might pretend to exercise against the French republic for causes anterior to the present treaty.

VII. There shall be immediately concluded between the two powers, a treaty of commerce on equitable basis, and such as may secure to the French nation advantages, at least equal to those enjoyed in the dominions of the king of Sardinia by the most favoured nations.

In the mean time, all communications and commercial relations shall be re-established.

VIII. The king of Sardinia obliges himself to grant a full and entire amnesty to all his subjects who have been prosecuted for political opinions. Every process which may have been raised on this subject, as well as the judgments which have intervened, are abolished.

All their property, moveable and immoveable, or the value thereof if it has been sold, shall be restored without delay. It shall be lawful for them to dispose of it, to return and reside in the dominions of the king of Sardinia, or to retire therefrom.

IX. The French republic and his majesty the king of Sardinia engage to supersede the sequestration of all effects, revenues, or property, seized, confiscated, detained, or sold, belonging to the citizens or subjects of either power, relative to the actual war, and to admit them respectively to the legal exercise of the actions or rights which may belong to them.

X. All the prisoners, respectively made, shall be restored in one month, reckoning from the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, on paying the debts which they may have contracted during their captivity.

The sick and wounded shall continue to be taken care of in the respective hospitals. They shall be restored when cured.

XI. Neither of the contracting powers shall grant a passage through its territory to the troops of any enemy of the other.

XII. Besides the fortresses of Coni, Ceva, and Tortona, as well as the territory which the troops of the republic occupy, or ought to occupy, they shall occupy the fortresses of Exiles, Assiette, Suza, Brunette, Chateau, Dauphin, and Alexandria; for which last place Valence shall be substituted, if the general in chief of the French republic prefer it.

XIII. The fortresses and territories above described shall be restored to the king of Sardinia upon the

conclusion of the treaty of commerce between the republic and his majesty, of general peace, and the establishment of the line of frontiers:

XIV. The country occupied by the troops of the republic, and which should be definitively restored, shall remain under the civil government of his Sardinian majesty, but shall be liable to levies of military contributions, and furnishing provision on forage which have been, or may be enacted for the supply of the French army.

XV. The fortifications of Brunnette and Suza, as well as the intrenchments formed above that town, shall be demolished; and destroyed, at the expence of his Sardinian majesty, at the direction of commissioners appointed by the executive directory.

The king of Sardinia shall not be permitted to establish or repair any fortification on this part of the frontier.

XVI. The artillery of occupied places, the demolition of which is not stipulated by the present treaty, shall be employed for the service of the republic, but shall be restored with the other fortresses at the same epoch to his Sardinian majesty. The stores and provisions which may be there shall be consumed, without recovery, for the service of the republican army.

XVII. The French troops shall have free passage through the states of the king of Sardinia, in entering or returning from the interior of Italy.

XVIII. The king of Sardinia accepts the mediation of the French republic for definitively terminating the differences which have long subsisted between his majesty

and the republic of Genoa, and for deciding on their respective claims.

XIX. Conformable to the sixth article of the treaty concluded at the Hague, on the 27 Floreal, 3d year, the Batavian republic is included in the present treaty. There shall be peace and friendship between that republic and the king of Sardinia. Every thing shall be established between them on the same footing as before the present war.

XX. The king of Sardinia shall disavow, by his minister to the French republic, the proceedings employed towards the last ambassador of France.

XXI. The present treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged in less than one month, reckoning from the signing of the present treaty.

Done and concluded at Paris, the 25th Floreal, 4th year of the French republic, one and indivisible, answering to the 15th of May, 1796.

(Signed) CHARLES DELACROIX.

LE CHEVALIER DE REVEL.

LE CHEVALIER DE TONZO.

The executive directory decree and sign the present treaty of peace with the king of Sardinia, negotiated in the name of the French republic by the minister of foreign affairs, appointed by the executive directory, by a decree of the 22d Floreal, and charged with instructions to that effect.

At Paris, the 28th Floreal, 4th year of the French republic, one and indivisible.

(Signed) LETOURNEUR,

REWBELL,

CARNOT,

P. BARRAS,

K. M. REVEILLERE LEPEAUX.

Message

*Message of the Executive Directory
to the Council of Five Hundred,
in Jan. 1796.*

Citizens Legislators,

THE executive directory can no longer defer to call the most serious attention of the legislative body to the emigrants in the colonies.

The national convention thought proper to adjourn this discussion of the greatest urgency and importance; on the 25th Messidor, third year, when the committee of public safety proposed, in a report concerning the state of St. Domingo, to enforce the execution of the laws respecting emigrants in the colonies; as well as in the mother country. The moment is arrived when the legislators of the republic, sensible of the mischief of too much indulgence, ought to crush with their anathema the most irreconcilable enemies of liberty and equality. It is necessary that the emigrants, in whatever place they reside, or whatever disguise they assume, should no longer be able to elude the sentence of the law pronounced against them.

Any distinction between the emigrants of France and those of the colonies would be extremely unjust and impolitic. It would occasion the loss of our colonies, whom liberty alone can attach to us, and along with the loss of our colonies, would destroy every hope of re-establishing our commerce, and of procuring to the republic an inexhaustible source of real opulence and prosperity.

The national convention was for a long time led into an error in consequence of the prevalence of a factious and unfounded opinion.

They retained an idea, that it was possible to dispense with nature and justice with respect to the freedom of the blacks, and to save our colonies; by committing a criminal outrage against the rights of man.

Some legislators, deceived by the artifices of the colonial aristocracy, were ignorant of the real causes of those calamities which desolated our colonies; but the report of the commission appointed to investigate the truth, which so much intrigue had been employed to conceal, could not fail to open their eyes.

Will the protectors, the defenders of the emigrant colonists, who have successively been demagogues, royalists, and moderés, according to the different periods of the revolution, still be able to interest your compassion, by representing to you the loss of their fortune, and destitute situation in which they are placed.

But have not the clergy and nobility of France, and all the emigrants in Europe, cause to regret the loss of the privileges on which they founded the slavery of the people? And have they not been the authors of their own wretchedness and disgrace?

They also appeal to the compassion of the French people—they also style themselves the victims of a revolution, which has compelled them to abandon their homes, and yet the constitution for ever interdicts all of them from returning to the country.

Will these emigrant colonists say that they only retired to the United States to avoid the horrors of war, and that they have remained in a neutral country?

But

But did not a great number of those very emigrants from France, who occasioned so many mischiefs to the country, resort to a neutral country? Why did not these colonists, always rebels to the laws, take up arms to defend them, as well as the magistrates, who were their organs? It can now be no longer doubted, from letters that have been intercepted, and the official reports of the agents of the republic, that Philadelphia was the seat of an English committee, which without doubt, eluded the vigilance of the American government, and of which the colonists were the agents in the same manner as the Austrians at Basle were the more ostensible agents of an Austrian committee.

Even supposing that the emigrant colonists were only so cowardly as to withdraw themselves from the evils of the war, which they provoked by their resistance to the laws respecting the emancipation of the blacks, and that they only sought an asylum in the United States, ought they not to have taken the first safe and honourable opportunity which presented, in order to return to the French territories? Yet in vain did the ministers of the republic, in America, invite them by official intimations, by journals and by placards, to return to France, offering them a free passage aboard the ships of the republic. They still refused, hoping that the triumphs of England and of Spain would speedily facilitate their return to their native soil again, polluted by slavery, and would enable them to carry along with them the pride of dominion, insolence, and death.

Men who call themselves refugees, and victims of persecution, to whom the republic stretches out her arms when she has the right to be severe, and who rather chuse to keep at a distance during that revolution, which calls for the united efforts of all, are not such in reality emigrants? After this statement, is it possible, without criminality to make any distinction between the emigrants of France, and those of the colonies? Undoubtedly, citizens legislators, you never can be of that opinion, and your justice will never be disarmed by the arts of perfidious men, who now basely and hypocritically cringe before the triumphs of the republic.

Their property, justly forfeited to the republic, will amount to two milliards of crowns, when it shall have been restored to its proper value by wise and discreet management. You will thus, by enforcing the just severity of the laws, find a new fund for the expence of several campaigns, which the wisdom and moderation of the people may not be able to avoid, or, in case of peace, a particular resource, which will raise to the highest pitch the prosperity of the republic.

The executive directory, impressed with the importance of the object which they have now suggested, propose to the legislative body to take their message into the most serious consideration, and to declare, that the laws respecting emigrants shall be sent and executed in all the colonies, as well as in France.

(Signed)

REWBELL, Presi.

By the Executive Directory,

Lagarde, Sec.

Message

Message from the Directory, addressed to the Council of Ancients, dated the 5th Pluviose (Jan. 25) and read in a Secret Committee.

CITIZENS LEGISLATORS,

The enemies of France have spoken of peace, but it was to relax our preparations, while they themselves redoubled their efforts for continuing the war; they wish to weaken the courage of our defenders, by lulling them with the hopes of approaching peace, which they themselves do not cease to elude by the most evasive forms, and the most frivolous pretexts. This perfidy on their part is not new, and the reports they have affected to circulate on this subject, since the commencement of hostilities, have always been seized and believed by the foreign faction which they maintain among us. But these manœuvres have never been countenanced by the executive directory, who in offering peace to the coalesced powers on conditions as moderate as are consistent with the national dignity, have neglected nothing for assuring new triumphs to the republican arms.

The French should know that they never can have peace with their enemies till they shall have rendered it impossible for them to pursue their disastrous projects. This epoch is not far off; it must crown a vigorous campaign, and we have reason to think that that which is about to be opened will yield in nothing to that of the third year. The government already acquires strength every day, and the hopes of the enemies of the interior, of a disagreement between the legislative body and the directory, disappear every day; the circulation of provisions begins to be re-esta-

blished; the young citizens are desirous of rejoining their colours; the general activity contributes to second the salutary and decisive measure of the forced loan; the certainty, in short, of seeing all the factious punished, whether their royalism be open or concealed, or whether they dissemble it under the last forms of anarchy; every thing, in short, announces, that if we are forced by our implacable enemies to cover still their bloody plains with our soldiers, it will be to gain soon new laurels, to enjoy from henceforward the unalterable repose that is assured by the constitution, sworn to by all Frenchmen, and the return of morality and justice, the love of labour and œconomy. Citizens legislators, you are aware of what renders the service so painful in the present moment, notwithstanding the prodigious resources which are still to be found in the Republic, is the absence of representative signs of exchange, swallowed up by that avarice which renders it impossible to provide the necessary supplies for the armies. We must devise some substitute, and the directory can perceive no other except that of raising articles in kind, at least those which are at present most necessary and indispensable, such as horses for carriages and for the use of cavalry.

The principal cause of the little success of the last campaign was the deficiency of the means of conveyance, and the superiority of our enemies' cavalry. The evil increased every day, and we are obliged to tell you, citizens legislators, that if there is not taken, in this respect, a measure prompt and efficacious, we must expect defeats. The directory requests that you will

will authorize it to raise the thirtieth horse in every part of the republic. Experience assures the success of this measure; all others will only have doubtful consequences, slow, and attended with much expence, and the sending out a prodigious quantity of specie.

The directory had determined not to make to the legislative body the proposition of an extraordinary levy of horses till after the subject had been long considered, and it shall be sensible that there exist no other means of assuring the service.

This levy shall be made by the administrative bodies. The legislative body may itself state the mode of the execution, or leave it to the directory, who will follow the most æconomical and the least vexatious to the citizens; whatever decision you may make in this respect, circumstances require that this measure may not be deferred.

Citizens legislators, the directory invites the council to take the object of its demand into the most serious and the most prompt consideration.

REWBELL, President.

Message of the Executive Directory of France to the Council of Five Hundred, respecting the Emission of Mandats Territoriaux.

CITIZENS LEGISLATORS,

YOUR resolution of the 20th of this month relative to the creation of "Territorial Mandats," payable to the bearer, is one of those grand and happy measures, which at the most critical æras of the revolution, have operated to the welfare of the republic. But it would be fatal if you did not hasten to make an addition which is indispensable, by giving to those mandats a com-

pulsive currency. Without such a law, the new paper and the old would both fall into equal depreciation. The stock-jobbers, would seize upon both, they would plunder the nation of its demesnes, and the government of its resources.

Certainly when paper money has but a remote, a doubtful, or insufficient security, nothing short of despotism can force its currency. Such would be the case, if it were intended to recall the assignats to their nominal value, before their mass was reduced to the amount of the national property at the disposal of government. But it would be a weak abandonment of the rights of the people, to leave to malignity and avarice to fix the value of a mandat, which can be immediately converted into real property at the choice of the bearer, amongst the best possessions of the republic. The citizens may be deceived as to their real interests by the cruel manœuvres of stock-jobbing. They have been deceived, and will be so still; unless their representatives foresee and warn them of the danger.

Have you not been compelled to pronounce certain penalties against those who refused the republican money, though it was evidently of more value than that which bore the royal stamp? why should you hesitate to take the same part against those who may wish to depreciate a paper which has more need of confidence, as it is not divisible into small portions, and therefore less fitted for ordinary transactions? If you do not take this step, this paper must fall, and with its own, will infallibly cause the ruin of the assignats.

It

It is in your power, on the contrary, to raise the one through the other, and to breathe thus new life through all the ramifications of the body politic, robust in itself, but weakened and dried up through the want of circulation.

There are those, however, who seem to deserv in this paper the annihilation of the assignats. This is an error to which stock-jobbers will labour to give credit as wishing to monopolize this representative sign, and to possess themselves of the public fortune. But it is evident, that on the contrary stock-jobbing will find its death in the compulsive circulation of this paper, and that in twenty-four hours the government will triple the value of assignats.

The assignat is now at the three hundredth part of its nominal value. When the mandats shall be at par with money, the assignats are to be exchanged at every office in the republic for the hundredth part of their nominal rate. Thus is their value tripled. In a word, the assignats thus exchanged are to be burned, until there shall be no more than 3 milliards in circulation. The circulation will then be brought back to its usual course, and the paper to its natural proportion to the land which it represents. The mandat being on a par with money, and the relation of the assignats with the former being prescribed by the laws, stock-jobbing can no longer maintain its ground. It dies; and France is delivered from a scourge more horrible than all the inflictions of her combined enemies.

This proportion of one to an hundred between the mandat and the assignat appears to be more suit-

able for the present. It accords with the measures which have been taken for raising the forced loan. It leaves to the nation the resources which may be necessary for its occasions, until the system of contribution shall be settled, and the receipts collected regularly. In proportion as the circulating mass of assignats shall be diminished by burning those which are exchanged, the relative value of one hundred for one may be gradually ameliorated until the equilibrium shall be restored, without any shock between the remaining assignats and the demesnes which form their security.

But it is necessary for this purpose, that severe penalties shall be decreed against those who attempt to make the smallest alteration in the relative value of republican money. Those who exchange mandats against money otherwise than at par, must be rigorously punished. It was by relaxing from this essential point that assignats have fallen into their present state of depreciation, and that it is impossible to raise them suddenly to their primitive value, without passing beyond the value of the security, and stripping the nation of its last resource.

It is solely from your firmness and fidelity in the adoption and execution of these measures, that France can be saved and revived, and that she can rise free, glorious, and happy, after all the storms of the revolution.

We invite you, therefore, citizens legislators, to give this message an immediate consideration.

(Signed) LETOURNEUR, Presi.
LEGARDE, Sec.

Proclamation

Proclamation of the Executive Directory of the French Republic.

FRENCHMEN,

YOUR legislators have just created a new species of money, founded at once upon justice and the necessity of providing for the immense wants of the state; they have conciliated the interest of the republic with the interest of individuals, or rather it is in this private interest even that they have found new and abundant resources for the government; and such will be always the calculations of a true and only policy. In short, after so terrible a war, after so many violent shocks, the nation is, all at once, lifted by the creation of territorial mandates to the same state of fortune and of means which she possessed in the first period of the revolution. To render these means fruitful—to recover the same degree of opulence and splendour, we must only have the same latitude of confidence in the representatives of the nation—the same obedience to the laws—the same fraternal union between citizens.

Your fate, O Frenchmen! is then entirely in your hands; let the law relative to territorial mandates be faithfully observed, and France will come out from the revolution happy and triumphant; if the law be despised, a profound abyss will be immediately dug under all our feet.

The territorial mandates have a precious advantage which the assignats had not—it was the want of it that occasioned their depreciation.—This advantage is the faculty attached to the mandat, of being realized in a moment, without hindrance, obstacle, or sale,

by the immediate and incontestible transfer of the national domain, upon which the bearer of mandates may have fixed his choice in the whole extent of the republic. It is a territorial bank, with funds well ascertained, whose notes may be exchanged in open market, and whose guarantee is fortified by the authority of the law which gives them the forced currency of money. It was necessary thus to prevent the criminal efforts of stock-jobbing and disaffection, which incessantly endeavouring to convert the most wholesome remedies into poison, would not have failed to have depreciated and monopolized the new money before the mass of the citizens could have been informed of its real value.

When, by his sordid avarice, the stock-jobber depreciates by one sol a note of 100 francs, it is not solely the one sol of which he has robbed the public credit, it is a loss to the national treasury of so many sols as there are 100 francs in the treasury; it is an immense sum which he has annihilated in the public banks, and in the hands of all the bearers of bills. He has ruined his fellow-citizens, he has assassinated his country, and it is not therefore, by the smallness of his robbery in itself that we must measure his crime, it is by the enormity of misery which it produces. Never was it more evidently true, that the safety of a whole nation may reside, and, in fact, does reside, in the inviolable probity of all the members that compose it.

Yes, morals and obedience to the laws, each day ought, Frenchmen, to convince you, are the sole safeguard of free countries. The slightest attack made upon them
shakes

shakes the state to its foundation. All our evils arise from our dissensions, from the spirit of rapacity, the neglect of labour, from refusal to pay the contributions, from the depreciation of the national money.

These evils cannot be cured but by a contrary *regime*, by the reciprocal esteem of citizens, by their eagerness to acquit themselves to the public treasury, by the restoration of industry, by the rigorous support of the integral value, and without the least alteration, of the money established by the legislature.

The executive directory will know how to display on this important occasion, the whole extent of the power deposited in their hands; they will make the national will, expressed by the representatives of the people, be respected.

It is to you, good citizens, friends of wisdom and liberty; immense majority of Frenchmen! it is to you that it belongs to second the efforts of the government; form a sacred league to defend the constitutional edifice, which rests now upon the success of the mandates; repel those who flatter you to draw you into a frightful abyss. You can only save yourselves by austere truths. What have these operated for your good, who have laboured hitherto to render you immortal; who have only irritated alternately and cherished your passions; who have sharpened hatred among you, and formed parties? What else have they done but favoured your external enemies, who long ago would have demanded peace of you, if they had not been enabled to set you against each other, and

to make you tear out your entrails with your own hands?

It is against these external enemies that we must wake the vengeance of the state. Cover with indignation and contempt their eternal advocates; those cowardly writers who connect themselves with traitors; who have nothing to present but frightful portraits; who avail themselves of an object only to make the citizens miserable, and divide to defame them. It is time that each of us should be proud of being Frenchmen! What are the crimes of some miserable men to the national glory, men whom nature has cast upon the territory of freemen? view the revolution with the same eyes that posterity will view it; with the same eyes which the foreigners whom you combat view it. Resume that proud energy that produced victory; recollect your triumphs, and let them be the pledge of new triumphs.

Frenchmen, be assured of this great truth; it is, that the safety of all and each of you is in the rigid execution of the law relative to mandates. Already have the happy effects of their creation been felt by the bearers of assignats, which increase in value rapidly, although it has been pretended that it would complete their depreciation.

Let no infringement be made upon this law, and soon a beneficent dew will vivify the happy soil that nature has adjudged to us. France will rise from that deplorable languor, a devouring stock-jobbing will cease her ravages, activity in arts and commerce will succeed, the roads and canals will no longer be in ruins, the public functionaries of the state will be indemnified

fied for their painful labours, the long sufferings of the creditors and pensioners of the state will be at an end, the melancholy lot of our intrepid brethren in arms will be ameliorated, and the national felicity, which a diabolical spirit had thought to be able to separate from public probity and the social virtues, will revive and assume new life in those immortal and fruitful sources of all prosperity.

(Signed)

LETOURNEUR, President.

The Executive Directory to the Citizens of Paris.

ROYALISM, at length despairing of being able to seduce you in its own colours, now takes to bring you under its odious yoke, a way, perhaps, more winding, but far more perfidious and less dangerous. For several days incendiary papers and placards have been profusely distributed. Seditious propositions and menacing discourses are heard, and groups are formed in the public squares. The heads of the party no longer conceal their object; they audaciously declare it. They wish to overturn the republican constitution, to destroy the national representation and the government; to put in force the atrocious and impracticable code of 1793; and to effect the pretended equal division of all property, even in the most inconsiderable nature, such as little shops, &c. They are desirous of plunder.

They are, in a word, desirous to re-elect scaffolds, and to bathe as formerly in your blood, gorging themselves with your riches and the smallest produce of your labours. The foreigner who pays

them knows very well that the present government being once destroyed, the multitude wearied at length with various agitations, which must tend to augment their sufferings, will throw themselves into the arms of a king. The miserable agitators, whom he makes his instruments, must themselves desire this, to place their plunders under the safeguard of an authority which would be their work, and to secure the means of committing fresh ones with impunity, by sharing in all employments. Who can indeed doubt but that they are in agreement with foreigners to royalise France, or to reduce it to a state of debility and confusion, the inevitable consequence of which would be its dismemberment? Do our most declared enemies hold another language and another conduct? They say openly, that they will carry revenge and fire every where, rather than allow peace to be made; and at the same time they circulate a thousand lying reports to discredit the national money, and thus deprive the government of the means of securing to our armies the faculty of hastening, by new trials, a glorious and durable peace, which is the constant object of the views of the directory, and the aim of all its labours. To these odious manœuvres they add atrocious calumnies, to deprive the government of the force it needs; they even assert that the executive directory has done nothing towards the consolidation of the republic. Well-intentioned men! go back to the moment of the installation of the directory, and judge whether in a few months it could have done more. La Vendée has been disarmed

armed, and its chiefs either killed or taken.

The revolt in l'Indre and le Cher was extinguished at the very moment when it broke out; and the war against the Chouans is carried on with activity and success. The armies which were in a complete state of dissolution are now re-organised, and are in a condition to cope with the enemy, and to fix victory on the standard of liberty. Severe measures against the refractory priests and the emigrants have been called for, and those which existed have been executed with vigour. Administrators, whose patriotism was suspected, have been replaced by energetic republicans; and, finally, subsistencies have been procured, and their circulation, which was impeded on all sides, re-established. These emissaries of foreigners dare to add, that the directory does not cherish the patriots, but abandons them to persecution. Certainly it does not cease to cherish them; it has not desisted, and will not desist to support and defend the patriots, and will never suffer the errors into which they may have been led, by an ardent zeal for liberty, to be confounded with guilt. It has an affectionate regard for those pure and sincere patriots, who unite wisdom to the ardour of a burning civism; who, impatient of every yoke but that of the laws, are equally averse to the establishment of their own nomination. It will always know how to distinguish these from the disguised partizans of royalism, from the brigands who usurp the glorious title of patriots, merely to dishonour it. The directory is the warmest friend to patriots; and is not the fate of the patriots and

that of the directory intimately connected? Are not their destinies common? Citizens, and you generous defenders of the country, instructed by a long experience, you have repulsed, with contempt, these dastardly and atrocious miscreants. You are not ignorant, brave warriors, that if the government is destroyed, the republic is lost. You will know how to preserve, by the wisdom and energy of your conduct, a liberty secured by your triumphs. You, citizens, who live by the fruit of your labours, will not forget the magnificent promises which the tyrants, covered with a cloak of popularity, have so often made to you, and which have never had any other result than their own fortune, and the public misery. You will constantly perceive that a regular government, solidly established, can alone secure good order and tranquillity, which on their side can alone procure the resources necessary for the support of your families. You who are apprehensive for your property, judge what you have to expect from the system now on foot, if instead of rallying round the republican constitution, you favour by your neglect the dissolution of the government. As to us, faithful to our duty, we will maintain the republic and the constitution with an unshaken firmness; we will cause public order to be respected; we will keep a watch on those who attempted to disturb it, and will repress them with all the force of the laws, the execution of which is confided to us. Incapable of being the accomplices or the instruments of any faction, we will return with honour to the private life which awaits us, or will

perish with glory at the post to which we have been called.

(Signed)

LETOURNEUR, President.

Address of the Executive Directory to the French Armies, April, 1796.

DEFENDERS of the country, the moment approaches when you are again to take up your victorious arms; the moment approaches, when you are to quit a repose to which you consented, in the hope alone that it would lead to an honourable peace; but the seas of blood which have flowed have not yet satiated the rage of your enemies. They unquestionably imagine, that we are about to abandon the fruits of our victories, at the very moment when success is ready to crown them. They imagine that we are about to demand of them as cowards a peace which we have offered them as generous enemies. Let them conceive these unworthy expectations: we will not be surprised; they have never combated for liberty—but what they cannot be ignorant of, is, that the brave armies with which they wish again to try their strength, are the same by which they have been so often subdued. No: they have not forgotten the prodigies of French valour; they still recollect with terror, both the redoubts of Gémappe, and the plains of Fleurus, and the frozen rivers of Holland: they recollect that the Alps and Pyrenees have opposed to you but feeble barriers, and that the peninsula of Quiberon became the tomb of all the parricidal slaves, who in the hope of subjecting you to the yoke of a master, dared to set their feet on the soil of the re-

public. If they could have forgotten all this, you will bring it to their recollections by blows still more terrible; you will teach them finally, that nothing can resist the efforts of a great nation which determines to be free.

Brave warriors, you have afforded the example of a disinterestedness which cannot exist unless among republicans. Oftentimes, in the midst of the greatest scarcity of provisions, of an almost absolute want of the most indispensable objects, you have displayed that heroic patience, which joined to your impetuous valour, so eminently distinguishes you, and will signalize you to all nations, and to the eyes of posterity. Republican soldiers, you will preserve this great character; and at the moment when your situation has been ameliorated, when with an unanimous voice the representatives of the nation have taken measures to provide efficaciously for your wants, you will redouble also your vigour and courage, to put an end to a war which can be terminated by new victories alone.

In vain has the French government manifested to all the powers which wage war against France, a sincere wish to restore at length the repose of exhausted Europe; it has in vain made to them the most just and moderate propositions; nothing has been capable of removing their deplorable blindness. Yes, brave warriors, we must still have victories; and it is your energy alone that can put a stop to this devastating scourge. Prepare, therefore, for a last effort, and let it be decisive; let every thing yield to, let every thing be dissipated by your phalanxes; let the new flags

of your enemies, carried off by your triumphant hands, form, with the preceding ones, the trophy with which, in the name of France, always great in her misfortunes, always just in her prosperity, the equitable peace you will give to the world will be proclaimed.

And you, generous defenders, who shall have cemented that peace with your blood, you will soon return to the bosom of your families among your fellow citizens, to enjoy your glory—terrible still in your repose, to all the enemies of the republic.

LETOURNEUR, President.

Proclamation issued by Scepeaux, in the Western Department.

COMPANIONS in arms—as long as we thought it possible to attain our desired end, the free exercise of the religion of our fathers and the establishment of the legitimate heir of the French monarchy, we have not ceased to combat at your head, and to excite that courage and perseverance which you have displayed to the eyes of all Europe; but at present, convinced that fresh efforts will only draw new misfortunes on our already devastated country, informed that the most violent measures of terror would be exercised against our relations, who would be imprisoned, and their property entirely ravaged, we have not thought we could continue a war which was become the scourge of the country we had hoped to defend, and did not think ourselves permitted any longer to risk the lives of those brave men who had confided to us the charge of conducting them to the field of ho-

nour. However painful the sacrifice may be to our opinion, we invite you to give up, into the hands proposed for that purpose, the arms that we cannot any longer engage you to preserve, without becoming the executioners of your relations and friends. This clause fulfilled, your persons and property will be under the safeguard of the laws: you will remain quiet at home: nor will you in any respect be troubled for the past. This assurance concerning your fate has alone induced us to consent to a conduct contrary to the wishes of our heart, but dictated by the necessity of the circumstance.

Decreed 15th May, 1796.

(Signed) LE VICOMTE DE SCEPEAUX, general in chief.

COUNT DE CHATILLON,
Lieut. gen. of the army of
St. Scepeaux.

LE CHEVALIER DE TURPIN,
Inspector general.

Message to the Council of Five Hundred from the Directory, relative to La Vendée.

28 Messidor, (16 July.)

FOR this long time an intestine war, fostered by fanaticism, has desolated one of the finest regions of the republic; we had even to dread, lest it should make progress, and expose France to the brink of her ruin; gold and provisions have been furnished by the English. But thanks to the brave army of the ocean and its general, all is returned to good order. The inhabitants have delivered up their arms, and were they even disinclined to preserve the tranquillity which has been restored to them,

they would find it impossible forthwith to excite a commotion. At present we may travel in safety through the several departments of the west.

If we have not always spoken of the heroic feats which have signalized our gallant soldiers, composing the army of the coasts of the ocean, it was done in order not to disclose to our enemies, all the inveteracy of the evil we had to cure; but at present, while there is no danger in promulgating their exploits, we are eager to declare, that no army has more well-deserved of its country than that of the ocean. No doubt, citizens legislators, you will hasten to make this declaration in a solemn manner.

Decree published at Modena on the 18th of October, 1796.

1. EVERY species of feudal jurisdiction is from this moment abolished.
2. The feudal officers of every kind and rank shall be confirmed until the new order of the committee of government, who shall preserve them or suppress them after information taken upon them.
3. All feudal rights and revenues received under the ancient government, or to be received, shall remain until the new order, in the national treasury.
4. With respect to the odious privileges of hunting and fishing, the committee will immediately publish a proclamation to satisfy the general impatience to see them suppressed.
5. The allodial rights shall remain to the founders in absolute property.
6. Whatever concerns the im-

mediate abolition of fiefs, and of every feudal jurisdiction, shall extend to infeoffments made under a burthensome title.

The Congress of Cispadana to the People of Bologna, Ferrara, Modena, and Reggio.

Reggio, 10 Nivose, first year of the Republic of Cispadana, one and indivisible, Dec. 30, 1796, (old style.)

THE first stone of the foundation of your infant liberty was laid in the congress held at Modena last October, thanks to the invincible French nation, which not only was so generous as to restore to you your natural rights, but also enabled you to exercise them in order to secure your future existence; it was with this view you formed the bounds of a friendly confederation, which nothing could untie; you also wished for the means of drawing those bonds still closer, in order that the structure, once begun, might rise great and majestic. In fine, you called us to the congress of Reggio, and we, strong in your commands, were proud of being able and authorized to give our concurrence to an enterprise worthy of the honour of Italy, and which will be the admiration of future ages.

Citizens, the congress is eager to inform you that your wishes are fulfilled, and that you are henceforth but one people, or rather one family. The following is the tenor of the resolution:

“A motion having been made in the congress to form the four nations into a republic, one and indivisible in every respect so constructed, that the four nations may only

only form one people, one single family.

"The congress having put this motion to the vote with each nation, they have all accepted it."

The people of Reggio were witnesses of the publication of this decree, in the same manner as we were witnesses of their joy. Our brave brethren who came from the transpadanian regions to fraternize with us, took part in the universal joy. May they imitate us, since we ardently wish it, and may they form so close an alliance with our republic, that tyranny may thenceforth lose all hopes of again enslaving Italy.

It seems as if something would have been deficient in the general enthusiasm, had not our invincible deliverers been present at so solemn an act.

Citizen Marmont, sent expressly by the commander in chief to watch over the safety and liberty of our union, assisted at the congress, and saw in us, and the whole people assembled, brothers not unworthy of the love of his generous nation. He took it upon him to give an account of this glorious event to the commander in chief. We could have wished you all to have been present in that happy moment, certain that your joy would have joined in unison with that of your brothers; but if distance of places deprived us of this double joy, we make you amends for it, by imparting to you that glorious event, before your delegates return again to their country. People of the republic of Cispadana, the great epoch is already marked. Reject far from you all ancient quarrels, and that rivalry, which was fomented by am-

bition and despotism. Liberty, equality, virtue, let these be your mottos. The powerful republic which has invited you to the great work of liberty will protect you; doubt it not, with all her forces; slavery is flying from these countries. The tyrants, to whom you were an object of derision, shudder and turn pale. The eyes of the whole world are fixed upon you, and Italy anxiously expects that you will restore to her that pristine splendour which made her once respected by all nations.

(Signed) C. FACCÌ, President.

PISTORINI, MACCAI,

LAMBERTI, LEONELLI,
Secretaries.

Letter of his Holiness the Pope to all the Catholics faithful in Christ, having communion with the Apostolic See, and living in France, greeting and apostolic benediction.

Dear Children,

The pastoral care which has been committed to our humility by our Lord Jesus Christ in the abundance of his mercy, commands us to endeavour to administer comfort to all the faithful in Christ, particularly those who are beset by great temptations, lest they be miserably seduced by carnal wisdom; for he has said to us, as to the prophet Isaiah, 'Cry, and spare not; exalt thy voice like a trumpet; declare aloud the crimes of my people.' We should therefore be unmindful of our duty, if we did not seize every opportunity to exhort you to peace, and to counsel you to submission to the constituted authorities.

It is a principle indeed of the Catholic religion, that powers are

the work of divine wisdom, that things may not be conducted rashly and at the pleasure of chance, and that nations be not agitated by contrary waves.—Paul says, accordingly, not with regard to a particular prince, but speaking of the subject in general, that all power is of God, and that he who resists power, resists the will of God; beware, therefore, dear children, of going astray, and under appearance of piety afford to the authors of innovation, a pretext to defame the Catholic religion, for you would load yourselves with a great crime which would not only be avenged by the secular powers, but also, which is much more serious, would draw down upon you the severest vengeance of God, for those who resist authority gain to themselves damnation. We exhort you then, dear children, by our Lord Jesus Christ, to study to obey those who govern with all the affection, all the ardour, and all the efforts of which you are capable; for so you will render to God the obedience which is due; and those who govern, perceiving more and more that the orthodox religion is by no means so constituted as to involve the overthrow of civil laws, will be led to encourage it, and to defend it by the accomplishment of the divine precepts, and by the culture of ecclesiastical discipline. In fine, we desire to apprize you that you should put no faith in those who shall publish a contrary doctrine as emanating from the Holy See. We heartily bestow upon you the apostolic benediction.

Given at Rome, at St. Mary Major, under the *fisher's ring*,

the 5th day of July, 1796, and
22d of our pontificate,
(Signed) R. CARD BRASCHI
DI ONESTI.

Substance of the Edict published by his Holiness, on the Reception which his Subjects ought to give to the French.

HIS holiness enumerates to them a variety of motives which ought to induce them to respect and treat the French with the utmost kindness, such as “the principles of our holy religion, the laws of nations, the interests of the people, the will of their sovereign,” &c.

He assures them that the cessation of hostilities is the immediate gift of God; and reminds them of the necessity of parting with a small portion of their worldly riches for the security of the rest, and, what is of more importance, for the preservation of the Catholic religion. He admonishes them not to listen to any perfidious insinuations tending to disturb the public peace; and declares, that whoever shall insult by words or actions, in the slightest manner, the French commissioners, their agents, or domestics, shall be punished with death, their goods confiscated, and their families pronounced infamous, as in cases of treason against the state.

Those who shall by their harangues, writings, or counsels, provoke insults against the French, shall be liable to the same punishment.

Such as shall be spectators or participators in proceedings of the above description, and shall not announce the traitors before the ordinary tribunals, shall be condemned to ten years slavery in the galleys.

galleys. Such informants as can establish the fact of an insult, shall receive a reward of 500 ducats on conviction of the offender. The tribunals shall proceed against persons under an accusation of this species of treason in the most summary manner allowed by the criminal jurisprudence of the country.

July 15.

Note, by which M. Galeppi, Plenipotentiary Minister of Pius VI. announced to the French Commissioners, Garrau and Salicetti, the Determination of his Holiness not to accept the Conditions of Peace offered, or rather dictated by the French Directory.

THE undersigned plenipotentiary, minister of his holiness the pope Pius VI. has the honour to inform Messrs. Garrau and Salicetti, commissaries of the executive directory with the French armies of Italy and the Alps, that having laid before his holiness the sixty-four articles proposed by their excellencies, under the condition that they must all either be rejected or accepted to their full extent, his holiness, after having examined them, and taken the advice of the holy college, declares, that neither religion nor good faith do any ways allow him to accept them.

It is with the utmost concern his holiness has found, that besides the article already proposed at Paris, tending to oblige him to disapprove, revoke, and annul, all the bulls, rescripts, briefs, and apostolic mandates issued under the authority of the holy see, with respect to the affairs of France, since the year 1789, there were several others, which being equally prejudicial to the catholic religion and the rights of the church, are

consequently inadmissible; without entering into any discussion concerning those which are destructive both to his sovereignty and dominions; pernicious to the happiness and tranquillity of his subjects, and evidently contrary to the rights of other nations and powers, towards whom the holy see would not even be able to maintain itself neutral. His holiness hopes, therefore, that the executive directory, from its own sense of rectitude, as well as in consideration of the mediation of his majesty the king of Spain, will do justice to the powerful motives which have determined his holiness to give this refusal, which he is obliged to enforce at the hazard of his life.

Given in Florence, the 15th of September, 1796.

(Signed) GALEPPI,
Minister plenipotentiary to his holiness the pope Pius VI.

State Paper published at Dresden, July 30.

HIS most serene highness, the elector of Saxony, has taken no part in the present war, as a principal belligerent power. As a co-estate of the empire, and in that character only has he fulfilled those obligations which the Germanic constitution imposed on him as a duty; and his electoral highness, being fully impressed with the wish of seeing the miseries of this desolating war terminated, has often endeavoured to accelerate a pacification by his vote in the Germanic diet, and by other means. These are facts of public notoriety.

The measures which are dictated by the present state of things, and by the precaution of his electoral highness, agree with the principles

ples which he has uniformly manifested. He will in no respect deviate from them; and the resolution of collecting a corps of his troops on the frontiers of his territories, and those of the circle of Upper Saxony, which are now so contiguous to the theatre of war, will prevent any misunderstanding with respect to his motives.

In order, however, that no doubt may remain on this subject, his electoral highness has thought proper hereby expressly to declare, that the assembling of those troops has no other object than to cover his territories, and those of the other states of Upper Saxony, against all foreign violence.

They are, of course, mere measures of defence unconnected with a design of acting offensively with them against any power beyond the skirts of his territories, and of those of the said circle, whose first prince he is.

Given at Dresden, July 26, 1796.

By his most serene highness the elector of Saxony's most gracious and special command.

Declaration of the Elector of Hanover to the Diet of Ratisbon, on the Subject of the Imperial Rescript, of the 17th of October, 1796.

THE minister of Hanover has declared to M. de Hingel, the Imperial commissioner,

That his Imperial majesty had directly required his majesty the king of Great Britain and elector of Hanover to furnish a new proof of his marked attachment to the Germanic constitution, by giving a great example, and acting efficaciously in concert with the diet of Ratisbon, not only that he may be rated for a sufficient quantity of

Roman months, but by paying up all that remains due of his quota. It was declared at the same time that it was necessary the number of Roman months should exceed a hundred.

His Britannic majesty has replied to his Imperial majesty, that he would not, nor was he able to anticipate the resolutions of his co-estates; and that he was not at present in circumstances which permitted him to answer the demand which was made—that since the periods when the last Roman months were granted, the system of the war had completely changed—that different states, holding of the empire, had made a separate peace, to avoid the total ruin with which their countries were threatened—that others had embraced neutrality for the protection of their subjects; and that the prosperity these states enjoyed proved that they had attained a salutary object—that the affairs of the empire have assumed quite another aspect, and that the relations of his Britannic majesty, in his quality of elector and prince of the empire, were well known to be inconsistent with the Imperial demands; that he cannot of course consent to the granting of new Roman months (for the continuation of this unhappy war) still far less can he contribute directly, since the negotiations commenced at Paris, from which is expected a happy issue for the tranquillity of Europe.

Proclamation of the Archduchess of Austria, Maria Elizabeth, to the Inhabitants of Tyrol.

Dearly and much beloved Subjects,
THE desire you have manifested to take up arms for the good of sove-

sovereigns; and the defence of your country, has often compelled me to shed tears of gratitude. I am unable to recompense, as I wish, the brave men who devote themselves in a cause so loyal; but as an inhabitant of Tyrol I will, for the benefit of the defenders of the country, dispose of every thing superfluous; gold and silver watches, knives, medals, plate, &c. which I will distribute myself after the war, as acknowledgments to those brave Tyrolians who shall distinguish themselves by their courage and brilliant actions. I entreat all the brave defenders of the country to believe, that they shall ever be the objects of my most anxious solicitude, and that I will not neglect to make known to the emperor, my dear relation, the services they shall have rendered, for the purpose of obtaining from him the rewards they may deserve.

(Signed) MARIE ELIZABETH.

*Done at our Court, at Inspruck,
the 30th of May, 1796.*

A Proclamation by His Imperial Majesty.

WE FRANCIS II. &c. &c.

IN the present moment, when a coincidence of the most unexpected events favours the rapid progress of the enemy, and calls for our redoubled care to afford assistance to our states menaced in this manner, we find this our resolution strengthened, by considering that Providence has put us at the head of a nation, which has given us on every occasion, the most effectual proofs of the greatness of their zeal to support the measures taken for the defence of their country, of their laws, which render them happy, and of a prince

who returns to their fidelity a love for every individual.

Though fear, and perhaps, intentional reports, magnify the danger more than it in reality is, and present it as nearer at hand, we must not conceal from our faithful subjects that the situation of affairs is pressing, and does not allow us to remain satisfied with ordinary measures, but imposes on us, and all those who wish to see the welfare of the state secure, more than extraordinary exertions.

Much as the long duration of a war, carried on under many changes of fortune, has affected the powers of the nation, yet the resources of so powerful a state are far from being exhausted. Though government continues to refrain with abhorrence from the violent measures which our enemies employ for the oppression of our fellow-citizens and the destruction of Europe; countries so well populated, so fertile, and enriched by nature and industry, still offer innumerable means of defence, by employing which we would find ourselves enabled to meet every danger. But we trust in the justice of our cause, and in the protection of the Almighty, who regards that justice, that the moment will not arrive in which the nation will be forced to have recourse to the most extraordinary means.

In this persuasion, we shall always confine ourselves only to the measure of calling to arms those who are otherwise, agreeably to the military system, exempted from military service; including also all foreigners, who have not acquired the rights of citizenship in the Austrian dominions by residing in them for ten years.

At the same time we promise to all those who shall willingly follow this our call, and who shall offer to their municipalities to serve in the army,

1. That as soon as ever we shall have secured to the nation, agreeably to our wish and desire an honourable and permanent peace, they shall be dismissed at the termination of the war.

2. That during the war they shall be treated as volunteers.

3. That they shall be at liberty, agreeably to their abilities and capacity, to chuse and name the regiment in which they wish to serve; and that,

4. As a just recompense on their return home, every possible assistance shall be given to them in their employments and settling; and that, on all occasions, they shall be preferred.

Though we can promise ourselves the principal operation of this proclamation, from the unequivocal sentiments of our faithful subjects, yet we think it our duty to impress upon their minds, that in following willingly this honourable call of their country, they likewise protect their families and private property; and that, if on the contrary they should neglect to join us for the general security, they would be forced in case of unfortunate events, to carry parricidal arms against their native land, and, as abused organs of the enemy, to promote the ruin of public order, the destruction of their fellow citizens, and of their families, and to assist in the common destruction.

Behold the still smouldering ruins of Italy, and the excesses and most inhuman cruelties committed

there! Behold the devastations which the once flourishing territories of Germany have suffered, undated by the armies of the enemy! And you cannot remain dubious about the terrible fate which threatens every country, and every nation, on being invaded by such enemies.

Done at Vienna, 11th August, 1796.

Proclamation by his Imperial Majesty

WE Francis II. by the grace of God, &c. &c. When we assumed the government of this monarchy, we felt it extremely grievous to find ourselves involved in so hard a war as the present: great as our grief was, equally great was our wish of procuring a speedy and lasting peace to the country. Every body must be convinced, that all the powers and means possible to men, have hitherto been used for that purpose; and it is highly painful for us, that our paternal solicitude, added to so many patriotic contributions of our faithful subjects, and the valour of our troops, so repeatedly proved, could not, as yet, bring it so far as to effect a peace, honourable and not injurious to the monarchy—nay, that it rather seems to be our peculiar destiny, to be obliged, to our continual mortification, to behold the enemy constantly approach nearer to our German hereditary dominions, and especially to the frontiers of our beloved kingdom of Bohemia. In order, therefore, to protect this kingdom, in the safest and most perfect manner, from all hostile attacks, and it being, in other respects, no longer possible to conquer solely with the army now existing, and to keep from off the frontiers

frontiers of our kingdom of Bohemia an enemy like the present, who, from day to day, arms the major part of their nation, and leads them against us;—we caused several plans to be laid before us, having for their tendency the particular security of the said kingdom of Bohemia; and though we discover in every part of them patriotic benevolence—yet we thought proper to give the preference and our approbation to the establishment of a national militia, particularly from the consideration of its combining with the defence of the country, effectual and ready for every emergency, all possible indulgence to the inhabitants. We do hereby ordain;—

1. That the measure of a national militia, for the particular defence of the kingdom of Bohemia, be immediately put in force, and that for this purpose every 20th head be enrolled out of the population of the whole country.

2. That the men thus enrolled be immediately trained in the use of arms, and in every branch of the service for which they are destined, and to which end the staff of the Bohemian general officers shall appoint the commissioned and non-commissioned officers.

3. In order that the men, during such exercise, may be kept as near as possible to their places of residence, the places of rendezvous shall be marked out in such a manner, in the different circles, that each person enlisted shall only have to repair to some place little distant from his own abode.

4. The men enlisted shall, during their absence from home on account of their being exercised, receive the same treatment as the soldiers actually serving in the field.

5. Should there be any occasion for calling any of the men thus kept in readiness into active service, they are to repair to the rendezvous pointed out to them, there to wait the farther orders of their commanders.

6. Their sole destination is to cover the frontiers of the country, or to be employed within its limits; but they are by no means to serve against the enemy abroad.

7. We will not only grant to those men, as long as they shall continue under arms, full pay and provisions in the same manner as the troops serving in the field, but we also order,

8. That to those who shall distinguish themselves by their valour on proper occasions, silver and gold medals shall be granted, in the same manner as to the real soldiers, and they shall every where wear them, as honourable marks of services rendered to their country, and enjoy at the same time the annual pension during life.

9. All those who shall serve in this militia, shall be for ever after considered as peculiarly meritorious, and where equity will permit, all due preference shall be given, and every possible indulgence shewn to them.

We rely, therefore, on the tried fidelity of all our Bohemian subjects, and on that love of their country so particularly their own, that they will voluntarily and readily submit to these our orders, and that every individual, whether high or low, will use his utmost exertions, in conjunction with those of his king, to defend the kingdom from every hostile invasion; the more so, as the present moment is most dangerous to the religion and property

property of every citizen in this kingdom; and as the welfare of every one of them requires that he should help, with all his strength, to defend his family and the country, we also place the greatest dependence on the patriotic zeal and readiness of our Bohemian subjects in this measure of defence, since, as it has been stated already, the term of service is but of short duration, and only necessary in the present emergency, both to defend the country, and to protect their own property, wives and children, and since by so doing, they will not only have the promised reward, but likewise render themselves worthy of the reputation of faithful subjects and real friends to their country, besides gaining, in addition, the esteem, the love, and grace of their king for ever.

Dine at Vienna, August 21, 1796.

Proclamation of the Emperor.

BY the increasing and urgent necessity of prosecuting this expensive war with vigour, his majesty the emperor sees himself constrained to demand extraordinary support from his subjects, in order not only to keep off an all-desolating enemy from his frontiers, but also to obtain by force a peace so long desired in vain. But his Imperial majesty constantly directing his thoughts towards treating his beloved subjects with all possible lenity, and choosing always such means as are the least burdensome, expects that every good subject, equally convinced of his duty, and of the pressing exigencies of the state, will strive to alleviate those wants by contributions, voluntary and proportionate to their means, in money, grain, horses, oxen, com-

mon clothes, linen, leather, iron, steel, lead, and arms.

Vienna, 18th September.

Rescript addressed to the Duke of Wirtemberg, on the 10th of July, by the Imperial Court, on the Subject of Peace.

We received the letter you wrote us upon the 23d of last month. You there present your good advice with a respectful frankness. You observe that it only depends upon us to secure the happiness and the safety of Germany; that a speedy peace can alone dissipate the violent storm which impends over the country; that this alone can remove the dangers which in so many ways threaten the Germanic constitution; in fine, that this alone can put a period to those unparalleled miseries under which humanity so long has groaned. At the same time you acquaint us, that if in these difficult circumstances the danger approaches still nearer your states, you will have no resource but to submit to the law of necessity, and to make a separate peace with France.

The empire, in truth, desires with ardour, and has long entertained this wish, the return of peace, but connected with the just feeling of its honour, its dignity, its independence. In this wish it only comprehends a peace, equitable, just, suitable, and worthy to be accepted, which rests upon the solid basis of the perfect support of its integrity and its constitution, agreeable to ancient treaties. At the same time, by a proper respect for these fundamental laws, it has never ceased to render its wishes and its resolutions upon this subject subordinate to the rigorous condition,

tion, that peace so ardently desired should not be concluded, but agreeably to the constitution, in a most perfect and invariable concert between the emperor and the states.

The resolutions of the diet of the 22d of December, 1794, and of July last year, become laws of the empire in virtue of our Imperial functions, very pointedly attest this reserve; and the same spirit serves as a foundation to the full powers and authorities for peace, which have been submitted for our acceptance, in virtue of the resolution of the diet of the 7th of October, 1795, as well as for the annexed instructions to the deputies of the empire at the congress for peace; instructions which essentially proceed upon the re-establishment of peace, just, honourable, stable, permanent, and common to the whole empire, and which have pointedly and expressly as their object the maintenance of the empire upon the footing on which it stood before the misunderstandings which arose with France, under the special recommendation to observe ancient treaties.

After having thus expressed, in a manner equally constitutional and agreeable to the interests of the Germanic empire, its sentiments with regard to the re-establishment of peace, the general diet, full of respectful confidence in our paternal solicitude for the common advantage of Germany, entreated us to negotiate, as well in our own name as in that of the Germanic body, the preliminaries of peace. We were very well disposed to act agreeably to these desires; but the sequel proved that the *sai disant* committee of public safety, by which

the foreign affairs of France then were governed, had very different views from coming to an amicable understanding with the empire, for the purpose of putting an end to a war into which the empire had been forced, and thus to reconcile themselves with suffering humanity by sacrificing to peace their passion of conquest.

All Germany has seen the answer of the committee of public safety, the contents of which were ordered to be published by our decree of the 19th of November last. This piece contains the most manifest proofs of the decided repugnance of France to listen to the pacific overtures desired by the empire, and of the clear determination of this power not to engage in immediate negotiations, till finding herself in a situation imperiously to dictate the conditions of peace to the empire, she could, to the eternal shame of the German name, leave her no other part in this measure but a passive subscription of the treaty. The empire being thus convinced of the refusal of the French government to make a suitable return to the overtures which had been made, it had no other resource left but that foreseen by the resolution of the 22d of December, 1794, to assume an attitude which should oblige the enemy to grant that peace desired by the head and by the members of the Germanic body under the conditions announced in the resolutions of the diet.

The directory, however, which has succeeded the committee of public safety in the management of foreign affairs, has not adopted more moderate sentiments. We find; on the contrary, in all their actions,

actions, and all the public papers which they have issued, the marks of the inflexible obstinacy of a conqueror inflamed with pride by the fortune of his arms. Upon this point we refer to the note addressed by the French ambassador to the plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty, upon the 26th of May, this year. We remark, with regret, in this note, how much the spirit in which it is drawn up, the nature and extent of the demands which it contains, and the manner in which they are announced, are remote from a reciprocal desire of peace. We are not mistaken even in considering this very note as a new proof of the aversion of the French government to enter into negotiations with the empire united under its constitutional head, since, in effect, if we compare that note with the above-mentioned answer of the committee of public safety, we find that both absolutely announce the same political maxims; to which we must likewise add, that the note of the directory demands, as an invariable preliminary of peace, a *status quo* relatively to the countries conquered by the enemy, and united in virtue of its decree, which cannot in any way be reconciled with the basis of peace laid down by the diet.

To divide, to conquer, and to rule, is the spirit of the egotist policy of France. But every division infers a diminution of strength in the measures of resistance of the whole, and which must necessarily lead to the dismemberment, to the devastation, to the dependance, to the subjection, and, in fine, more or less rapidly, to the decomposition of our respectable constitution. Concord, on the contrary, firmness;

the love of our country, and the faithful observance of the laws, are the first duties of society; the dearest and more sacred duties of every vassal of the empire, when our common country is menaced, is the most eminent and essential object of all political societies, its safety and preservation. Such is the object of the fundamental constitution of the German empire, which renders all the individual means of resistance possessed by the states of the empire subordinate to the direction of one supreme authority, and prohibits in the most forcible manner the conclusion of a separate peace during a general war of the empire. But, independently of this consideration, it is not less certain that it is to act against all experience to reckon upon the very rare instance of the generosity of the enemy, and to expect only, from the magnanimity and love of justice, a peace that can be accepted, instead of constraining them to grant it by force of arms. In fine, we find a manifest contradiction in not ceasing to desire an object, and yet failing to proportion the means by which it is to be attained to the magnitude of the dangers interposed. The example of the invincible constancy and vigour with which the enemy exert themselves to execute their plans, ought to afford to the citizens of Germany a sufficient motive of emulation to excite them to the most obstinate resistance, and to the defence of their political and religious constitution.

After this faithful disclosure of circumstances, we put it to your judgment to decide, whether, however much we are disposed to restore peace to the empire, as soon as it can be established on an honourable

nourable and solid basis, it depends entirely upon us to grant this blessing to Germany; whether it consists with our authority as chief of the empire, to sanction a peace upon whatever terms, separately concluded with the enemy of the empire? In fine, whether at a moment when we have to choose between the dismemberment and the union of the empire, between the dissolution and the establishment of the constitution, between honour and shame, whether, in this critical situation, we are not rather warranted to require, in the name of the country and the constitution, in the name of all the states which have been pillaged and laid waste, in virtue of oaths still subsisting, and promises frequently and solemnly renewed by the electors, princes, and states of the empire; in fine, by our own example and the sacrifices which we have made for the public interest, whether, we say, we are not warranted justly to require the undivided co-operation of all and every of the states of the empire in the defence of a cause so just, and for accelerating that peace which is so earnestly desired by the Germanic states?

If a difference of sentiment manifested in your letter of the end of last month was the cause to us of considerable anxiety, it was not long before our tranquillity was restored, by the news that when the dangers of war approached your states, you did not allow yourself to be betrayed by fear, nor by the dictates of a deceitful policy, into any unconstitutional measures; but that, on the contrary, animated by sentiments of honour, and by a courage worthy of a German prince, you opposed the danger with which you

were threatened with the most effectual means of resistance, both by sending against the common enemy a great part of the garrison of Stuttgart and Louisburg, and by giving instant orders to put the militia of Wirtemberg immediately in motion, who made a body of 12,000 men, in general well disciplined. Accept upon this subject the assurances of our Imperial satisfaction and sincere regard. These dispositions, so worthy of you, inspire us with the confidence that no consideration will shake your sentiments, and that weighing conscientiously the duties which, as a state of the empire, you have to discharge to us and to the law, you will persist in your patriotic resolution to continue, till the re-establishment of a general peace for the empire, to support the common cause with all your force. By these means you will not only render essential service to Germany, but to the immortal honour of your house: you will deserve to have your name enrolled in the annals of Germany among those princes who have most contributed to its lustre.

Resolution presented to the Emperor by the States of Hungary, in Answer to his Majesty's Propositions.

THE propositions addressed on the part of his Apostolic majesty to the states, furnishes them a fresh proof of the confidence which his majesty always reposed in the unshaken fidelity of his faithful Hungarian nation, in deigning to recollect and confirm the bravery which their ancestors have always displayed in support of the august house of Austria: his majesty has given a farther testimony of his paternal confidence, in represent-

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ing to the grandees and the states in diet assembled, the magnitude of the danger of the present war, in which a destructive enemy threatens the hereditary kingdoms and provinces; the states, therefore, animated with the example of their ancestors, have resolved fully to realize the expectation not only of the hereditary dominions, but of all Europe. The states, wishing to follow the footsteps of their ancestors, will neglect no means in their power to avert all future danger, and to compel the enemy to make a peace suitable to the dignity of his majesty, and to the honour of the nation.

It is very flattering to the states that his majesty deigned not to question their devotion and fidelity, when they have not long ago given assurances at the foot of the throne, where they made oath to sacrifice their blood and their lives for his majesty and the country. The same valour which inspired their ancestors in 1741 still lives in them, and with them alone it can ever perish. For the purpose of accomplishing the desires of his majesty, and to guarantee religion, the royal prerogative, as well as the rights of the nobility, and of all other fellow-citizens; rights which the enemy endeavours to destroy; the states have resolved to offer to his majesty, as a voluntary contribution for the prosecution of the war, 50,000 recruits, all the necessary grain for the subsistence of a force of 340,000 men during a twelvemonth, which forms a total of 2,400,000 measures of Presburg, and for 80,000 horses 3,760,000 measures of oats; farther, 20,000 oxen, and 10,000 horses; the whole, however, with-

out infringement of article 36, of the year 1741.

The states hope that that audacious enemy, who has lately been repulsed far beyond our frontiers by the victorious armies under the command of his royal highness the Archduke Charles, will ultimately return to more moderate principles. Should the contrary happen, and the enemy persist in their exaggerated and obstinate pretensions, and wish to continue the war, the states are well resolved to take the field themselves to combat that enemy: and in this case they offer from this moment to prepare for rising in a mass for the future the whole kingdom, and all its provinces comprised.

The states conclude by supplicating his majesty to be pleased to accept this offer, which has for its object the defence of his sacred person, of his august house, and of the citizens of the empire in general, with that paternal bounty which characterizes him; and that he be assured that the heart of the Hungarians is the safest bulwark against every enemy of the house of Austria.

Substance of the Correspondence between the Cabinet of Berlin and the Court of Vienna, respecting the Line of Demarcation established between his Prussian Majesty and the French Republic.

AN official note, transmitted by M. the marquis Lucchesini to the minister of his Imperial majesty, acquainted the court of Vienna with "the intention of the court of Berlin to obtain from his Imperial majesty his approbation of measures adopted for the security of that part of Germany, by means of

of an armed neutrality, announcing to him, at the same time, that the security of these countries was the motive in which the measures referred to had originated.

Substance of the Reply made to the above Note by the Court of Vienna.

HIS Imperial majesty, as supreme head of the empire, cannot doubt that the states are obliged to concur in a war, rendered necessary from the pressure of circumstances, and formally declared *with all their force*, for the common defence. This obligation is derived from the principle of individual and general security, which is the most sacred and the most essential basis of every constitution. It is in a particular manner blended with the substance of the Germanic constitution, and is recognized by several of its laws in the most positive terms.

Such is the result dictated by the spirit of our constitution, which subjects all the respective states, and all the means of defence, to the general controul of the sovereign power of the Germanic empire. Such is the result of the oath of fealty, which the electors, princes, and states of the empire, in order to strengthen the social bond, take in their capacity of vassals, by which they swear, actively to concur in every step which can tend to the honour, to the advantage, and to the prosperity of his Imperial majesty and of the empire, and which, by consequence, imposes upon them an obligation to second, with all their might, the measures adopted by the chief and the states of the empire, to avert the danger which threatens them with total destruction.

His Imperial majesty sees with pain, that the appearances of the war by no means answer the expectation which he had been led to entertain; but in considering the fundamental laws of every well organized constitution, and the principles recognized in the most positive terms in the laws of the empire, full of anxiety for the good of the country, his majesty cannot refrain from manifesting a desire that the corps, assembled at a crisis the most alarming and the most dangerous, may be employed rather in aiding a most just defence, by opposing the common enemy, than in stopping an invasion still at a distance, and of which we apprehend only the possibility.

These measures of security, considered in themselves, do not appear to be contrary to the basis and the spirit of the constitution, provided that the arrangements, for the safety and the particular defence of the north of Germany, are not founded upon illegal impositions, and provided they are not employed to sanction the unconstitutional pretext of freeing them from the obligations binding upon them by the register of the resolutions of the empire, decreed for the purpose of the general security of Germany.

If his Imperial majesty on the present occasion were to grant to this measure of security, as it is termed in the circular letter of the Prussian minister, in the letters of convocation, and in the declarations of the plenipotentiaries of the king, an unlimited approbation, all who should compare it with the tenor of the decree of ratification of the 29th of July, 1795; would accuse him of adopting contradic-

tory measures, and of making an arbitrary use of his power as head of the empire, since the laws renewed in the present war forbid the states to separate, on any occasion, from the general association, and any armament, under the title of an armed neutrality, during the continuance of a war of the empire, and interdict them in the most positive manner from arbitrarily renouncing obligations formerly imposed upon them for the common defence.

His Imperial majesty, in virtue of the sacred duties imposed upon him by his high office as supreme head of the empire, on the other hand, being called upon to defend the rights of the Germanic constitution against every step and every principle incompatible with their safety, to preserve to the empire, and to every particular state, its immunities entire, and to guard them against the prejudices which may arise from these measures, will be disposed in the mean time to grant them his approbation, if they are confined to the legal defence of the countries, and if they do not depart from the principles, the forms, and the obligations, prescribed by the laws and the constitution.

Message of the President of the United States of America to Congress, Jan. 4, 1796.

Gentlemen of the Senate, and of the House of Representatives,

A LETTER from the minister plenipotentiary of the French republic, received on the 22d of last month, covered an address, dated the 21st of October, 1795, from the

committee of public safety, to the representatives of the United States in congress; and also informed me, that he was instructed by the committee to present to the United States the colours of France; I therefore proposed to receive them last Friday, the first day of the new year, a day of general joy and congratulation. On that day the minister of the French republic delivered the colours, with an address, to which I returned an answer.

By the latter the house will see that I have informed the minister, that the colours will be deposited with the archives of the United States. But it seemed to me proper to exhibit to the two houses of congress, these evidences of the continued friendship of the French republic, together with the sentiments expressed by me on the occasion, in behalf of the United States. They are herewith communicated.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.
United States, Jan. 4, 1796.

Answer of General Washington to a Resolution passed by the House of Representatives which had for its Object to procure a Copy of the Instructions granted to Mr. Jay, relative to the Treaty with Great Britain.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

WITH the utmost attention I have considered your resolution of the 24th instant, requesting me to lay before your house a copy of the instructions to the minister of the United States, who negotiated the treaty with the King of Great Britain, together with the correspondence and other documents relative

lative to that treaty, excepting such of the said papers as any existing negotiation may render improper to be disclosed.

In deliberating on this subject, it was impossible for me to lose sight of the principle which some have avowed in its discussion, or to avoid extending my views to the consequences which must flow from the admission of that principle.

I trust that no part of my conduct has ever indicated a disposition to withhold any information which the constitution has enjoined upon the president as a duty to give, or which could be required of him by either house of congress, as a right; and with truth I affirm, that it has been, as it will continue to be while I have the honour to preside in the government, my constant endeavour to harmonize with the other branches thereof, so far as the trust delegated to me by the people of the United States, and my sense of the obligation it imposes, to 'preserve, protect, and defend the constitution,' will permit.

The nature of foreign negotiations requires caution; and their successes must often depend on secrecy, and even when brought to a conclusion, a full disclosure of all the measures, demands, or eventual concessions which may have been proposed or contemplated, would be extremely impolitic; for this might have a pernicious influence on future negotiations, or produce immediate inconveniences; perhaps danger and mischief, in relation to other powers. The necessity of such caution and secrecy was one cogent

reason for vesting the power of making treaties in the president, with the advice and consent of the senate; the principle on which that body was formed confining it to a small number of members. To admit, then, a right in the house of representatives to demand, and to have as a matter of course, all the papers respecting a negotiation with a foreign power, would be to establish a dangerous precedent.

It does not occur that the inspection of the papers asked for can be relative to any purpose under cognizance of the house of representatives, except that of an impeachment, which the resolution has not expressed. I repeat, that I have no disposition to withhold any information which the duty of my station will permit, or the public good shall require to be disclosed; and, in fact, all the papers affecting the negotiation with Great Britain were laid before the senate, when the treaty itself was communicated for their consideration and advice.

The course which the debate has taken on the resolution of the house, leads to some observations on the mode of making treaties under the constitution of the United States.

Having been a member of the general convention, and knowing the principles on which the constitution was formed, I have never entertained but one opinion on this subject; and from the first establishment of the government to this moment, my conduct has exemplified that opinion, that the power of making treaties is exclusively vested in the president, by

and with the advice of the senate, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur; and that every treaty so made and promulgated, thenceforward becomes the law of the land. It is thus that the treaty-making power has been understood by foreign nations; and in all treaties made with them we have declared, and they have believed, that when ratified by the president, with the advice and consent of the senate, they became obligatory. In this construction of the constitution, every house of representatives has heretofore acquiesced; and until the present time, not a doubt or suspicion has appeared to my knowledge, that this construction was not a true one. Nay, they have more than acquiesced; for until now, without controverting the obligation of such treaties, they have made all the requisite provisions for carrying them into effect.

There is also reason to believe that this construction agrees with the opinions entertained by the state conventions, when they were deliberating on the constitution, especially by those who objected to it, because there was not required in commercial treaties the consent of two-thirds of the whole senate, instead of two-thirds of the senators present; and because in treaties respecting territorial and certain other rights and claims, the concurrence of three-fourths of the whole number of the members of both houses respectively was not made necessary.

It is a fact declared by the general convention, and universally understood, that the constitution of the United States was the result of

a spirit of amity and mutual concession. And it is well known, that under this influence the smaller states were admitted to an equal representation in the senate with the larger states; and that this branch of the government was invested with great powers, for on the equal participation of those powers the sovereignty and political safety of the smaller states were deemed essentially to depend.

If other proofs than these, and the plain letter of the constitution itself, be necessary to ascertain the point under consideration, they may be found in the journals of the general convention, which I have deposited in the office of the department of state. In those journals it will appear that a proposition was made, "that no treaty should be binding on the United States which was not ratified by a law," and that the proposition was explicitly rejected.

As, therefore, it is perfectly clear to my understanding, that the assent of the house of representatives is not necessary to the validity of a treaty, as a treaty with Great Britain exhibits in itself all the objects requiring legislative provision, and on which these papers called for can throw no light; and as it is essential to the due administration of the government, that the boundaries fixed by the constitution between the different departments should be preserved—a just regard to the constitution, and to the duty of my office, under all the circumstances of this case, forbid a compliance with your request.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

United States, March 30, 1796.

Address

Address of General Washington on his retiring from the Office of President of the United States of America.

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

Friends and Fellow Citizens,

THE period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country, and that, in withdrawing the tender of service, which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been an uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power,

consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to my last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust I will only say, that I have, with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and administration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious in the outset of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary; I

have the consolation to believe, that while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment, which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country; for the many honours it has conferred upon me: still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. It benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead, amidst appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging, in situations in which not unfrequently want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism, the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows, that heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence, that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual; that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained; that its administration in every de-

partment may be stamped with wisdom and virtue; that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these states, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation, and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But solicitude for your welfare, which cannot but end with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments, which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your heart, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government, which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquillity at home,

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your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee, that from different causes, and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your mind the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it, accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned: and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of any attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together its various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of American, which belongs to you, in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have in a

common cause fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint councils and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings, and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The north, in an unrestrained intercourse with the south, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The south, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the agency of the north, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand; turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the north, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and while it contributes in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted. The east, in a like intercourse with the west, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communication by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The west derives from the east supplies requisite to its growth and comfort;

and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as one nation. Any other tenure by which the west can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connexion with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While every part of our country feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find, in the united mass of means and efforts, greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations, and what is of inestimable value! they must derive from union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighbouring countries, not tied together by the same government; which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments and intrigues, would stimulate and embitter. Hence, likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown establishments, which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty; in this sense it is that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibits the continuance of the union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculations in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. 'Tis well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those, who in any quarter may endeavour to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our union, it occurs as a matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterising parties by geographical discriminations, northern and southern, Atlantic and western; whence designing men may endeavour to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence, within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have

have lately had an useful lesson on this head; they have seen, in the negotiation by the executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the senate of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at the event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the general government, and in the Atlantic states, unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi: they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain, and that with Spain, which secure to them every thing they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the union by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren, and connect with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parties, can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a constitution of government better calculated than your former for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation, and mature deliberation, com-

pletely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government; but the constitution, which at any time exists, until changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government, presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, controul, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force—to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation the will of a party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans, digested by common councils, and modified by mutual interests.

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However combinations or associations of the above description may, now and then, answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying afterwards the very enemies which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also, that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments as of other human institutions—that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country—that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as our's, a government of as much vigour as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a go-

vernment, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of persons and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with the particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its roots in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controuled, or oppressed; but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness, and it is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate dominion of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissention, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a most horrid despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and, sooner or later, the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation,

zation, on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight) the common and continued mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient, to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another, foment occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion, that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This within certain limits is probably true; and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favour, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effect ought to be, by force of public opinion to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched: it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame,

lest, instead of warming; it should consume.

It is important likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution in those entrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern; some of them in our country, and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly over-balance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labour to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connection with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation *desert* the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

It is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserv-

ing it is to use as sparingly as possible; avoiding occasions of expence by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger, frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expence, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belong to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be a revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue, which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations, cultivate peace and harmony with all; religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and at no great distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by

an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that in the course of time and things the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be, that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtues? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that the permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill-will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts, through passion, what reason would reject; at other times it makes the animosity of the nation sub-

servient to projects of hostility, instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes, perhaps, the liberty of nations, has been the victim.

So, likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favourite nation, facilitating the infusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favourite nation, of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions; by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained; and by exciting jealousy, ill-will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld: and it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens; (who devote themselves to the favourite nation) facility to betray, or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As the avenues to foreign influence are in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many oppor-

opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practise the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils? Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great or powerful nation, dooms the former to be a satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake; since history and experience prove, that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of a republican government. But that jealousy to be useful must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favourites, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little *political* connexion as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith.—Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which

are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humour, or caprice?

'Tis our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances, with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me be not understood as capable of patronising infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public, than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed, in their genuine sense.

But

But in my opinion, it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them. Taking care always to keep yourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favours or preferences, consulting the natural course of things: diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing, with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a staple course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them; conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favours from another: that it must pay with a proportion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that, by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favours, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favours from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure; which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my country-

men, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish: that they will controul the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations. But if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostors of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude of your welfare, by which they have been dictated.

How far in the discharge of my official duties I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approved voice, and by that of your representatives in both houses of congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest to take a neutral position,

position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perseverance and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe, that according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me a predominant motive has been to endeavour to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress without interruption, to that degree of strength and consistency, which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though in reviewing the incidents of administration I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects, not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that after forty-

five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations, I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat, in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow citizens, the benign influence of good laws, under a free government, the ever favourite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust of our mutual cares, labours, and dangers.

G. WASHINGTON.
United States, Sept. 17, 1796.

Note from the French Envoy, Citizen Adet, to the Executive Government of America.

THE undersigned minister plenipotentiary of the French republic, in conformity to the order of his government, has the honour of transmitting to the secretary of state of the United States, a resolution taken by the executive government of the French republic, on the 14th Messidor, 4th year, relative to the conduct which the ships of war of the republic are to hold towards neutral vessels. The flag of the republic will treat the flag of neutrals in the same manner as they shall suffer it to be treated by the English.

The sentiments which the American government have manifested to the undersigned minister plenipotentiary,

potentiary, do not permit him to doubt, that they will see in its true light this measure, as far as it may concern the United States; and that they will also feel, that it is dictated by imperious circumstances, and approved by justice.

Great Britain during the war she has carried on against the republic; has not ceased using every means in her power to add to that scourge, scourges still more terrible. She has used the well-known liberality of the French nation to the detriment of that nation. Knowing how faithful France has always been in the observance of her treaties; knowing that it was a principle of the republic to respect the flags of all nations, the British government, from the beginning of the war, has caused neutral vessels, and in particular American vessels, to be detained, taking them into their ports, and dragged from them Frenchmen and French property. France bound by a treaty with the United States, could find only a real disadvantage in the articles of that treaty, which caused to be respected as American property English property found on board American vessels. They had a right, under this consideration, to expect that America would take steps in favour of her violated neutrality. One of the predecessors of the undersigned, in July 1793, applied on this subject to the government of the United States; but he was not successful. Nevertheless the national convention, who, by their decree of the 9th of May, 1793, had ordered the seizure of enemy's property on board neutral vessels, declaring, at the same time, that the measure should cease when the English should respect neutral flags, had excepted, on

the 23d of the same month, the Americans from the operation of this general order. But the convention was obliged soon to repeal the law which contained this exception so favourable to Americans; the manner in which the English conducted themselves, the manifest intention they had to stop the exportation of provision from America to France, rendered it unavoidable.

The national convention by this had restored the equilibrium of neutrality which England had destroyed; had discharged their duty in a manner justified by a thousand past examples, as well as by the necessity of the then existing moment. They might, therefore, to recall the orders they had given to seize the enemy's property on board American vessels, have waited till the British government had first definitively revoked the same order, a suspension only of which was produced by the embargo laid by Congress the 26th of March, 1794. But as soon as they were informed that, under orders of the government of the United States, Mr. Jay was directed to remonstrate against the vexatious measures of the English, they gave orders, by the law of the 13th Nivose, 3d year, to the ships of war of the republic to respect American vessels; and the committee of public safety, in their explanatory resolve of the 14th of the same month, hastened to sanction the same principles. The national convention and the committee of public safety had every reason to believe, that this open and liberal conduct would determine the United States to use every effort to put a stop to the vexations imposed upon their commerce, to the injury of the French republic;

republic; they were deceived in this hope; and though the treaty of friendship, navigation, and commerce, between Great Britain and the United States had been signed six weeks before France adopted the measure I have just spoken of, the English did not abandon the plan they had formed, and continued to stop and carry into their ports all American vessels bound to French ports, or returning from them.

This conduct was the subject of a note which the undersigned addressed on the 7th Vendemiaire, 4th year (29th September, 1795, O. S.) to the secretary of state. The remonstrances which it contained were founded on the duties of neutrality, upon the principles which Mr. Jefferson had laid down in his letter to Mr. Pinckney, dated the 13th September, 1794.

Yet this note has remained without an answer, though recalled to the remembrance of the secretary of state by a dispatch of the 9th Germinal, 4th year (29th March, 1796, O. S.); and American vessels bound to French ports, or returning from them, have still been seized by the English. Indeed more; they have added a new vexation to those they had already imposed upon the Americans; they have impressed seamen from on board American vessels, and have thus found the means of strengthening their crews at the expence of the Americans, without the government of the United States having made known to the undersigned the steps they had taken to obtain satisfaction for this violation of neutrality, so hurtful to the interests of France, as the undersigned hath set forth in his dis-

patches to the secretary of state of the 9th Germinal, 4th year (29th March, 1796, O. S.), 19th Germinal (8th April, 1796), and 1st Floreal (20th April, 1796), which have remained without an answer.

The French government then finds itself, with respect to America at the present time, in circumstances similar to those of the year 1795; and if it sees itself obliged to abandon, with respect to them, and the neutral powers in general, the favourable line of conduct they pursued, and to adopt different measures, the blame should fall upon the British government: it is their conduct which the French government has been obliged to follow.

The undersigned minister plenipotentiary conceives it his duty to remark to the secretary of state, that the neutral governments, or the allies of the republic, have nothing to fear as to the treatment of their flag by the French, since if keeping within the bounds of their neutrality, they cause the rights of that neutrality to be respected by the English, the republic will respect them. But if through weakness, partiality, or other motives, they should suffer the English to sport with that neutrality, and turn it to their advantage, could they then complain, when France, to restore the balance of neutrality to its equilibrium, shall act in the same manner as the English? No, certainly; for the neutrality of a nation consists in granting to belligerent powers the same advantages; and that neutrality no longer exists, when, in the course of the war, that neutral nation grants to one of the belligerent powers

powers advantages not stipulated by treaties anterior to the war, or suffers that power to seize upon them. The neutral government cannot then complain if the other belligerent power will enjoy advantages which its enemy enjoys, or if it seizes upon them; otherwise that neutral government would deviate, with respect to it; from the line of neutrality, and would become its enemy.

The undersigned minister plenipotentiary thinks it useless further to develop these principles. He does not doubt that the secretary of state feels all their force; and that the government of the United States will maintain from all violation a neutrality which France has always respected; and will always respect, when her enemies do not make it turn to her detriment.

The undersigned minister plenipotentiary embraces this opportunity of reiterating to the secretary of state the assurance of his esteem; and informs him; at the same time, that he will cause this note to be printed; in order to make publicly known the motives which, at the present juncture, influence the French republic.

Done at Philadelphia, 6th Brumaire, 5th year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.
(27th Oct. 1796, O. S.)
(Signed) P. A. ADER.

Reply of the Executive Government of America to Citizen Adet's Note, inclosing the Decree of the Directory respecting Neutral Vessels.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your note, of the 27th ult. covering a decree of the executive directory of the

French republic, concerning the commerce of neutral nations.

This decree makes no distinction between neutral powers, who can claim only the rights secured to them by the law of nations, and others between whom and the French republic treaties have imposed special obligations. Where no treaties exist, the republic, by seizing and confiscating the property of their enemies found on board neutral vessels, would only exercise an acknowledged right under the law of nations. If, towards such neutral nations, the French republic has forbore to execute this right, the forbearance has been perfectly gratuitous. The United States, by virtue of their treaty of commerce with France, stand on different ground.

In the year 1778, France voluntarily entered into a commercial treaty with us, on principles of perfect reciprocity, and expressly stipulating that *free ships should make free goods*. That is, if France should be at war with any nation with whom the United States should be at peace, the goods (except contraband), and the persons of her enemies (soldiers in actual service excepted) found on board the vessels of the United States, were to be free from capture. That, on the other hand, if the United States should engage in war with any nation, while France remained at peace, then the goods (except contraband), and the persons of our enemies (soldiers in actual service excepted) found on board French vessels, were also to be free from capture. This is plainly expressed in the 23d article of that treaty, and demonstrates that the reciprocity thereby stipulated

lated was to operate at *different periods*; that is, at one time in favour of one of the contracting parties, and of the other at another time. At the present time, the United States being at peace, they possess by the treaty the right of carrying the goods of the enemies of France, without subjecting them to capture. But what do the spirit of the decree of the executive directory and the current of your observations require?—That the United States should now gratuitously renounce this right. And what reason is assigned for denying to us the enjoyment of this right? Your own words furnish the answer: “France, bound by treaty to the United States, *could find only a real disadvantage* in the articles of that treaty, which caused to be respected, as American property, English property found on board American vessels.” This requisition, and the reason assigned to support it, alike excite surprize. The American government, Sir, conscious of the purity of its intentions, of its impartial observance of the laws of neutrality, and of its inviolable regard to treaties, cannot for a moment admit, that it has forfeited the right to claim a reciprocal observance of stipulations on the part of the French republic, whose friendship moreover it has every reason to cultivate with the most perfect sincerity. This right, formerly infringed by a decree of the national convention, was recognized anew by the repeal of that decree. Why it should be again questioned, we are at a loss to determine. We are ignorant of any new restraints on our commerce by the British government; on the contrary, we possess recent

official information, that *no new orders have been issued*.

The captures made by the British, of American vessels having French property on board, are warranted by the law of nations. The force and operation of this law was contemplated by France and the United States, when they formed their treaty of commerce, and their special stipulation on this point was meant as an exception to an universal rule; neither our weakness nor our strength have any choice, when the question concerns the observance of a known rule of the law of nations.

You are pleased to remark, that the conduct of Great Britain, in capturing vessels bound to and from French ports, had been the subject of a note, which on the 29th of September, 1795, was addressed to the secretary of state, but which remained without an answer. Very sufficient reasons may be assigned for the omission. The subject, in all its aspects, had been officially and publicly discussed, and the principles and ultimate measures of the United States, founded on their indisputable rights, were as publicly fixed. But if the subject had not, by the previous discussions, been already exhausted, can it be a matter of surprize that there should be a repugnance to answer a letter containing such insinuations as these?

“It must then be clear to every man, who will discard prejudices, love, hatred, and, in a word, all the passions which lead the judgment astray, that the French republic have a right to complain, if the American government suffered the English to interrupt the commercial relations which exist between

tween her and the United States; if by a *perfidious condescension* it permitted the English to violate a right which it ought, for its own *honour and interest*, to defend; if, under the cloak of neutrality, it presented to England a *poniard to cut the throat* of its faithful ally; if, in fine, partaking in the *tyrannical and homicidal rage of Great Britain*, it concurred to plunge the people of France into the horrors of *famine!*" For the sake of preserving harmony, silence was preferred to a comment upon these insinuations.

You are also pleased to refer to your letters of March and April last, relative to impresses of American seamen by British ships, and complain that the government of the United States had not made known to you the steps they had taken to obtain satisfaction. This, Sir, was a matter which concerned only that government. As an independent nation, we are not bound to render an account to any other of the measures we deemed proper for the protection of our own citizens; so long as there was not the slightest ground to suspect that the government ever acquiesced in any aggression.

But permit me to recur to the subject of the decree of the executive directory.

As before observed, we are officially informed that the British government have issued no new orders for capturing the vessels of the United States. We are also officially informed, that on the appearance of the notification of that decree, the minister of the United States at Paris applied for information, "Whether orders were issued for the seizure of neutral vessels,

and was informed, that no such order was issued, and further, that no such order would be issued, in case the British did not seize our vessels." This communication from the minister of the United States, at Paris, to their minister at London, was dated the 28th of August; but the decree of the directory bears date the 14th Messidor, answering to the 2d of July. These circumstances, together with some observations in your note, leave the American government in a state of uncertainty of the real intentions of the government in France. Allow me then to ask, whether, in the actual state of things, our commerce is considered as liable to suffer any new restrictions on the part of the French republic? Whether the restraints now exercised by the British government are considered as of a nature to justify a denial of those rights which are pledged to us by our treaty with your nation? Whether orders have been actually given to the ships of war of the French republic to capture the vessels of the United States? And what, if they exist, are the precise terms of those orders?

The questions, Sir, you will see, are highly interesting to the United States. It is with extreme concern that the government finds itself reduced to the necessity of asking an explanation of this nature; and if it shall be informed that a new line of conduct is to be adopted towards this country, on the ground of the decree referred to, its surprize will equal its regret, that principles should now be questioned, which, after repeated discussions, both here and in France, have been demonstrated to be founded, as we

conceive,

conceive, in the obligations of impartial neutrality, of stipulations by treaty, and of the law of nations. I hope, Sir, you will find it convenient by an early answer, to remove the suspense in which the government of the United States is now held on the question above stated.

I shall close this letter by one remark on the singularity of your causing the publication of your note. As it concerned the United States, it was properly addressed to its government, to which alone pertained the right of communicating it in such time and manner as it should think fit to the citizens of the United States.

I am, sir, with great respect,
your most obedient servant,

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

*United States, Philadelphia, Nov. 3.
To M. Adet, Minister Plenipotentiary
of the French Republic.*

*Substance of the memorial presented by
Citizen Adet to the American Secretary for Foreign Affairs, previous to his announcing that he was no longer to be considered as the Minister of the French Republic.*

THE minister of the French republic, through the whole of his note, speaks as acting under the express orders from the executive directory. After expressing the attachment of his government for the American people, he complains, in the name of the directory, of a violation on the part of our executive of the 17th article of the treaty of 1778. The first part of that article stipulates, that the French shall be at liberty to bring their prizes into our ports, without its being lawful for any of our officers to take cognizance of their validity.

In contempt of this stipulation, he states that several French prizes brought into our ports have been seized, tried, and restored to their original owners, with various degrees of delay, vexation, injustice, and injury. He complains, that the English were suffered to arm in our ports in various instances, and that the complaints of the agents of the French republic ever proved ineffectual in stopping them. Persons suspected of having assisted in arming French privateers were immediately thrown into prison, while those concerned in arming British vessels were never molested: the executive in these instances exhibiting an evident partiality for the English, and no regard for the maintenance of their neutrality. The second stipulation in article 17th, prohibits all English ships that shall have made French prizes from entering our ports. Our executive have, in their construction of this stipulation, confined its prohibitory effect to British vessels attempting to come in with their prizes. The minister protests, in the name of the directory, against the propriety of this construction. He considers it as an attempt to add to, not to explain, the article. Even on the supposition that the article is doubtful, he insists on the impropriety of an *ex parte* construction. He cites sundry examples of English ships of war having entered our ports, contrary to this stipulation, having made them convenient stations the better to annoy the French, and having, even contrary to the forced interpretation given to the 17th article by our executive, brought their prizes into our ports, and there refitted them to cruize against the French.

The

The minister next adverts to Jay's mission. He states, that France was deceived by the declarations of our executive when that business was set on foot; and that the directory considers the British treaty as depriving France of all the advantageous stipulations intended to be secured to her by the treaty of 1778, as tending to render the neutrality of America advantageous to England to the detriment of France. This treaty abandons the modern law of nations, which even England had sanctioned in eleven treaties, and we in every prior commercial treaty with European nations. It gives the English the facility of obtaining the transportation of naval stores and warlike implements whithersoever they please under the shelter of the American flag, while this facility is denied to France; and thus it changes, during the war, the respective footing of the belligerent powers with respect to us. The treaty, he further states, cuts off the supplies of provisions, which France looked for from this country, by stipulating that the British may in every situation seize our provision vessels bound to the ports of their enemies. In short, he considers it as a breach of our neutrality, unless the French be allowed to partake in the advantages it holds out to Great Britain. He also claims this participation in pursuance of the second article of the treaty of 1778, which grants the French all the advantages of commerce and navigation enjoyed by the more favoured nations. And in this point of view the orders to the French vessels of war to treat the American flag in every respect as we shall suffer it to be treated by the English, have been issued.

The minister proceeds to protest, in the name and by the orders of the executive directory, against the violation of the 17th article. He claims replevy of all seizures, and the annulling of all judicial acts with respect to the French prizes, and protests against all opposition to the sale of prizes. He protests against the violation of the same articles by our admitting into our ports British armed vessels, and against the interpretation put by our executive upon that article. He declares, that the directory considers our treaty with Britain as a violation of their treaty with us, and as equivalent to a treaty of alliance with that nation; and, in consequence, orders him to suspend his ministerial functions here. The directory declare, that they do not wish this measure to be considered in the light of a rupture, but as a mark of their sense of injury, which is to last until they can obtain satisfaction. They reiterate their expressions of friendship for the people, notwithstanding the wrongs of the executive.

The minister concludes by stating, that the French republic always had it at heart to cultivate harmony by a mutual interchange of good offices; but that our administration have as constantly endeavoured to break asunder the ties which connect the two nations. Early under the republic, the French colonies were opened to us; the ports of France also on the same footing as to their own vessels. When England violated the neutral flag, France, obliged to make use of reprisals, exempted from the measure the Americans; and though forced, for a while, much against their inclination, to withdraw the exemption,

exemption, they early renewed it.

While France was thus, even during the tempest of a revolution, treating the Americans with marked attention; what, asks the note, were the executive of the United States employed in? They were questioning whether they would acknowledge the republic and receive their ambassador; whether they should consider the treaty, the price of American liberty, as binding? whether the envoys from exiled and rebellious princes should be received; an ambiguous proclamation of neutrality was framed; French privateers were harassed; England was suffered to sport with our neutrality, and to cut up our commerce to the detriment of France; English ships of war were admitted in our ports; the advances of France for a renewal of the treaty of commerce were eluded under the most frivolous pretexts, while our executive courted the British, and solicited a treaty, by which, prostituting our neutrality, we sacrificed France to her enemies; and this whilst a review of late events, whilst every object around still reminds us of the tyranny of Britain, and the generous assistance of France.

The note concludes by calling on Americans to remember, that, if generous minds are alive to injuries, they can forgive; and that the French, when they are treated as friends, will still be found faithful friends and generous allies.

The Minister Plenipotentiary of the French Republic with the United States of America, to the French Citizens who reside or travel in the United States.

CITIZENS,

FROM the dawn of our revolution, the tri-coloured cockade has been the rallying point of those energetic men, whose generous efforts gave the first blow to arbitrary power. At their call, the French nation, bent for centuries under the yoke, shook off that long drowsiness; twenty-four millions of men adopted that august symbol; they exclaimed, "*We shall be free*," and all opposition was defeated, and the throne tumbled down in the dust, and all Europe armed against them, has been vanquished.

The republic decorates all her citizens with those national colours, the sacred symbol of liberty which they have won.

Frenchmen who are absent from their native land ought not, amidst nations allied with theirs, to lay aside the distinctive mark which, by making them known, secures to them the protection and reciprocal respect guaranteed by our treaties with those nations.

Those who, from a guilty indifference, should slight the right, exempt themselves from that duty—those could lay no claim to that protection, they would renounce the support of the agents of the republic.

But, citizens, I am persuaded that at the call of the minister of the French republic, you will hasten to put on the symbol of a liberty, which is the fruit of eight years toils and privations and of five years victories.

Thus you will draw a line of demarcation between you and those contemptible beings, whose unfeeling hearts are callous to the sacred name of native land, to the noble pride with which the freeman is animated

animated by the sense of his independence.

Thus, you will signalize those still more degraded beings, who, being sold to the enemies of the republic, drag from clime to clime a life overwhelmed with misery and contempt—wretches, whom history will not call to remembrance, except to perpetuate their disgrace.

The use of the French chances, the national protection will not be granted to any Frenchman but those who, perfectly sensible of the dignity attached to the title of citizen, shall take a pride in wearing constantly the tri-coloured cockade. The executive directory of the French republic have pronounced thus. Being the organ of their decisions, I communicate them with pleasure to my fellow-citizens. As for those who, although Frenchmen born, have ceased to be Frenchmen, I do not speak to them; the public voice will inform them of their exclusion.

Done at Philadelphia, the 12th Brumaire, the fifth year of the French republic, one and indivisible.

(Signed). P. A. ADET.
Philadelphia, Nov. 7.

Attested copy of a translation from a Note published by the French minister at Philadelphia on the 15th of November.

TRANSLATION.

Citizen P. A. Adet informs his fellow-citizens, that, by order of the executive directory, he has to-day notified to the secretary of state, the suspension of the functions of the minister plenipotentiary of the republic to the United States of America, and that, in consequence of such suspension, they must, from

this day, address their demands or claims to the consul general of the republic.

At Philadelphia, the 25th Brumaire, the 5th year of the French republic, one and indivisible—the 15th of November, 1796.

Address of the President of the United States to Congress.

December 7, 1796.

Fellow Citizens of the Senate, and of the House of Representatives,

IN recurring to the internal situation of our country, since I had the pleasure to address you, I find ample reason for a renewed expression of that gratitude to the Ruler of the Universe, which a continued series of prosperity has so often and so justly called forth.

The acts of the last session, which required special arrangements, have been, as far as circumstances would admit, carried into operation.

The meeting of the deputies from the Creek nation at Ooleraim, in the state of Georgia, which had for a principal object the purchase of a parcel of their land by that state, broke up without its being accomplished: the nation having, previous to their departure, instructed them against making any sale; the occasion, however, has been improved, to confirm, by a new treaty with the Creeks, their pre-existing engagements with the United States, and to obtain their consent to the establishment of trading houses and military posts within their boundary, by means of which their friendship, and the general peace, may be more effectually secured.

As soon as the governor-general of Canada could be addressed with propriety on this subject, arrangements were cordially and promptly concluded for their evacuation, and the United States took possession of the principal of them, comprehending Oswego, Niagara, Detroit, Michiliminac, and Fort Miami, where such repairs and additions have been ordered to be made as appeared indispensable.

The commissioners appointed on the part of the United States, agreeably to the seventh article of the treaty with Great Britain, relative to captures and condemnation of vessels and other property, met the commissioners of his Britannic majesty in London, in August last, when John Trumbull, Esq. was chosen by lot for the fifth commissioner. In October following the board were to proceed to business. As yet there has been no communication of commissioners on the part of Great Britain, to unite with those who have been appointed on the part of the United States, for carrying into effect the sixth article of the treaty.

The treaty with Spain required that the commissioners for running the boundary line between the territory of the United States and his Catholic majesty's provinces of East and West Florida, should meet at the Natches, before the expiration of six months after the exchange of the ratifications, which was effected at Aranjuez on the 25th of April, and the troops of his Catholic majesty, occupying any posts within the limits of the United States, were within the same period to be withdrawn. The commissioner of the United States,

therefore, commenced his journey from the Natches in September, and troops were ordered to occupy the posts from which the Spanish garrisons should be withdrawn. Information has been recently received of the appointment of a commissioner on the part of his Catholic majesty for running the boundary line, but none of any appointment for the adjustment of the claims of our citizens, whose vessels were captured by the armed vessels of Spain.

In pursuance of the act of congress, passed in the last session, for the protection and relief of American seamen, agents were appointed, one to reside in Great Britain, and the other in the West Indies. The effects of the agency in the West Indies are not yet fully ascertained; but those which have been communicated afford grounds to believe the measure will be beneficial. The agent destined to reside in Great Britain declining to accept the appointment, the business has consequently devolved on the minister of the United States in London; and will command his attention, until a new agent shall be appointed.

After many delays and disappointments, arising out of the European war, the final arrangements for fulfilling the engagements made to the Dey and regency of Algiers will, in all present appearance, be crowned with success; but under great, though inevitable disadvantage, in the pecuniary transactions, occasioned by that war; which will render a further provision necessary. The actual liberation of all our citizens who were prisoners in Algiers, while it gratifies every feeling heart, is itself an earnest

earnest of a satisfactory termination of the whole negotiation.

Measures are in operation for effecting treaties with the regencies of Tunis and Tripoli.

To an active external commerce the protection of a naval force is indispensable. This is manifest with regard to wars in which a state is itself a party; but besides this, it is our own experience, that the most sincere neutrality is not a sufficient guard against the depredations of nations at war. To secure respect to a neutral flag requires a naval force, organized, and ready to vindicate it from insult or aggression. This may even prevent the necessity of going to war, by discouraging belligerent powers from committing such violations of the rights of the neutral party as may, first or last, receive no other option. From the best information I have been able to obtain, it would seem as if our trade to the Mediterranean, without a protecting force, will always be insecure; and our citizens exposed to the calamities from which numbers of them have but just been relieved. These considerations invite the United States to look to the means, and to set about the gradual creation of a navy. The increasing progress of their navigation promises them, at no distant period, the requisite supply of seamen; and their means, in other respects, favour the undertaking. It is an encouragement, likewise, that their particular situation will give weight and influence to a moderate naval force in their hands. Will it not then be advisable to begin, without delay, to provide, and lay up the materials for the building and equipping

of ships of war; and to proceed in the work by degrees, in proportion as our resources shall render it practicable, without inconvenience; so that a future war of Europe may not find our commerce in the same unprotected state in which it was found by the present?

Congress have repeatedly, and not without success, directed their attention to the encouragement of manufactures. The object is of too much consequence not to ensure a continuation of their efforts, in every way which will appear eligible. As a general rule, manufacturers on a public account are inexpedient; but where the state of things in a country leave little hope that certain branches of manufacture will, for a great length of time, obtain; when these are of a nature essential to the furnishing and equipping of the public force in the time of war, are not establishments for procuring them on public account, *to the extent of the ordinary demand for the public service*, recommended by strong considerations of national policy, as an exception to the general rule? Ought our country to remain in such cases dependent on foreign supply, precarious, because liable to be interrupted? If the necessary articles should in this mode cost more in time of peace, will not the security and independence thence arising form an ample compensation? Establishments of this sort, commensurate only with the calls of the public service in the time of peace, will, in time of war, easily be extended in proportion to the exigencies of government, and even perhaps be made to yield a surplus, for the supply of our citizens at large; so as to mitigate the privateers

vateers from the interruption of their trade. If adopted, the plan ought to exclude all those branches, which are already, or likely soon to be established in the country, in order that there may be no danger of interference with pursuits of individual industry.

It will not be doubted that, with reference either to individual or national welfare, agriculture is of primary importance. In proportion as nations advance in population, and other circumstances of maturity, this truth becomes more apparent, and renders the cultivation of the soil more and more an object of public patronage. Institutions for promoting it grow up, supported by the public purse; and to what object can it be dedicated with greater propriety? The means which have been employed to this end, none have been attended with greater success than the establishment of boards, composed of proper characters, charged with collecting and diffusing information, and enabled by premiums, and small pecuniary aids, to encourage and assist a spirit of discovery and improvement.

I have heretofore proposed to the consideration of Congress the expediency of establishing a national university, and also a military academy. The desirableness of both these institutions has so constantly increased with every new view I have taken of the subject, that I cannot omit the opportunity of once for all recalling your attention to them.

The assembly to which I address myself is too enlightened not to be fully sensible how much a flourishing state of the arts and sciences contributes to national prosperity

and reputation. True it is that our country, much to its honour, contains seminaries of learning, highly respectable and useful; but the funds upon which they rest, are too narrow to command the ablest professors in the different departments of liberal knowledge, for the institution contemplated, though they would be excellent auxiliaries.

Amongst the motives to such an institution, the assimilation of the principles, opinions, and manners of our countrymen, by the common education of a portion of our youth from every quarter, well deserves attention. The more homogeneous our citizens can be made, in these particulars, the greater will be our prospect of permanent union; and a primary object of such a national institution should be the education of our youth in the science of government. In a republic, what species of knowledge can be equally important; and what duty more pressing on its legislature, than to patronize a plan for communicating it to those who are to be the future guardians of the liberties of the country?

While in our external relations, some serious inconveniences and embarrassments have been overcome, and others lessened; it is with much pain and deep regret I mention, that circumstances of a very unwelcome nature have lately occurred. Our trade has suffered, and is suffering, extensive injuries in the West Indies, from the cruizers and agents of the French republic; and communications have been received from its minister here, which indicate the danger of a further disturbance in our commerce by its authority, and which are
in

in other respects, far from agreeable.

It has been my constant, sincere, and earnest wish, in conformity with that of our nation, to maintain cordial harmony and a perfectly friendly understanding with that republic. This wish remains unabated; and I shall persevere in the endeavour to fulfill it, to the utmost extent of what shall be consistent with a just and indispensable regard to the rights and honour of our country; nor will I easily cease to cherish the expectation, that a spirit of justice, candour, and friendship, on the part of the republic, will eventually ensure success.

In pursuing this course, however, I cannot forget what is due to the character of our government and nation; or to a full and entire confidence in the good sense, patriotism, self-respect, and fortitude of my countrymen.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Answer to the above address presented by the Vice-president.

WE thank you, Sir, for your faithful and detailed exposure of the existing situation of our country; and we sincerely join in sentiments of gratitude to an over-ruling providence, for the distinguished share of public prosperity and private happiness which the people of the United States so peculiarly enjoy.

We observe with pleasure, that the delivery of the military posts lately occupied by the British forces within the territory of the United States, was made with cordiality and promptitude, as soon as circumstances would admit; and

that the other provisions of our objects of eventual arrangement are now about being carried into effect with entire harmony and good faith.

We perfectly coincide with you in opinion, that the importance of our commerce demands a naval force for its protection against foreign insult and depredation, and our solicitude to attain that object will be always proportionate to its magnitude.

The necessity of accelerating the establishment of certain useful manufactures by the intervention of legislative aid and protection, and the encouragement due to agriculture by the creation of boards (composed of intelligent individuals) to patronize this primary pursuit of society, are subjects which will readily engage our most serious attention.

A national university may be converted to the most useful purposes. The science of legislation being so essentially dependent on the endowments of the mind, the public interest must receive effectual aid from the general diffusion of knowledge, and the United States will assume a more dignified station among the nations of the earth, by the successful cultivation of the highest branches of literature.

We sincerely lament, that while the conduct of the United States has been uniformly impressed with the character of equity, moderation, and love of peace, in the maintenance of all their foreign relations, our trade should be so harassed by the cruizers and agents of the republic of France, throughout the extensive departments of the West Indies.

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We cordially acquiesce in the reflection that the United States, under the operation of the federal government, have experienced a most rapid aggrandizement and prosperity, as well political as commercial.

While contemplating the causes that produce this auspicious result, we must acknowledge the excellence of the constitutional system, and the wisdom of the legislative provisions, but we should be deficient in gratitude and justice, did we not attribute a great portion of these advantages to the virtue, firmness, and talents of your administration, which have been conspicuously displayed in the most trying times, and on the most critical occasions. It is, therefore, with the sincerest regret, that we now receive an official notification of your intentions to retire from the public employments of your country.

When we review the various scenes of your public life, so long, and so successfully devoted to the most arduous services, civil and military, as well during the struggles of the American revolution, as the convulsive periods of a recent date, we cannot look forward to your retirement without our warmest affections and most anxious regards accompanying you, and without mingling with our fellow-citizens at large the sincerest wishes for your personal happiness that sensibility and attachment can express.

The most effectual consolation that can offer for the loss we are about to sustain, arises from the animating reflection, that the influence of your example will extend to your successors, and the United States thus continue to enjoy an

able, upright, and energetic administration.

JOHN ADAMS, Vice President
of the United States; and
President of the Senate.

The following is the reply of the President.

GENTLEMEN,

IT affords me great satisfaction to find in your address a concurrence in sentiment with me on the various topics which I presented for your information and deliberation; and that the latter will receive from you an attention proportioned to their respective importance.

For the notice you take of my public services, civil and military, and your kind wishes for my personal happiness, I beg you to accept my cordial thanks. Those services, and greater, had I possessed ability to render them, were due to the unanimous calls of my country; and its approbation is my abundant reward.

When contemplating the period of my retirement I saw virtuous and enlightened men, among whom I rested on the discernment and patriotism of my fellow-citizens to make the proper choice of a successor; men who would require no influential example to ensure to the United States "an able, upright, and energetic administration." To such men I shall cheerfully yield the palm of genius and talents, to serve our common country; but at the same time I hope I may be indulged in expressing the consoling reflection (which consciousness suggests), and to bear it with me to the grave, that none can serve it with purer intentions than I have done, or with a more disinterested zeal.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.
CHARACTERS.

CHARACTERS.

Particulars of the earlier years of Mr. Gibbon's Life, and of the course of studies which laid the foundation of his subsequent celebrity. From memoirs of himself in Lord Sheffield's edition of his posthumous works.

I was born at Putney, in the county of Surrey, on the 27th of April, O. S. in the year one thousand seven hundred and thirty-seven; the first child of the marriage of Edward Gibbon, esq. and of Judith Porten. My lot might have been that of a slave, a savage, or a peasant; nor can I reflect without pleasure on the bounty of nature, which cast my birth in a free and civilized country, in an age of science and philosophy, in a family of honourable rank, and decently endowed with the gifts of fortune. From my birth I have enjoyed the right of primogeniture; but I was succeeded by five brothers and one sister, all of whom were snatched away in their infancy. My five brothers, whose names may be found in the parish register of Putney, I shall not pretend to lament; but from my childhood to the present hour I have deeply and sincerely regretted my sister, whose life was somewhat prolonged, whom I remember to have seen an amiable infant. The relation of a brother and a sister, especially if they do

not marry, appears to me of a very singular nature. It is a familiar and tender friendship with a female, much about our own age; an affection perhaps softened by the secret influence of sex, but pure from any mixture of sensual desire, the sole species of platonic love that can be indulged with truth, and without danger.

The death of a new born child before that of its parents may seem an unnatural, but it is strictly a probable event: since of any given number the greater part are extinguished before their ninth year, before they possess the faculties of the mind or body. Without accusing the profuse waste or imperfect workmanship of nature, I shall only observe, that this unfavourable chance was multiplied against my infant existence. So feeble was my constitution, so precarious my life, that, in the baptism of each of my brothers, my father's prudence successively repeated my christian name of Edward, that, in case of the departure of the eldest son, this patronymic appellation might be still perpetuated in the family.

—*Uno avulso non deficit alter.*

To preserve and to rear so frail a being, the most tender assiduity was scarcely sufficient; and my mother's attention was somewhat di-

verted

verted by her frequent pregnancies, by an exclusive passion for her husband, and by the dissipation of the world, in which his taste and authority obliged her to mingle. But the maternal office was supplied by my aunt, Mrs. Catharine Porten; at whose name I feel a tear of gratitude trickling down my cheek. A life of celibacy transferred her vacant affection to her sister's first child: my weakness excited her pity; her attachment was fortified by labour and success: and if there be any, as I trust there are some, who rejoice that I live, to that dear and excellent woman they must hold themselves indebted. Many anxious and solitary days did she consume in the patient trial of every mode of relief and amusement. Many wakeful nights did she sit by my bed-side in trembling expectation that each hour would be my last. Of the various and frequent disorders of my childhood my own recollection is dark; nor do I wish to expatiate on so disgusting a topic. Suffice it to say, that while every practitioner, from Sloane and Ward to the chevalier Taylor, was successively summoned to torture or relieve me, the care of my mind was too frequently neglected for that of my health; compassion always suggested an excuse for the indulgence of the master, or the idleness of the pupil; and the chain of my education was broken, as often as I was recalled from the school of learning to the bed of sickness.

As soon as the use of speech had prepared my infant reason for the admission of knowledge, I was taught the arts of reading, writing, and arithmetic. So remote is the date, so vague is the memory of

their origin in myself, that, were not the error corrected by analogy, I should be tempted to conceive them as innate. In my childhood I was praised for the readiness with which I could multiply and divide, by memory alone, two sums of several figures: such praise encouraged my growing talent; and had I persevered in this line of application, I might have acquired some fame in mathematical studies.

After this previous institution at home, or at a day-school at Putney, I was delivered at the age of seven into the hands of Mr. John Kirkby, who exercised about eighteen months the office of my domestic tutor. His own words, which I shall here transcribe, inspire in his favour a sentiment of pity and esteem.—“During my abode in my native county of Cumberland, in quality of an indigent curate, I used now-and-then in a summer, when the pleasantness of the season invited, to take a solitary walk to the sea-shore, which lies about two miles from the town where I lived. Here I would amuse myself, one while in viewing at large the agreeable prospect which surrounded me, and another while (confining my sight to nearer objects) in admiring the vast variety of beautiful shells, thrown upon the beach; some of the choicest of which I always picked up, to divert my little ones upon my return. One time among the rest, taking such a journey in my head, I sat down upon the declivity of the beach with my face to the sea, which was now come up within a few yards of my feet; when immediately the sad thoughts of the wretched condition of my family,

family, and the unsuccessfulness of all endeavours to amend it, came crowding into my mind, which drove me into a deep melancholy, and ever and anon forced tears from my eyes." Distress at last forced him to leave the country. His learning and virtue introduced him to my father; and at Putney he might have found at least a temporary shelter, had not an act of indiscretion again driven him into the world. One day reading prayers in the parish church, he most unluckily forgot the name of king George: his patron, a loyal subject, dismissed him with some reluctance, and a decent reward; and *how* the poor man ended his days I have never been able to learn.

In my ninth year (January 1746), in a lucid interval of comparative health, my father adopted the convenient and customary mode of English education; and I was sent to Kingston upon Thames, to a school of about seventy boys, which was kept by Dr. Woodderson and his assistants. Every time I have since passed over Putney common, I have always noticed the spot where my mother, as we drove along in the coach, admonished me that I was now going into the world, and must learn to think and act for myself. The expression may appear ludicrous: yet there is not, in the course of life, a more remarkable change than the removal of a child from the luxury and freedom of a wealthy house, to the frugal diet and strict subordination of a school; from the tenderness of parents, and the obsequiousness of servants, to the rude familiarity of his equals, the insolent tyranny of his seniors, and the rod, perhaps,

of a cruel and capricious pedagogue. Such hardships may steel the mind and body against the injuries of fortune: but my timid reserve was astonished by the crowd and tumult of the school; the want of strength and activity disqualified me for the sports of the play-field; nor have I forgotten how often in the year forty-six I was reviled and buffeted for the sins of my tory ancestors. By the common methods of discipline, at the expence of many tears and some blood, I purchased the knowledge of the Latin syntax: and not long since I was possessed of the dirty volumes of Phædrus and Cornelius Nepos, which I painfully construed and darkly understood.

My studies were too frequently interrupted by sickness; and after a real or nominal residence at Kingston-school of near two years, I was finally recalled (December 1747) by my mother's death, which was occasioned in her thirty-eighth year, by the consequences of her last labour. I was too young to feel the importance of my loss; and the image of her person and conversation is faintly imprinted in my memory. The affectionate heart of my aunt, Catherine Porten, bewailed a sister and a friend; but my poor father was inconsolable, and the transport of grief seemed to threaten his life or his reason. I can never forget the scene of our first interview, some weeks after the fatal event; the awful silence, the room hung with black, the mid-day tapers, his sighs and tears; his praises of my mother, a saint in heaven; his solemn adjuration that I would cherish her memory and imitate her virtues; and the fervor with which he kissed and blessed me

as the sole surviving pledge of their loves. The storm of passion insensibly subsided into calmer melancholy. At a convivial meeting of his friends, Mr. Gibbon might affect or enjoy a gleam of cheerfulness; but his plan of happiness was for ever destroyed; and after the loss of his companion he was left alone in a world, of which the business and pleasures were to him irksome or insipid. After some unsuccessful trials he renounced the tumult of London and the hospitality of Putney, and buried himself in the rural or rather rustic solitude of Buriton; from which, during several years, he seldom emerged.

As far back as I can remember, the house, near Putney-bridge and church-yard, of my maternal grandfather, appears in the light of my proper and native home. It was there that I was allowed to spend the greatest part of my time, in sickness or in health, during my school vacations and my parents' residence in London, and finally after my mother's death. Three months after that event, in the spring of 1748, the commercial ruin of her father, Mr. James Porten, was accomplished and declared. He suddenly absconded; but as his effects were not sold, nor the house evacuated, till the Christmas following, I enjoyed during the whole year the society of my aunt, without much consciousness of her impending fate. I feel a melancholy pleasure in repeating my obligations to that excellent woman, Mrs. Catherine Porten, the true mother of my mind and health. Her natural good sense was improved by the perusal of the best books in the English language; and if her rea-

son was sometimes clouded by prejudice, her sentiments were never disguised by hypocrisy or affectation. Her indulgent tenderness, the frankness of her temper, and my innate rising curiosity, soon removed all distance between us: like friends of an equal age, we freely conversed on every topic, familiar or abstruse; and it was her delight and reward to observe the first shoots of my young ideas. Pain and languor were often soothed by the voice of instruction and amusement; and to her kind lessons I ascribe my early and invincible love of reading, which I would not exchange for the treasures of India. I should perhaps be astonished, were it possible to ascertain the date, at which a favourite tale was engraved, by frequent repetition, in my memory: the Cavern of the Winds; the Palace of Felicity; and the fatal moment, at the end of three months or centuries, when prince Adolphus is overtaken by Time, who had worn out so many pair of wings in the pursuit. Before I left Kingston school I was well acquainted with Pope's Homer and the Arabian Nights Entertainments, two books which will always please by the moving picture of human manners and specious miracles: nor was I then capable of discerning that Pope's translation is a portrait endowed with every merit, excepting that of likeness to the original. The verses of Pope accustomed my ear to the sound of poetic harmony: in the death of Hector, and the shipwreck of Ulysses, I tasted the new emotions of terror and pity; and seriously disputed with my aunt on the vices and virtues of the heroes of the Trojan war. From Pope's Homer to Dryden's Virgil was

was an easy transition; but I know not how, from some fault in the author, the translator, or the reader, the pious Æneas did not so forcibly seize on my imagination; and I derived more pleasure from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, especially in the fall of Phaeton, and the speeches of Ajax and Ulysses. My grandfather's flight unlocked the door of a tolerable library; and I turned over many English pages of poetry and romance, of history and travels. Where a title attracted my eye, without fear or awe I snatched the volume from the shelf; and Mrs. Porten, who indulged herself in moral and religious speculations, was more prone to encourage than to check a curiosity above the strength of a boy. This year (1748), the twelfth of my age, I shall note as the most propitious to the growth of my intellectual stature.

The relics of my grandfather's fortune afforded a bare annuity for his own maintenance; and his daughter, my worthy aunt, who had already passed her fortieth year, was left destitute. Her noble spirit scorned a life of obligation and dependence; and after revolving several schemes, she preferred the humble industry of keeping a boarding-house for Westminster-school, where she laboriously earned a competence for her old age. This singular opportunity of blending the advantages of private and public education decided my father. After the Christmas holidays in January 1749, I accompanied Mrs. Porten to her new house in College-street; and was immediately entered in the school, of which Dr. John Nicoll was at that time head-master. At first I was alone: but my aunt's resolution was praised;

her character was esteemed; her friends were numerous and active: in the course of some years she became the mother of forty or fifty boys, for the most part of family and fortune; and as her primitive habitation was too narrow, she built and occupied a spacious mansion in Dean's yard. I shall always be ready to join in the common opinion, that our public schools, which have produced so many eminent characters, are the best adapted to the genius and constitution of the English people. A boy of spirit may acquire a previous and practical experience of the world; and his playfellows may be the future friends of his heart or his interest. In a free intercourse with his equals, the habits of truth, fortitude, and prudence will insensibly be matured. Birth and riches are measured by the standard of personal merit; and the mimic scene of a rebellion has displayed, in their true colours, the ministers and patriots of the rising generation. Our seminaries of learning do not exactly correspond with the precept of a Spartan king, 'that the child should be instructed in the arts, which will be useful to the man;' since a finished scholar may emerge from the head of Westminster or Eton, in total ignorance of the business and conversation of English gentlemen in the latter end of the eighteenth century. But these schools may assume the merit of teaching all that they pretend to teach, the Latin and Greek languages: they deposit in the hands of a disciple the keys of two valuable chests; nor can he complain, if they are afterwards lost or neglected by his own fault. The necessity of leading in equal ranks so many

many unequal powers of capacity and application, will prolong to eight or ten years the juvenile studies, which might be dispatched in half that time by the skilful master of a single pupil. Yet even the repetition of exercise and discipline contributes to fix in a vacant mind the verbal science of grammar and prosody: and the private or voluntary student, who possesses the sense and spirit of the classics, may offend, by a false quantity, the scrupulous ear of a well-flogged critic. For myself, I must be content with a very small share of the civil and literary fruits of a public school. In the space of two years (1749, 1750), interrupted by danger and debility, I painfully climbed into the third form; and my riper age was left to acquire the beauties of the Latin, and the rudiments of the Greek tongue. Instead of audaciously mingling in the sports, the quarrels, and the connexions of our little world, I was still cherished at home under the maternal wing of my aunt; and my removal from Westminster long preceded the approach of manhood.

The violence and variety of my complaints, which had excused my frequent absence from Westminster-school, at length engaged Mrs. Porten, with the advice of physicians, to conduct me to Bath: at the end of the Michaelmas vacation (1750) she quitted me with reluctance, and I remained several months under the care of a trusty maid-servant. A strange nervous affection, which alternately contracted my legs, and produced, without any visible symptoms, the most excruciating pain, was ineffectually opposed by the various methods of bathing and pumping.

From Bath I was transported to Winchester, to the house of a physician; and after the failure of his medical skill, we had again recourse to the virtues of the Bath waters. During the intervals of these fits, I moved with my father to Buriton and Putney; and a short unsuccessful trial was attempted to renew my attendance at Westminster-school. But my infirmities could not be reconciled with the hours and discipline of a public seminary; and instead of a domestic tutor, who might have watched the favourable moments, and gently advanced the progress of my learning, my father was too easily content with such occasional teachers, as the different places of my residence could supply. I was never forced, and seldom was I persuaded, to admit these lessons: yet I read with a clergyman at Bath some odes of Horace, and several episodes of Virgil, which gave me an imperfect and transient enjoyment of the Latin poets. It might now be apprehended that I should continue for life an illiterate cripple: but, as I approached my sixteenth year, Nature displayed in my favour her mysterious energies: my constitution was fortified and fixed; and my disorders, instead of growing with my growth and strengthening with my strength, most wonderfully vanished. I have never possessed or abused the insolence of health: but since that time few persons have been more exempt from real or imaginary ills; and, till I am admonished by the gout, the reader will no more be troubled with the history of my bodily complaints. My unexpected recovery again encouraged the hope of my education; and I was placed at Esher,

Esher, in Surrey, in the house of the reverend Mr. Philip Francis, in a pleasant spot, which promised to unite the various benefits of air, exercise, and study (January 1752). The translator of Horace might have taught me to relish the Latin poets, had not my friends discovered in a few weeks, that he preferred the pleasures of London to the instruction of his pupils. My father's perplexity at this time, rather than his prudence, was urged to embrace a singular and desperate measure. Without preparation or delay he carried me to Oxford: and I was matriculated in the university as a gentleman commoner of Magdalen college, before I had accomplished the fifteenth year of my age (April 3, 1752).

The curiosity, which had been implanted in my infant mind, was still alive and active; but my reason was not sufficiently informed to understand the value, or to lament the loss, of three precious years from my entrance at Westminster, to my admission at Oxford. Instead of repining at my long and frequent confinement to the chamber or the couch, I secretly rejoiced in those infirmities, which delivered me from the exercises of the school, and the society of my equals. As often as I was tolerably exempt from danger and pain, reading, free desultory reading, was the employment and comfort of my solitary hours. At Westminster, my aunt sought only to amuse and indulge me; in my stations at Bath and Winchester; at Buriton and Putney, a false compassion respected my sufferings; and I was allowed without controul or advice, to gratify the wanderings of an unripe taste. My indiscriminate appetite

subsided by degrees in the *historic* line: and since philosophy has exploded all innate ideas and natural propensities, I must ascribe this choice to the assiduous perusal of the Universal History, as the octavo volumes successively appeared. This unequal work, and a treatise of Hearne, the *Ductor historicus*, referred and introduced me to the Greek and Roman historians, to as many at least as were accessible to an English reader. All that I could find were greedily devoured, from Littlebury's lame Herodotus, and Spelman's valuable Xenophon, to the pompous folios of Gordon's Tacitus, and a ragged Procopius of the beginning of the last century. The cheap acquisition of so much knowledge confirmed my dislike to the study of languages; and I argued with Mrs. Porten, that, were I a master of Greek and Latin, I must interpret to myself in English the thoughts of the original, and that such extemporaneous versions must be inferior to the elaborate translations of professed scholars; a silly sophism, which could not easily be confuted by a person ignorant of any other language than her own. From the ancient I leaped to the modern world: many crude lumps of Speed, Rapin, Mezeray, Davila, Machiavel, Father Paul, Bower, &c. I devoured like so many novels; and I swallowed with the same voracious appetite the descriptions of India and China, of Mexico and Peru.

My first introduction to the historic scenes, which have since engaged so many years of my life, must be ascribed to an accident. In the summer of 1751, I accompanied my father on a visit to Mr. Hoare's in Wiltshire; but I was

less delighted with the beauties of Stourhead, than with discovering in the library a common book, the Continuation of Echard's Roman History, which is indeed executed with more skill and taste than the previous work. To me the reigns of the successors of Constantine were absolutely new; and I was immersed in the passage of the Goths over the Danube, when the summons of the dinner-bell reluctantly dragged me from my intellectual feast. This transient glance served rather to irritate than to appease my curiosity; and as soon as I returned to Bath I procured the second and third volumes of Howell's History of the World, which exhibit the Byzantine period on a larger scale. Mahomet and his Saracens soon fixed my attention; and some instinct of criticism directed me to the genuine sources. Simon Ockley, an original in every sense, first opened my eyes; and I was led from one book to another, till I had ranged round the circle of oriental history. Before I was sixteen, I had exhausted all that could be learned in English of the Arabs and Persians, the Tartars and Turks; and the same ardour urged me to guess at the French of D'Herbelot, and to construe the barbarous Latin of Pocock's Abulfaragious. Such vague and multifarious reading could not teach me to think, to write, or to act; and the only principle that darted a ray of light into the indigested chaos, was an early and rational application to the order of time and place. The maps of Cellarius and Wells imprinted in my mind the picture of ancient geography: from Strachius I imbibed the elements of chronology: the Tables of Helvicus and Ander-

son, the Annals of Usher and Prideaux, distinguished the connexion of events, and engraved the multitude of names and dates in a clear and indelible series. But in the discussion of the first ages I overleaped the bounds of modesty and use. In my childish balance I presumed to weigh the systems of Scaliger and Petavius, of Marsham and Newton, which I could seldom study in the originals; and my sleep has been disturbed by the difficulty of reconciling the Septuagint with the Hebrew computation. I arrived at Oxford with a stock of erudition that might have puzzled a doctor, and a degree of ignorance, of which a school-boy would have been ashamed.

To the university of Oxford I acknowledge no obligations; and she will as cheerfully renounce me for a son, as I am willing to disclaim her for a mother. I spent fourteen months at Magdalen College; they proved the fourteen months the most idle and unprofitable of my whole life: the reader will pronounce between the school and the scholar; but I cannot affect to believe that nature had disqualified me for all literary pursuits. The specious and ready excuse of my tender age, imperfect preparation, and hasty departure, may doubtless be alleged; nor do I wish to defraud such excuses of their proper weight. Yet in my sixteenth year I was not devoid of capacity or application; even my childish reading had displayed an early though blind propensity for books; and the shallow flood might have been taught to flow in a deep channel and a clear stream. In the discipline of a well constituted academy, under the guidance of skilful and vigilant professors,

fessors, I should gradually have risen from translations to originals, from the Latin to the Greek classics, from dead languages to living science; my hours would have been occupied by useful and agreeable studies, the wanderings of fancy would have been restrained, and I should have escaped the temptations of idleness, which finally precipitated my departure from Oxford.

The first tutor into whose hands I was resigned appears to have been one of the best of the tribe: Dr. Waldegrave was a learned and pious man, of a mild disposition, strict morals, and abstemious life, who seldom mingled in the politics or the jollity of the college. But his knowledge of the world was confined to the university; his learning was of the last, rather than of the present age; his temper was indolent; his faculties, which were not of the first rate, had been relaxed by the climate, and he was satisfied, like his fellows, with the slight and superficial discharge of an important trust. As soon as my tutor had sounded the insufficiency of his disciple in school-learning, he proposed that we should read every morning from ten to eleven, the comedies of Terence. The sum of my improvement in the university of Oxford is confined to three or four Latin plays; and even the study of an elegant classic, which might have been illustrated by a comparison of ancient and modern theatres, was reduced to a dry and literal interpretation of the author's text. During the first weeks I constantly attended these lessons in my tutor's room; but as they appeared equally devoid of profit and pleasure, I was once tempted to try

the experiment of a formal apology. The apology was accepted with a smile. I repeated the offence with less ceremony; the excuse was admitted with the same indulgence: the slightest motive of laziness or indisposition, the most trifling avocation at home or abroad, was allowed as a worthy impediment; nor did my tutor appear conscious of my absence or neglect. Had the hour of lecture been constantly filled, a single hour was a small portion of my academic leisure. No plan of study was recommended for my use; no exercises were prescribed for his inspection; and, at the most precious season of youth, whole days and weeks were suffered to elapse without labour or amusement, without advice or account. I should have listened to the voice of reason and of my tutor; his mild behaviour had gained my confidence. I preferred his society to that of the younger students; and in our evening walks to the top of Heddington-hill, we freely conversed on a variety of subjects. Since the days of Pocock and Hyde, oriental learning has always been the pride of Oxford, and I once expressed an inclination to study Arabic. His prudence discouraged this childish fancy; but he neglected the fair occasion of directing the ardour of a curious mind. During my absence in the summer vacation, Dr. Waldegrave accepted a college living at Washington in Sussex, and on my return home I no longer found him at Oxford. From that time I have lost sight of my first tutor; but at the end of thirty years (1781) he was still alive; and the practice of exercise and temperance had entitled him to healthy old age.

The long recess between the Trinity and Michaelmas terms empties the colleges of Oxford, as was as the courts of Westminster. I spent at my father's house at Buriton in Hampshire, the two months of August and September. It is whimsical enough, that as soon as I left Magdalen college, my taste for books began to revive; but it was the same blind and boyish taste for the pursuit of exotic history. Unprovided with original learning, unformed in the habits of thinking, unskilled in the arts of composition, I resolved—to write a book. The title of this first essay, *The Age of Sesostriis*, was perhaps suggested by Voltaire's *Age of Lewis XIV.* which was new and popular; but my sole object was to investigate the probable date of the life and reign of the conqueror of Asia. I was then enamoured of Sir John Marsham's *Canon Chronicus*; an elaborate work, of whose merits and defects I was not yet qualified to judge. According to his specious, though narrow plan, I settled my hero about the time of Solomon, in the tenth century before the Christian æra. It was therefore incumbent on me, unless I would adopt Sir Isaac Newton's shorter chronology, to remove a formidable objection; and my solution, for a youth of fifteen, is not devoid of ingenuity. In his version of the sacred books, Manetho the high priest has identified Sethosis, or Sesostriis, with the elder brother of Danaus, who landed in Greece, according to the Parian Marble, fifteen hundred and ten years before Christ. But in my supposition the high priest is guilty of a voluntary error; flattery is the prolific parent of falsehood. Ma-

netho's *History of Egypt* is dedicated to Ptolemy Philadelphus, who derived a fabulous or illegitimate pedigree from the Macedonian kings of the race of Hercules. Danaus is the ancestor of Hercules; and after the failure of the elder branch, his descendants, the Ptolemies, are the sole representatives of the royal family, and may claim by inheritance the kingdom which they hold by conquest. Such were my juvenile discoveries; at a ripper age, I no longer presume to connect the Greek, the Jewish, and the Egyptian antiquities, which are lost in a distant cloud. Nor is this the only instance, in which the belief and knowledge of the child are superseded by the more rational ignorance of the man. During my stay at Buriton, my infant-labour was diligently prosecuted, without much interruption from company or country diversions; and I already heard the music of public applause. The discovery of my own weakness was the first symptom of taste. On my return to Oxford, the age of Sesostriis was wisely relinquished; but the imperfect sheets remained twenty years at the bottom of a drawer, till, in a general clearance of papers (November 1772) they were committed to the flames.

After the departure of Dr. Waldegrave, I was transferred with his other pupils, to his academical heir, whose literary character did not command the respect of the college. Dr. **** well remembered that he had a salary to receive, and only forgot that he had a duty to perform. Instead of guiding the studies, and watching over the behaviour of his disciple, I was never summoned to attend even the ceremony of a lecture; and,
excepting

excepting one voluntary visit to his rooms, during the eight months of his titular office, the tutor and pupil lived in the same college as strangers to each other. The want of experience, of advice, and of occupation, soon betrayed me into some impropriety of conduct, ill-chosen company, late hours, and inconsiderate expence. My growing debts might be secret; but my frequent absence was visible and scandalous; and a tour to Bath, a visit into Buckinghamshire, and four excursions to London in the same winter, were costly and dangerous frolics. They were, indeed, without a meaning, as without an excuse. The irksomeness of a cloistered life repeatedly tempted me to wander: but my chief pleasure was that of travelling; and I was too young and bashful to enjoy, like a manly Oxonian in town, the pleasures of London. In all these excursions I eloped from Oxford; I returned to college; in a few days I eloped again, as if I had been an independent stranger in a hired lodging, without once hearing the voice of admonition, without once feeling the hand of control. Yet my time was lost, my expences were multiplied, my behaviour abroad was unknown; folly as well as vice should have awakened the attention of my superiors, and my tender years would have justified a more than ordinary degree of restraint and discipline.

It might at least be expected, that an ecclesiastical school should inculcate the orthodox principles of religion. But our venerable mother had contrived to unite the opposite extremes of bigotry and indifference; an heretic, or unbeliever,

was a monster in her eyes; but she was always, or often, or sometimes, remiss in the spiritual education of her own children. According to the statutes of the university, every student, before he is matriculated, must subscribe his assent to the thirty-nine articles of the church of England, which are signed by more than read, and read by more than believe them. My insufficient age excused me, however, from the immediate performance of this legal ceremony; and the vice-chancellor directed me to return, as soon as I should have accomplished my fifteenth year; recommending me, in the mean while, to the instruction of my college. My college forgot to instruct; I forgot to return, and was myself forgotten by the first magistrate of the university. Without a single lecture, either public or private, either christian or protestant, without any academical subscription, without any episcopal confirmation, I was left by the dim light of my catechism to grope my way to the chapel and communion-table, where I was admitted, without a question, how far, or by what means, I might be qualified to receive the sacrament. Such almost incredible neglect was productive of the worst mischiefs. From my childhood I had been fond of religious disputation; my poor aunt has been often puzzled by the mysteries which she strove to believe; nor had the elastic spring been totally broken by the weight of the atmosphere of Oxford. The blind activity of idleness urged me to advance without armour into the dangerous mazes of controversy; and at the age of sixteen, I bewildered myself in the errors of the church of Rome.

The progress of my conversion may tend to illustrate, at least, the history of my own mind. It was not long since Dr. Middleton's free inquiry had sounded an alarm in the theological world: much ink and much gall had been spilt in the defence of the primitive miracles; and the two dullest of their champions were crowned with academic honours by the university of Oxford. The name of Middleton was unpopular; and his proscription very naturally led me to peruse his writings, and those of his antagonists. His bold criticism, which approaches the precipice of infidelity, produced on my mind a singular effect; and had I persevered in the communion of Rome, I should now apply to my own fortune the prediction of the Sybil,

—*Via prima salutis,*
Quod minimè reris, Gratiâ paderetur
ab urbe.

The elegance of style and freedom of argument were repelled by a shield of prejudice. I still revered the character, or rather the names, of the saints and fathers whom Dr. Middleton exposes; nor could he destroy my implicit belief, that the gift of miraculous powers was continued in the church, during the first four or five centuries of christianity. But I was unable to resist the weight of historical evidence, that within the same period most of the leading doctrines of popery were already introduced in theory and practice: nor was my conclusion absurd, that miracles are the test of truth, and that the church must be orthodox and pure, which was so often approved by the visible interposition of the Deity. The marvellous tales which are so boldly

attested by the Basils and Chrysostoms, the Austins and Jeroms, compelled me to embrace the superior merits of celibacy, the institution of the monastic life, the use of the sign of the cross, of holy oil, and even of images, the invocation of saints, the worship of relics, the rudiments of purgatory in prayers for the dead, and the tremendous mystery of the sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ, which insensibly swelled into the prodigy of transubstantiation. In these dispositions, and already more than half a convert, I formed an unlucky intimacy with a young gentleman of our college, whose name I shall spare. With a character less resolute, Mr. **** had imbibed the same religious opinions: and some Popish books, I know not through what channel, were conveyed into his possession. I read, I applauded, I believed: the English translations of two famous works of Bossuet bishop of Meaux, the Exposition of the Catholic Doctrine, and the History of the Protestant Variations, achieved my conversion, and I surely fell by a noble hand.

No sooner had I settled my new religion than I resolved to profess myself a catholic. Youth is sincere and impetuous; and a momentary glow of enthusiasm had raised me above all temporal considerations.

In my last excursion to London, I addressed myself to Mr. Lewis, a Roman catholic bookseller in Russel-street, Covent-garden, who recommended me to a priest, of whose name and order I am at present ignorant. In our first interview he soon discovered that persuasion was needless. After sounding the motives and merits of my conversion,

conversion, he consented, to admit me into the pale of the church; and at his feet, on the 8th of June, 1753, I solemnly, though privately, abjured the errors of heresy. The seduction of an English youth of family and fortune was an act of as much danger as glory; but he bravely overlooked the danger, of which I was not then sufficiently informed. "Where a person is reconciled to the see of Rome, or procures others to be reconciled, the offence (says Blackstone) amounts to high treason." And if the humanity of the age would prevent the execution of this sanguinary statute, there were other laws of a less odious cast, which condemned the priest to perpetual imprisonment, and transferred the proselyte's estate to his nearest relation. An elaborate controversial epistle, approved by my director, and addressed to my father, announced and justified the step which I had taken. My father was neither a bigot nor a philosopher; but his affection deplored the loss of an only son; and his good sense was astonished at my strange departure from the religion of my country. In the first sally of his passion he divulged a secret which prudence might have suppressed, and the gates of Magdalen College were for ever shut against my return.

After carrying me to Putney, to the house of his friend Mr. Mallet; by whose philosophy I was rather scandalized than reclaimed, it was necessary for my father to form a new plan of education, and to devise some method which, if possible, might effect the cure of my spiritual malady. After much debate it was determined, from the advice and personal experience of Mr.

Eliot (now lord Eliot) to fix me during some years, at Lausanne in Switzerland. Mr. Frey, a Swiss gentleman of Basil, undertook the conduct of the journey: we left London the 19th of June, crossed the sea from Dover to Calais, travelled post through several provinces of France, by the direct road of St. Quentin, Rheims, Langres, and Besançon, and arrived the 30th of June at Lausanne, where I was immediately settled under the roof and tuition of Mr. Pavilliard, a Calvinist minister.

The first marks of my father's displeasure rather astonished than afflicted me: when he threatened to banish, and disown, and disinherit a rebellious son, I cherished a secret hope that he would not be able or willing to effect his menaces; and the pride of conscience encouraged me to sustain the honourable and important part which I was now acting. My spirits were raised and kept alive by the rapid motion of my journey, the new and various scenes of the continent, and the civility of Mr. Frey, a man of sense, who was not ignorant of books or the world. But after he had resigned me into Pavilliard's hands, and I was fixed in my new habitation, I had leisure to contemplate the strange and melancholy prospect before me. My first complaint arose from my ignorance of the language. In my childhood I had once studied the French grammar, and I could imperfectly understand the easy prose of a familiar subject. But when I was thus suddenly cast on a foreign land, I found myself deprived of the use of speech and of hearing; and, during some weeks, incapable not only of enjoying the pleasures of conversation,

tion, but even of asking or answering a question in the common intercourse of life. To a home-bred Englishman every object, every custom was offensive; but the native of any country might have been disgusted with the general aspect of his lodging and entertainment. I had now exchanged my elegant apartment in Magdalen college, for a narrow gloomy street, the most unfrequented of an unhandsome town, for an old inconvenient house, and for a small chamber, ill-contrived and ill-furnished, which, on the approach of winter, instead of a companionable fire, must be warmed by the dull invisible heat of a stove. From a man I was again degraded to the dependance of a school-boy. Mr. Pavilliard managed my expences, which had been reduced to a diminutive state; I received a small monthly allowance for my pocket-money; and, helpless and awkward as I have ever been, I no longer enjoyed the indispensable comfort of a servant. My condition seemed as destitute of hope, as it was devoid of pleasure; I was separated for an indefinite, which appeared an infinite term, from my native country; and I had lost all connexion with my Catholic friends. I have since reflected with surprize, that as the Romish clergy of every part of Europe maintain a close correspondence with each other, they never attempted, by letters or messages, to rescue me from the hands of the heretics, or at least to confirm my zeal and constancy in the profession of the faith. Such was my first introduction to Lausanne; a place where I spent nearly five years with pleasure and profit, which I afterwards revisited without compulsion, and which I have

finally selected as the most grateful retreat for the decline of my life.

But it is the peculiar felicity of youth, that the most unpleasing objects and events seldom make a deep or lasting impression; it forgets the past, enjoys the present, and anticipates the future. At the flexible age of sixteen I soon learned to endure, and gradually to adopt, the new forms of arbitrary manners: the real hardships of my situation were alienated by time. Had I been sent abroad in a more splendid style, such as the fortune and bounty of my father might have supplied, I might have returned home with the same stock of language and science, which our countrymen usually import from the continent. An exile and a prisoner as I was, their example betrayed me into some irregularities of wine, of play, and of idle excursions; but I soon felt the impossibility of associating with them on equal terms; and, after the departure of my first acquaintance, I held a cold and civil correspondence with their successors. This seclusion from English society was attended with the most solid benefits. In the Pays de Vaud, the French language is used with less imperfection than in most of the distant provinces of France: in Pavilliard's family, necessity compelled me to listen and to speak; and if I was at first disheartened by the apparent slowness, in a few months I was astonished by the rapidity of my progress. My pronunciation was formed by the constant repetition of the same sounds; the variety of words and idioms, the rules of grammar, and distinctions of genders, were impressed in my memory: ease and freedom were obtained

obtained by practice; correctness and elegance by labour; and before I was recalled home, French, in which I spontaneously thought, was more familiar than English to my ear, my tongue, and my pen. The first effect of this opening knowledge was the revival of my love of reading, which had been chilled at Oxford, and I soon turned over, without much choice, almost all the French books in my tutor's library. Even these amusements were productive of real advantage: my taste and judgment were now somewhat riper. I was introduced to a new mode of style and literature; by the comparison of manners and opinions, my views were enlarged, my prejudices were corrected, and a copious voluntary abstract of the *Histoire de l'Eglise et de l'Empire*, by le Sieur, may be placed in a middle line between my childish and my manly studies. As soon as I was able to converse with the natives, I began to feel some satisfaction in their company; my awkward timidity was polished and emboldened; and I frequented, for the first time, assemblies of men and women. The acquaintance of the Pavilliards prepared me by degrees for more elegant society. I was received with kindness and indulgence in the best families of Lausanne; and it was in one of these that I formed an intimate and lasting connexion with Mr. Deyverdun, a young man of an amiable temper and excellent understanding. In the arts of fencing and dancing, small indeed was my proficiency; and some months were idly wasted in the riding-school. My unfitness to bodily exercise reconciled me to a sedentary life, and the horse, the favourite of my country-

men, never contributed to the pleasures of my youth.

My obligations to the lessons of Mr. Pavilliard, gratitude will not suffer me to forget: he was endowed with a clear head and a warm heart; his innate benevolence had assuaged the spirit of the church; he was rational, because he was moderate: in the course of his studies he had acquired a just though superficial knowledge of most branches of literature; by long practice, he was skilled in the arts of teaching; and he laboured with assiduous patience to know the character, gain the affection, and open the mind of his English pupil. As soon as we began to understand each other, he gently led me, from a blind and undistinguishing love of reading, into the path of instruction. I consented with pleasure that a portion of the morning hours should be consecrated to a plan of modern history and geography, and to the critical perusal of the French and Latin classics; and at each step I felt myself invigorated by the habits of application and method. His prudence repressed and dissembled some youthful sallies; and as soon as I was confirmed in the habits of industry and temperance he gave the reins into my own hands. His favourable report of my behaviour and progress gradually obtained some latitude of action and expence; and he wished to alleviate the hardships of my lodging and entertainment. The principles of philosophy were associated with the examples of taste; and by a singular chance, the book, as well as the man, which contributed the most effectually to my education, has a stronger claim on my gratitude than

than on my admiration. Mr. De Crousaz, the adversary of Bayle and Popé, is not distinguished by lively fancy or profound reflection; and even in his own country, at the end of a few years, his name and writings are almost obliterated. But his philosophy had been formed in the school of Locke, his divinity in that of Limborch and Le Clerc; in a long and laborious life, several generations of pupils were taught to think, and even to write; his lessons rescued the academy of Lausanne from Calvinistic prejudice; and he had the rare merit of diffusing a more liberal spirit among the clergy and people of the Pays de Vaud. His system of logic, which in the last editions has swelled to six tedious and prolix volumes, may be praised as a clear and methodical abridgement of the art of reasoning; from our simple ideas to the most complex operations of the human understanding. This system I studied, and meditated, and abstracted, till I have obtained the free command of an universal instrument, which I soon presumed to exercise on my catholic opinions. Pavilliard was not unmindful that his first task, his most important duty, was to reclaim me from the errors of popery. The intermixture of sects has rendered the Swiss clergy acute and learned on the topics of controversy: and I have some of his letters in which he celebrates the dexterity of his attack, and my gradual concessions, after a firm and well-managed defence. I was willing, and I am now willing, to allow him a handsome share of the honour of my conversion: yet I must observe, that it was principally effected by my private reflections; and I still

remember my solitary transport at the discovery of a philosophical argument against the doctrine of transubstantiation; that the text of scripture, which seems to inculcate the real presence, is attested only by a single sense—our sight; while the real presence itself is disproved by three of our senses—the sight, the touch, and the taste. The various articles of the Romish creed disappeared like a dream; and after a full conviction, on Christmas-day 1754, I received the sacrament in the church of Lausanne. It was here that I suspended my religious inquiries, acquiescing with implicit belief in the tenets and mysteries, which are adopted by the general consent of catholics and protestants.

Such, from my arrival at Lausanne, during the first eighteen or twenty months (July 1753—March 1755), were my useful studies, the foundation of all my future improvements. But every man who rises above the common level has received two educations: the first from his teachers; the second, more personal and important, from himself. He will not, like the fanatics of the last age, define the moment of grace; but he cannot forget the era of his life, in which his mind has expanded to its proper form and dimensions. My worthy tutor had the good sense and modesty to discern how far he could be useful. As soon as he felt that I advanced beyond his speed and measure, he wisely left me to my genius; and the hours of lesson were soon lost in the voluntary labour of the whole morning, and sometimes of the whole day. The desire of prolonging my time, gradually confirmed the salutary habit
of

of early rising; to which I have always adhered, with some regard to seasons and situations; but it is happy for my eyes and my health, that my temperate ardour has never been seduced to trespass on the hours of the night. During the last three years of my residence at Lausanne, I may assume the merit of serious and solid application; but I am tempted to distinguish the last eight months of the year 1755, as the period of the most extraordinary diligence and rapid progress. In my French and Latin translations I adopted an excellent method, which, from my own success, I would recommend to the imitation of students. I chose some classic writer, such as Cicero and Vertot, and most approved for purity and elegance of style. I translated, for instance, an epistle of Cicero into French; and after throwing it aside, till the words and phrases were obliterated from my memory, I re-translated my French into such Latin as I could find; and then compared each sentence of my imperfect version, with the ease, the grace, the propriety of the Roman orator. A similar experiment was made on several pages of the *Revolutions* of Vertot; I turned them into Latin, returned them after a sufficient interval into my own French, and again scrutinized the resemblance and dissimilitude of the copy and the original. By degrees I was less ashamed, by degrees I was more satisfied with myself; and I persevered in the practice of these double translations, which filled several books, till I had acquired the knowledge of both idioms, and the command at least of a correct style. This useful exercise of writing was ac-

companied and succeeded by the more pleasing occupation of reading the best authors. The perusal of the Roman classics, was at once my exercise and reward. Dr. Middleton's *History*, which I then appreciated above its true value, naturally directed me to the writings of Cicero. The most perfect editions, that of Olivet, which may adorn the shelves of the rich, that of Ernesti, which should lie on the table of the learned, were not in my power. For the familiar epistles I used the text and English commentary of bishop Ross: but my general edition was that of Verbergius, published at Amsterdam in two large volumes in folio, with an indifferent choice of various notes. I read with application and pleasure, *all* the epistles, *all* the orations, and the most important treatises of rhetoric and philosophy; and as I read, I applauded the observation of Quintillian, that every student may judge of his own proficiency, by the satisfaction which he receives from the Roman orator. I tasted the beauties of language, I breathed the spirit of freedom, and I imbibed from his precepts and examples the public and private sense of a man. Cicero in Latin, and Xenophon in Greek, are indeed the two ancients whom I would first propose to a liberal scholar; not only for the merit of their style and sentiments, but for the admirable lessons which may be applied almost to every situation of public and private life. Cicero's Epistles may in particular afford the models of every form of correspondence, from the careless effusions of tenderness and friendship, to the well-guarded declaration of discreet and dignified resentment. After finish-

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ing this great author, a library of eloquence and reason, I formed a more extensive plan of reviewing the Latin classics, under the four divisions of, 1. historians, 2. poets, 3. orators, and 4. philosophers; in a chronological series, from the days of Plautus and Sallust, to the decline of the language and empire of Rome; and this plan, in the last twenty-seven months of my residence at Lausanne (January, 1756—April, 1758), I nearly accomplished. Nor was this review, however rapid, either hasty or superficial. I indulged myself in a second and even a third perusal of Terence, Virgil, Horace, Tacitus, &c. and studied to imbibe the sense and spirit most congenial to my own. I never suffered a difficult or corrupt passage to escape, till I had viewed it in every light of which it was susceptible: though often disappointed, I always consulted the most learned or ingenious commentators, Torrentius and Dacier on Horace, Catrou and Servius on Virgil, Lipsius on Tacitus, Mezeriac on Ovid, &c. and in the ardour of my inquiries, I embraced a large circle of historical and critical erudition. My abstracts of each book were made in the French language: my observations often branched into particular essays; and I can still read, without contempt, a dissertation of eight folio pages on eight lines (287—294) of the fourth Georgic of Virgil. Mr. Deyverdun, my friend, whose name will be frequently repeated, had joined with equal zeal, though not with equal perseverance, in the same undertaking. To him every thought, every composition, was instantly communicated; with him I enjoyed the benefits of a free

conversation on the topics of our common studies.

But it is scarcely possible for a mind endowed with any active curiosity to be long conversant with the Latin classics, without aspiring to know the Greek originals, whom they celebrate as their masters, and of whom they so warmly recommend the study and imitation:

—*Vos exemplaria Græcæ
Nocturnâ versate manu, versate diurnâ.*

It was now that I regretted the early years which had been wasted in sickness or idleness, or mere idle reading; that I condemned the perverse method of our schoolmasters; who, by first teaching the mother language, might descend with so much ease and perspicuity to the origin and etymology of a derivative idiom. In the nineteenth year of my age I determined to supply this defect; and the lessons of Pavilliard again contributed to smooth the entrance of the way, the Greek alphabet, the grammar, and the pronunciation according to the French accent. At my earnest request we presumed to open the Iliad; and I had the pleasure of beholding, though darkly and through a glass, the true image of Homer, whom I had long since admired in an English dress. After my tutor had left me to myself, I worked my way through about half the Iliad, and afterwards interpreted alone a large portion of Xenophon and Herodotus. But my ardour, destitute of aid and emulation, was gradually cooled, and, from the barren task of searching words in a lexicon, I withdrew to the free and familiar conversation of Virgil and Tacitus. Yet in my residence at Lausanne I had laid a solid foundation, which enabled

enabled me; in a more propitious season, to prosecute the study of Grecian literature.

From a blind idea of the usefulness of such abstract science, my father had been desirous, and even pressing, that I should devote some time to the mathematics; nor could I refuse to comply with so reasonable a wish. During two winters I attended the private lectures of monsieur de Traytorrens, who explained the elements of algebra and geometry, as far as the conic sections of the marquis de l'Hôpital, and appeared satisfied with my diligence and improvement. But as my childish propensity for numbers and calculations was totally extinct, I was content to receive the passive impression of my professor's lectures, without any active exercise of my own powers. As soon as I understood the principles, I relinquished for ever the pursuit of the mathematics; nor can I lament that I desisted, before my mind was hardened by the habit of rigid demonstration, so destructive of the finer feelings of moral evidence, which must, however, determine the actions and opinions of our lives. I listened with more pleasure to the proposal of studying the law of nature and nations, which was taught in the academy of Lausanne by Mr. Vicar, a professor of some learning and reputation. But, instead of attending his public or private course, I preferred in my closet the lessons of his masters, and my own reason. Without being disgusted by Grotius or Puffendorf, I studied in their writings the duties of a man, the rights of a citizen, the theory of justice (it is, alas! a theory), and the laws of peace or war, which have had some

influence on the practice of modern Europe. My fatigues were alleviated by the good sense of their commentator Barbeyrac. Locke's Treatise of Government instructed me in the knowledge of whig principles, which are rather founded in reason than experience; but my delight was in the frequent perusal of Montesquieu, whose energy of style, and boldness of hypothesis, were powerful to awaken and stimulate the genius of the age. The logic of de Crousaz had prepared me to engage with his master Locke; and his antagonist Bayle; of whom the former may be used as a bridle, and the latter applied as a spur, to the curiosity of a young philosopher. According to the nature of their respective works, the schools of argument and objection, I carefully went through the Essay on Human Understanding, and occasionally consulted the most interesting articles of the Philosophic Dictionary. In the infancy of my reason I turned over, as an idle amusement, the most serious and important treatise: in its maturity, the most trifling performance could not exercise my taste or judgment; and more than once I have been led by a novel into a deep and instructive train of thinking. But I cannot forbear to mention three particular books, since they may have remotely contributed to form the historian of the Roman empire.

1. From the Provincial Letters of Pascal, which almost every year I have perused with new pleasure, I learned to manage the weapon of grave and temperate irony, even on subjects of ecclesiastical solemnity.
2. The Life of Julian, by the Abbe de la Bleterie, first introduced me to the man and the times; and I

should be glad to recover my first essay on the truth of the miracle which stopped the re-building of the Temple of Jerusalem. 3. In Giannone's Civil History of Naples, I observed with a critical eye the progress and abuse of sacerdotal power, and the revolutions of Italy in the darker ages. This various reading, which I now conducted with discretion, was digested, according to the precept and model of Mr. Locke, into a large common-place book; a practice, however, which I do not strenuously recommend. The action of the pen will doubtless imprint an idea on the mind as well as on the paper: but I much question whether the benefits of this laborious method are adequate to the waste of time; and I must agree with Dr. Johnson, (Idler, No. 74,) 'that what is twice read, is commonly better remembered, than what is transcribed.'

Account of Solomon Gesner, Author of the Death of Abel, &c.

THIS very pleasing writer was born at Zurich, on the 1st of April, 1730. In his youth, little expectations could be formed of him, as he then displayed none of the talents for which he was afterwards distinguished. His parents saw nothing to afford them much hope, though Similar, a man of some learning, assured his father, that the boy had talents which, though now hid, would sooner or later shew themselves, and elevate him far above his school-fellows. As he had made so little progress at Zurich, he was sent to Berg, and put under the care of a clergyman, where retirement and the picturesque scenery around him laid the founda-

tion for the change of his character. After a two year's residence at Berg, he returned home to his father, who was a bookseller at Zurich, and whose shop was resorted to by such men of genius as were then in that city; here his poetical talents in some slight degree displayed themselves, though not in such a manner as to prevent his father from sending him to Berlin, in the year 1749, to qualify him for his own business. Here he was employed in the business of the shop; but he soon became dissatisfied with his mode of life; he eloped from his master, and hired a chamber for himself. To reduce him to order, his parents, according to the usual mode in such cases, withheld every supply of money. He resolved, however, to be independent; shut himself up in his chamber; and, after some weeks, went to his friend Hempel, a celebrated artist, whom he requested to return with him to his lodgings. There he shewed his apartments covered with fresh landscapes, which our poet had painted with sweet oil, and by which he hoped to make his fortune: The shrugging up of the shoulders of his friend concluded with an assurance, that though his works were not likely to be held in high estimation in their present state, some expectations might be raised from them, if he continued the same application for ten years.

Luckily for our young artist his parents relented, and he was permitted to spend his time as he liked at Berlin. Here he formed acquaintance with artists and men of letters; Krause, Hempel, Ramler, Sulzer, were his companions; Ramler was his friend, from the fineness

fineness of whose ear and taste he derived the greatest advantages. With much diffidence he presented to Ramler some of his compositions; but every verse and every word were criticised, and very few could pass through the fiery trial. The Swiss dialect, he found at last, was the obstacle in his way, and the exertions requisite to satisfy the delicacy of a German ear would be excessive. Ramler advised him to clothe his thoughts in harmonious prose; this counsel he followed, and the anecdote may be of use in Britain, where many a would-be poet is probably hammering at a verse, which, from the circumstances of his birth and education, he can never make agreeable to the ear of taste.

From Berlin, Gessner went to Hamburgh, with letters of recommendation to Hagedorn; but he chose to make himself acquainted with him at a coffee-house before the letters were delivered. A close intimacy followed, and he had the advantages of a literary society which Hamburgh at that time afforded. Thence he returned home, with his taste much refined; and, fortunately for him he came back when his countrymen were in some degree capable of enjoying his future works. Had he produced them twenty years before, his *Daphnis* would have been hissed at as immoral; his *Abel* would have been preached against as prophanation.

This period may be called the Augustan age of Germany; Klopstock, Ramler, Kleist, Gleim, Utz, Lessing, Wieland, Rabener, were rescuing their country from the sarcasms of the great Frederic. Klopstock, paid about this time a visit

to Zurich, and fired every breast with poetical ardour. He had scarce left the place when Wieland came, and by both our poet was well received. After a few anonymous compositions, he tried his genius on a subject which was started by the accidental perusal of the translations of Longus; and his *Daphnis* was improved by the remarks of his friend Hirzel, the author of the *Rustic Socrates*. *Daphnis* appeared first without a name in the year 1754; it was followed in 1756, by *Inkle and Yarico*; and Gessner's reputation was spread in the same year, over Germany and Switzerland, by his *Pastorals*, a translation of which into English, in 1762, was published by Dr. Kenrick. His brother poets acknowledged the merit of these light compositions, as they were pleased to call them; but conceived their author to be incapable of forming a grander plan, or aiming at the dignity of heroic poetry. To these critics he soon after opposed his *Death of Abel*.

In 1762, he collected his poems in four volumes; in which were some new pieces that had never before made their appearance in public. In 1772, he produced his second volume of pastorals, with some letters on landscape painting. These met with the most favourable reception in France, where they were translated and imitated; as they were also, though with less success, in Italy and England.

We shall now consider Gessner as an artist: till his thirtieth year, painting was only an accidental amusement; but at that time he became acquainted with Heidegger, a man of taste, whose collection of paintings and engrav-

ings was thus thrown open to him. The daughter made an impression on him, but the circumstances of the lovers were not favourable to an union, till through the activity and friendship of the burgomasters Heidegger and Hirzel, he was enabled to accomplish his wishes. The question then became, how the married couple were to live? The pen is but a slender dependence any where, and still less in Switzerland. The poet had too much spirit to be dependent on others; and he determined to pursue the arts no longer as an amusement, but as a means of procuring a livelihood.

Painting and engraving alternately filled that time which was not occupied with poetry; and in these arts, if he did not arrive at the greatest eminence, he was distinguished by that simplicity, that elegance, that singularity, which are the characteristics of his poetry. His wife was not idle; besides the care of his house and the education of his children, for which no one was better qualified, the whole burthen of the shop (for our poet was bookseller as well as poet, engraver, and painter) was laid upon her shoulders.

In his manners, Gessner was cheerful, lively, and at times playful; fond of his wife; fond of his children. He had small pretensions to learning, yet he could read the Latin poets in the original; and of the Greek, he preferred the Latin translations to the French. In his early years, he led either a military life, or confined himself to men of taste and literature: as he grew older, he accustomed himself to general conversation; and in his later years, his house was the centre

point of the men of the first rank for talents or fortune in Zurich. Here they met twice a week, and formed a *conversazione* of a kind seldom, if ever, to be met with in great cities, and very rarely in any place; the politics of England destroy such meetings in London. Gessner with his friends enjoyed that simplicity of manners which makes society agreeable; and in his rural residence, in the summer, a little way out of town, they brought back the memory almost of the Golden Age.

He died of an apoplexy on the 2d of March, 1788; leaving a widow, three children, and a sister behind. His youngest son was married to a daughter of his father's friend Wieland. His fellow citizens have erected a statue in memory of him on the banks of the Limmat, where it meets the Sihl.

Some particulars of the Death of Condorcet, from Bottiger on the state of Letters, &c. in France:

AMONG the Girondists proscribed by Robespierre on the 31st of May, Condorcet was the very first on the list, and was obliged to skulk in the most hidden corners to elude the persecutions of the furious Jacobins. A lady, to whom he was known only by name, became, at the instance of a common friend, his generous protectress; concealing him in her house at Paris, at the most imminent hazard, till the latter end of April 1794; when the apprehension of general domiciliary visits so much increased, and the risk of exposing both himself and his patroness became so pressing on the mind of Condorcet, that he resolved to quit Paris.

Without

Without either passport or civic card, he contrived under the disguise of a provençal countrywoman, with a white cap on his head, to steal through the barriers of Paris, and reached the plains of Mont Rouge, in the district of Bourg-la-Reine; where he hoped to have found an asylum in the country-house of a gentleman with whom he had once been intimate. This friend having, unfortunately, at the very time, gone to Paris, Condorcet was under the dreadful necessity of wandering about in the fields and woods, for three successive days and nights, not venturing to enter any inn, unprovided with a civic card. Exhausted by hunger, fatigue, and anguish, with a wound in his foot, he was scarcely able to drag himself into a deserted quarry, where he purposed to await the return of his friend. At length, having advanced towards the road-side, Condorcet saw him approach, was recognized, and received with open arms:—but, as they both feared lest Condorcet's frequent inquiries at his friend's house should have raised suspicions; and as, at any rate, it was not advisable for them to make their entrance together, in the day time, they agreed that Condorcet should stay in the fields till dusk, and then be let in by a back door. It was then, however, that imprudence threw him off his guard. The forlorn exile, after having patiently borne hunger and thirst, for three days together, without so much as approaching an inn, now finds himself incapable of waiting a few hours longer, at the end of which all his sufferings were to subside in the bosom of friendship. Transported with this happy prospect, and fore-

going all caution, which seemed to have become habitual to him, he entered an inn at Clamars, and called for an omelette. His attire, his dirty cap and long beard, his pale meagre countenance, and the ravenous appetite with which he devoured the victuals, could not fail to excite the curiosity and suspicion of the company. A member of the revolutionary committee who happened to be present, taking it for granted that his woe-begone figure could be no other than some runaway from the Bicêtre, addressed and questioned him whence he came, whether he could produce a passport, &c. which inquiries, Condorcet having lost all self-command, were so unsatisfactorily answered, that he was taken to the house of the committee as a suspected person. Thence, having undergone a second interrogatory, during which he acquitted himself equally ill, he was conducted to Bourg-la-Reine; and, as he gave very inconsistent answers to the questions put to him by the municipality, it was inferred that this unknown person must have some very important reasons for wishing to continue undiscovered. Being sent to a temporary confinement till the matter should be cleared up, on the next morning he was found senseless on the ground, without any marks of violence on his body; whence it was conjectured that he must have poisoned himself. Indeed, Condorcet had, for sometime past, carried about him the most deadly poison; and, not long before his fatal exit, he owned to a friend, that he had more than twenty times been tempted to make use of it, but was checked by motives of af-

fection for his wife and daughter. It was during his concealment of ten months at Paris that he wrote his excellent history of the progress of human understanding.—Thus perished one of the most illustrious of the French literati that the present age had produced.

Biographical Anecdotes of the Count de Buffon, extracted from a Manuscript Journey to Montbart in 1785, by Hérault de Sechelles.

I beheld a fine figure noble and placid. Notwithstanding he is 78 years old, one would not attribute to him above 60 years; and although he had spent sixteen sleepless nights, in consequence of being afflicted with the stone, he looked as fresh as a child, and as calm as if in health. His bust, by Houdon, appears to me very like; although the effect of the black eyes and brows is lost.

His white hair was accurately drest: this was one of his whims, and he owns it. He has it papered at night, and curled with irons sometimes twice a day, in the morning and before supper. He had five small curls on each side. His bedgown was a yellow and white stripe, flowered with blue.

His voice is strong for his age, and very pleasant: in general, when he speaks, his looks are fixed on nothing, but roll unguardedly about. His favourite words are *tout ça* and *pardieu*, which recur perpetually. His vanity is undisguised and prominent; here are a few instances.

I told him I read much in his works, "What are you reading?" said he. I answered, the *Vues sur la Nature*. "There are passages of the highest eloquence in them:" replied he instantly.

His son has erected a monument to the father in the gardens of Montbart. It is a simple column, near a lofty tower, and it is inscribed

*Excelsæ turri humilis columna
Parenti suo filius BUFFON, 1785.*

The father burst into tears on seeing this monument, and said to the young man, "Son, this will do you honour."

The son shewed me about the grounds. We came to the closet in which this great man laboured; it is in a pavillion called the tower of Saint-Louis, and it is up stairs. The entrance is by a green folding door. The simplicity of the laboratory astonishes. The ceiling is vaulted, the walls are green, the floor is in squares: it contains an ordinary wooden desk, and an arm chair; but not a book nor a paper. This nakedness has its effect. The imagination clothes it with the splendid pages of Buffon. There is another sanctuary in which he was wont to compose; "the cradle of natural history," as prince Henry called it, when he went thither. It was there that Rousseau prostrated himself and kissed the threshold. I mentioned this circumstance to Buffon. "Yes," said he, "Rousseau bowed down to me." This cabinet is wainscoted, furnished with screens, a sofa, and with drawings of birds and beasts. The chairs are covered with black leather, and the desk is near the chimney, and of walnut tree. A treatise on the loadstone, on which he was then employed, lay on it.

His example and his discourse convince me, that he who passionately desires glory, is sure in the end to obtain it. The wish must not be a momentary, but an every day emotion. Buffon said to me

on this subject a very striking thing—one of those speeches which may be the cause of a great man hereafter: “Genius is only a greater aptitude to *patience*.” Observe, that patience must be applied to every thing: patience in finding out one’s line, patience in resisting the motives that divert, and patience in bearing what would discourage a common man.

I will mention some facts of Buffon. He would sometimes return from the suppers of Paris at two in the morning, when he was young. A boy was ordered to call him at five; however late he returned: and, in case of his lingering in bed, to drag him out on the floor. He used to work till six at night. “I had at that time (said he) a mistress of whom I was very fond: but I would never allow myself to go to her till six, even at the risk of finding her gone out.”

He thus distributes his day. At five o’clock he rises, dresses, powders, dictates letters, and regulates his household matters. At six he goes to the foresaid study, which is a furlong distant from the house, at the extremity of the garden. There are gates to open and terraces to climb by the way. When not engaged in writing, he paces up and down the surrounding avenues. No one may intrude on his retreat. He often reads over what he has written, and then lays it by for a time. “It is important,” said he to me, “never to be in a hurry: review your compositions often, and every time with a fresh eye, and you will always find that they can be mended.” When he has made many corrections in a manuscript, he employs an amanuensis to transcribe it, and then he cor-

rects again. He told M. de S— that the *Épques de la Nature* were written over eighteen times. He is very orderly and exact. “I burn (said he to me) every thing which I do not intend to use: not a paper will be found at my death!”

I resume the account of his day. At nine, breakfast is brought to him in the study. It consists of two glasses of wine and a bit of bread. He writes for about two hours after breakfast, and then returns to the house. He does not love to hurry over his dinner; during which he gives vent to all the gaieties and trifles which suggest themselves while at table. He loves to talk smuttily; and the effect of his jokes and laughter are heightened by the natural seriousness of his age and calmness of his character! but he is often so coarse as to compel the ladies to withdraw. He talks of himself with pleasure, and like a critic. He said to me, “I learn every day to write; in my latter works there is infinitely more perfection than in my former. I often have my works read to me, and this mostly puts me upon some improvement. There are, however, passages which I cannot improve.” In this openness there is a something interesting, original, antique, attractive.

Speaking of Rousseau, he said, “I loved him much until I read his Confessions, and then I ceased to esteem him. I cannot fancy the spirit of the man; an unusual process happened to me with respect to him: after his death I lost my reverence for him.”

This great man is very much of a gossip, and, for at least an hour in the day, will make his hair-dresser and valets tell all the scandal

dal of the village. He knows every minute event that surrounds him.

His confidence is almost wholly engrossed by a Mademoiselle Blesseau: a woman now forty years old, well-made, who has been pretty, and has lived with him about twenty years. She is very attentive to him, manages in the house, and is hated by the servants. Madame de Buffon, who has long been dead, could not endure this woman. She adored her husband, and is said to have been very jealous of him.

Mademoiselle de Blesseau is not the only one who manages Buffon. Father Ignatius Prouzet, a capuchin friar, born at Dijon, divides her empire. He is, it seems, a convenient confessor. Thirty years ago the author of the *Epoques de la Nature* sent for him at Easter, and confessed to him in the very laboratory in which he had put together his materialism, in which Rousseau prostrated himself at the threshold. Ignatius told me that M. de Buffon, when about to submit to this ceremony, hesitated awhile—"the effect of human weakness"—added he—and insisted on his valet-de-chambre's confessing himself first. This will surprise at Paris. Yes: Buffon, when at Montbart, receives the annual communion in his seignoral chapel, goes every Sunday to high mass, and distributes a Louis weekly amongst different descriptions of pious beggars. M. de Buffon tells me that he makes a point of respecting religion; that there must be a religion for the multitude; that in little places every one is observed; and that we should avoid giving offence. "I am persuaded," (said he to me,) "that in your

speeches you take care to let nothing escape you that should be remarked, or excite alarm on this head. I have ever had that attention in my writings, and have published them separately, that ordinary men may not catch at the connexion of ideas. I have always named the Creator, but it is only putting, mentally, in its place, the energy of nature, which results from the two great laws of attraction and impulse. When the Sorbonne plagued me, I gave all the satisfactions which they solicited: 'twas a form which I despised, but men are silly enough to be so satisfied. For the same reason, when I fall dangerously ill, I shall not hesitate to send for the sacraments. This is due to the public religion. Those who act otherwise are madmen. The arriation of *Voltaire*, of *Diderot*, of *Helvetius*, often wounded themselves. The latter was my friend; he spent more than four years at Montbart on different occasions. I recommended more reserve to him. Had he attended to me, he would have been better off."

In fact, this spirit of accommodation answered to M. de Buffon. His works demonstrate materialism; yet they were printed at the royal press.

My early volumes appeared, (said he), at the same time with the Spirit of Laws. We were teased by the Sorbonne, both Montesquieu and I, and assailed by the critics. The president was quite furious: "What shall you answer?" said he to me, "Nothing at all, president," replied I. He could not understand such cold-bloodedness. I was reading to Buffon one evening

ing some verses of Thomas on the immortality of the soul. "Pardieu, (said he), religion would be a noble present, if all that were true." He criticised these lines severely: he is inexorable as to style, and does not love poetry. "Never write verses, (said he), I could have made them as well as others; but I soon abandoned a course in which reason marches in fetters: she has chains enough already, without looking about for new ones."

Buffon willingly quits his grounds, and walks about the village with his son among the peasantry. At these times he always appears in a laced coat. He is a stickler about dress, and scolds his son for wearing a frock-coat. I was aware of this, and had taken care to arrive in an embroidered waistcoat and laced clothes. My precaution succeeded wonderfully; he shewed me repeatedly to his son. "There's a gentleman for you!" He loves to be called *monsieur le Comte*.

After having risen from dinner, he pays little attention either to his family or his guests. He sleeps for an hour in his room, then takes a walk alone; after which he will perhaps come in and converse, or sit at his desk and look over papers that are brought for his opinion. He has lived thus these fifty years. To some one who expressed astonishment at his great reputation, he replied, "Have not I passed fifty years at my desk?" At nine he goes to bed.

He is at present afflicted with the stone, which suspends his employments. While I was at his house he had acute pains, shut himself up in his chamber, would scarcely see his son, and not his sister. He admitted me repeatedly. His hair was always drest; and he retained

his fine calm look. He complained mildly of his ill health, and bore his pangs with a smile. He opened his whole soul to me: made me read to him the treatise on the loadstone, and, as he listened, would reform the phrases. Sometimes he would send for a volume of his works, and request me to read aloud the finer efforts of style; such as the soliloquy of the first man, the description of an Arabian desert in the article camel, and a still finer piece of painting (in his opinion) in the article Kamichi. Sometimes he would explain to me his system of the formation of the universe, the genesis of beings, the internal moulds, &c. Sometimes he would recite whole pages of his compositions; for he knows them almost all by heart. He listens gladly to objections, discusses them, and surrenders to them when his judgment is convinced.

Of natural history and of style he loves to talk, especially of the latter. No one better understands the theory of style, unless it be Beccaria, who did not possess the practice. "The style is the man, (said he); our poets have no style; they are coerced by the rules of metre, which makes slaves of them." "How do you like Thomas?" I asked. "Pretty well, (said he), but he is stiff and blunted." "And Rousseau?" "His style is better: but he has all the faults of bad education, interjection, exclamation, interrogation for ever." "Favour me with your leading ideas on style." "They are recorded in my discourse at the academy:—however, two things form style, invention and expression. Invention depends on patience; contemplate your subject long: it will gradually unroll and unfold—till a sort of electric

electric spark convulses for a moment the brain, and spreads down to the very heart a glow of irritation. Then are come the luxuries of genius, the true hours for production and composition—hours so delightful, that I have spent twelve and fourteen successively at my writing-desk, and still been in a state of pleasure. It is for this gratification, yet more than for glory, that I have toiled. Glory comes if it can, and mostly does come. This pleasure is greater if you consult no books: I have never consulted authors, till I had nothing left to say of my own.”

I asked him what is the best method of forming one's self. He answered, “Read only the capital works, read them repeatedly, and read those in every department of taste and science; for the framers of such works are, as Cicero says, kindred-souls, and the views of one may always be applied with advantage in some very different branch by another. Be not afraid of the task. Capital works are scarce. I know but five great geniuses—Newton, Bacon, Leibnitz, Montesquieu, and myself. Newton (continued he,) may have discovered an important principle, but he spent his life in frivolous calculations, and was no master of style.” He thought higher of Leibnitz than of Bacon. He spoke of Montesquieu's genius, but thought his style too studied, and wanting evolution. “This, however (said he), was a natural consequence of his frame of body. I knew him well; he was almost blind, and very impatient. If he had not elipt his ideas into short sentences, he would have lost his period before the amanuensis had taken it down.”

He spoke to me of the passion for study, and of the happiness which it bestows. He told me that he had voluntarily secluded himself from society; that at one time he courted the company of learned men, expecting to acquire much from their conversation, but he had discovered that little of value could be so gleaned, and that, in order to pick up a phrase, an evening was ill squandered: that labour was become a want to him, and he hoped to consecrate to it much of the three or four years of life which probably remained to him; that he feared not death—that the hope of an immortal renown was the most powerful of death-bed consolations.

He shewed me a letter from prince Henry of Prussia, and another from the empress of Russia, with his answers. Over this lofty correspondence between power and genius, where the latter retained its innate ascendancy, I felt my soul swell. Glory seemed to assume, as it were, a substantial form, and to bend down at its feet what the world has most exalted.

In a few days, I left this good and great man; repeating, as I withdrew, two lines of the Oedipus of Voltaire:

*L'amitié d'un grand homme est un
bienfait desdieux,
Je lisais mon devoir et mon sort
dans ses yeux.*

*Account of Apostolo Zeno, from Burney's
Memoirs of Metastasio.*

THE learned poet, critic and antiquary, Apostolo Zeno, was born in 1660, and descended from an illustrious Venetian family, which has been long settled in the island of Candia.

He

He early applied himself to literature, and the study of Italian history and antiquities. In 1696, he instituted at Venice the academy *Degli Animosi*, and was the editor of the *Giornale de' Letterati d'Italia*, of which he published thirty volumes between the year 1710 and 1719. His first musical drama, *L'Inganni Felici*, was set by Carlo Fran. Polarolo, and performed at Venice, 1695. And between that time and his quitting Vienna, where he was invited by the emperor Charles VI. in 1718, he produced forty-six operas, and seventeen oratorios, besides eighteen dramas, which he wrote jointly with Pariati. His dramatic works were collected and published at Venice, in 1744, in ten volumes octavo, by count Gozzi. And in 1752, his letters were printed in three volumes, by Forcellini, in which much sound learning and criticism are manifested on various subjects. But one of the most useful of his critical labours seems to have been, his commentary on the *Bibl. dell' Eloquenza Italiana di Fontanini*, which was published in 1753; with a preface by his friend Forcellini, chiefly dictated, however, by Zeno himself, just before his death, 1750, in the 82d year of his age.

After he was engaged as Imperial laureate, he set out from Venice for Vienna, in July 1718; but having been overturned in a chaise, the fourth day of his journey, he had the misfortune to break his leg, and was confined at an inn in the little town of Ponticaba, near Trevisa, till September. He arrived at Vienna the 14th of that month, salvo, he says, if not sano e guerito; after twelve days of excessive suffering on the road.

Most of the dramas, sacred and secular, which he wrote for the Imperial court, were set by Caldara, a grave composer and sound harmonist, to whose style Zeno seems never to have been partial. But this excellent antiquary and critic seems never to have been satisfied with his own poetical abilities. So early as the year 1722, in writing to his brother from Vienna, he says: "I find more and more every day, that I grow old, not only in body, but in mind: and that the business of writing verses is no longer a fit employment for me." And afterwards, modestly sensible of the sterility of his possessions in Parnassus, which, though they furnished useful productions, were not of a soil sufficiently rich to generate such gay, delicate, and beautiful flowers, as are requisite to embellish the lyric scene, he expressed a wish that he might be allowed a partner in his labours; and was so just and liberal as to mention the young Metastasio as a poet worthy to be honoured with the notice of his Imperial patron.

Account of the Peasantry of Norway, from Mary Wollstonecraft's letters, during a short residence in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark.

THOUGH the king of Denmark be an absolute monarch, yet the Norwegians appear to enjoy all the blessings of freedom. Norway may be termed a sister kingdom; but the people have no viceroy to lord it over them, and fatten his dependants with the fruit of their labour.

There are only two counts in the whole country, who have estates, and

and exact some feudal observances from their tenantry. All the rest of the country is divided into small farms, which belong to the cultivator. It is true, some few, appertaining to the church, are lett; but always on a lease for life, generally renewed in favour of the eldest son, who has this advantage, as well as a right to a double portion of the property. But the value of the farm is estimated; and after his portion is assigned to him, he must be answerable for the residue to the remaining part of the family.

Every farmer, for ten years, is obliged to attend annually about twelve days, to learn the military exercise; but it is always at a small distance from his dwelling, and does not lead him into any new habits of life.

There are about six thousand regulars also, garrisoned at Christiana and Fredericshall, which are equally reserved, with the militia, for the defence of their own country. So that when the prince royal passed into Sweden, in 1788, he was obliged to request, not command, them to accompany him on this expedition.

These corps are mostly composed of the sons of the cottagers, who being labourers on the farms, are allowed a few acres to cultivate for themselves. These men voluntarily enlist; but it is only for a limited period (six years), at the expiration of which they have the liberty of retiring. The pay is only twopence a day, and bread; still, considering the cheapness of the country, it is more than sixpence in England.

The distribution of landed property into small farms, produces a

degree of equality which I have seldom seen elsewhere; and the rich being all merchants, who are obliged to divide their personal fortune amongst their children, the boys always receiving twice as much as the girls, property has not a chance of accumulating till overgrown wealth destroys the balance of liberty.

You will be surprised to hear me talk of liberty: yet the Norwegians appear to me to be the most free community I have ever observed.

The mayor of each town or district, and the judges in the country, exercise an authority almost patriarchal. They can do much good but little harm, as every individual can appeal from their judgment; and as they may always be forced to give a reason for their conduct, it is generally regulated by prudence. 'They have not time to learn to be tyrants,' said a gentleman to me, with whom I discussed the subject.

The farmers not fearing to be turned out of their farms, should they displease a man in power, and having no vote to be commanded at an election for a mock representative, are a manly race; for not being obliged to submit to any debasing tenure, in order to live, or advance themselves in the world, they act with an independent spirit. I never yet have heard of any thing like domineering, or oppression, excepting such as has arisen from natural causes. The freedom the people enjoy may, perhaps, render them a little litigious, and subject them to the impositions of cunning practitioners of the law; but the authority of office is bounded, and the emolument

ments of it do not destroy its utility.

Last year a man, who had abused his power, was cashiered, on the representation of the people to the bailiff of the district.

There are four in Norway, who might with propriety be termed sheriffs; and, from their sentence, an appeal, by either party, may be made to Copenhagen.

Near most of the towns are commons, on which the cows of all the inhabitants, indiscriminately are allowed to graze. The poor, to whom a cow is necessary, are almost supported by it. Besides, to render living more easy, they all go out to fish in their own boats; and fish is their principal food.

The lower class of people in the towns are in general sailors; and the industrious have usually little ventures of their own, that serve to render the winter comfortable.

Account of the Hoozuana, a wandering tribe of Savages. From le Vaillant's second Journey into the Interior of Africa.

THE Hoozuana is of a very small stature, and he is a tall man among them who reaches five feet (five feet four inches English); but these small bodies, perfectly proportioned, unite with wonderful strength and agility a certain air of assurance, boldness and pride, which awes the spectator, and pleased me infinitely. Of all the tribes of savages which I have known, none has appeared to me endowed with so active a soul and so indefatigable a constitution. Their head, though it has the principal characters of that of the Hottentot, is yet more rounded at

the chin. They are also much less black, and have that leaden hue of the Malays which, at the Cape, is distinguished by the name *boogained*. Their hair, more frizzled, is so short, that at first I thought them shaved. Their nose is still flatter than that of the Hottentot; or rather they have no nose, and the organ in them consists of two flattened nostrils, projecting, at most, five or six lines. From this nullity of nose it results that the Hoozuana, viewed in profile, is ugly, and very like a monkey. Viewed in front there appears at the first glance something very extraordinary, the forehead seeming to occupy more than half of the face. Yet he has so much expression, and such large and lively eyes, that notwithstanding this singular appearance, he is agreeable enough to the view.

The heat of the climate freeing him from all necessity of clothing, he is quite naked during the whole year, except a very small jackal-skin, tied over his loins by two straps, the ends of which fall on his hams. Hardened by this constant habit of nudity, he becomes so insensible to the variations of the atmosphere, that, when he transports himself from the burning sands of the plain to the snows and frosts of the mountains, he seems not to feel the cold. His hut does not resemble that of the Hottentot. It is cut vertically in the middle, so that one of the Hottentot huts would make two of these. In their emigrations they suffer the kraal (or encampment) to remain; in order that, if any horde of their nation should pass that way, they might make use of it. On the march, the emigrants have no other shelter

shelter for repose than a mat suspended and inclined on two sticks; and they frequently sleep on the bare ground, when the projection of a rock serves them for shelter. If, however, they stop any where to sojourn for some time, and find materials for the construction of their huts, they then build a kraal: but at their departure, they leave it like all the rest. This custom of working for their comrades announces a sociable character, and benevolent dispositions. In fact, they are not only good husbands and fathers, but excellent associates. In the same kraal, no one appropriates any thing to himself, but all belongs to all. When they meet with other bands of the same nation, they give them a kind reception and protection; in short, they treat them as brothers, though perhaps they have never before seen them.

Naturally active and nimble, the Hoozuana makes it his sport to climb the highest mountains and peaks; and this disposition was of great service to me. The stream on which I was encamped had a coppery taste, and a nauseous odour, which rendered the water unfit to drink. My cattle, accustomed to the bad waters of the country, were contented with it; but I was afraid that my people would be injured by it, and would not suffer them to make use of it. My Hoozuanas had no milk for me, since they only possessed some poor stolen cows. I asked them if they knew of any good spring in the neighbourhood of their kraal, to which I could send my people for water; instantly, without making any answer, they ran to their mountains,

and in less than two hours brought all my skins and vessels full of excellent water. During all the time of my stay on the stream, they rendered me the same service. One of these journies would have cost a Hottentot a whole day.

When they are on an expedition, the want of water does not disquiet them, even in the midst of the deserts. By a particular art, they know how to discover that which is concealed in the bowels of the earth; and their skill in this point is even superior to that of the other Africans. Animals in a like case, perceive the water, but it is only by the scent; and the emanations must be brought by a current of air; consequently the water must be to windward. During my abode in the desert in the first journey, my savages had more than once shewed the same faculty; and, instructed by them, I had also acquired it. The Hoozuana, more skilful, has need only of a sight. He lies on his belly, looks to a distance, and if the intermediate space contains any subterraneous source, he arises and points out the place with his finger. That ethereal and subtle exhalation, which ascends from every current of water when not buried too deeply in the earth, suffices him for the discovery. As to lakes and other exterior deposits formed by the rains, they have a sensible evaporation, which points them out to him even when masked by a mound or hillock. If there be running waters, such as brooks and rivers, their abundant vapours enable him to trace all the sinuosities of the stream.

The Hoozuana has no other arms

arms than a bow and arrow; the latter are very short, and are carried on the shoulder in a quiver about 18 inches long and four in diameter, made of the bark of aloë's wood, and covered with the skin of a great lizard found in all the rivers, especially on the banks of the Orange and the Fish river. Obligated to maintain a numerous company, and desirous of making the horde partake of my plenty of game, I went daily to hunt, and was always attended by a large number of Hoozuanas. If I hunted in the mountains, I climbed the rocks with them; in the plain, I used one of my horses;—but whether it was their office to follow me, or to drive towards me the zebras and gazelles, they were always indefatigable; and at whatever pace I put my horse I saw them still at my side. During all the long journey which they performed with me, never did they belie their character. In many respects they seemed to resemble the Arabs, who, equally wanderers, equally brave and predatory, are unchangeably faithful in their engagements, and would defend to the last drop of blood the traveller who purchases their services, and puts himself under their protection.

Were my project of crossing Africa entirely from north to south practicable, it could only be with these Hoozuanas. I am convinced that fifty men of this sober, brave, and indefatigable nation, would have sufficed me to effectuate it; and I shall ever regret having known them too late, and under circumstances in which innumerable misfortunes had compelled me to renounce my design,—at least for the present.

Account of the Celebration of a Good Friday in Brussels. From Owen's Travels.

A card-party was formed on Friday evening, being the *Vendredi Saint*, the singular object of which induces me to mention it. It was held at the apartments of the comtesse de Choiseul, and attended by most of the fashionable people. Agreeably to the law of the assembly, the gains of the evening were to be disposed of, at the discretion of the lady of the house, in purposes of charity. This is a custom of ancient establishment.

An assembly, of this nature, where pleasure and religion are combined, must give birth to many singular impressions. No day in the calendar can wear a more gloomy face, or excite more devotional sentiments in the breast of a catholic, than the day of the crucifixion. Every means are employed to excite superstitious horror, and recall to the mind the memory of that darkness which enveloped the face of the earth. All that breathes the air of dissipation must be entirely banished, and amusement so qualified by motive, and so chastised by austerity, as to receive the serious cast of religious exercise. To-morrow is, I understand, the concluding day of this severe penance: consolation will then be administered to the consciences of the devotees, who will emerge, fully acquitted of all past guilt, and at liberty to commence a fresh account. The streets, parade, and promenades, will resume their brilliancy: at present, they exhibit a striking picture of spiritual indolence. Superstition has long since consecrated this week to purposes which

which are deemed incompatible with secular occupation. The days being too sacred for labour, and too long for devotion, a great part of the time is yawned away in listless ennui.

The consecration of days is a custom of barbarous origin; and the pious enthusiasm of the first Christians gave it the sanction of their own observance. The church of England, which has had the merit of restoring to society the days and weeks hallowed by bigotry, still retains some few, which she refuses to secularize, and which serve, like the ancient hangings in a modernized mansion, to mark the date of the edifice, and perpetuate the taste of those who undertook its reform. It is plain, the contract between priest and people in those regions of superstition, is very much in favour of the former, though equally to the satisfaction of each. The latter surrender without reluctance the fruits of their labour to the use of the former, who only engage for an undefined retribution—a bright reversion in the sky—at some future and distant period.

Account of the alteration produced by the French Revolution at Strasbourg. From the same.

The general complaint at Strasbourg was want of money. Nothing is to be found in circulation but paper and copper. "Tout iroit bien," said an old man, "si on avoit de l'argent." At all the shops, the greatest apprehensions are entertained of being paid for their merchandize in paper. This,

amongst each other, they are obliged to admit; but in their intercourse with strangers, they struggle very hard for specie.

I turned into the shop of a *marchande de modes* to purchase some articles. The bargain was struck, the several particulars wrapped up, and I was searching in my pocket for the money; when observing me draw out some paper by accident, she laid immediate hold upon the packet I had purchased, and demanded with haste, "*Allez-vous me payer en papier, monsieur?*" "*Si fait,*" said I. "*Eh bien donc,*" replied she, "*je garderai ma marchandise.*" I soon relieved her of the anxiety she felt, and brought a glow upon her cheek, by counting out upon the table the sum agreed. This is indeed the greatest—I had almost said the only—grievance that I have discovered among them; and they scruple not to predict that the very favourable sale of the national domains will raise the credit of their paper, and give them as much money as they have liberty.

I must assure you, that I found the state of the people in this part of France very different from what it had been represented. At Manheim and Worms, reports prevailed of the most serious tumults now reigning in France; and we were more than once cautioned against trusting ourselves amongst a *canaille*, who would hang us up at the lamp-post for a word or a look. This statement has so little connexion with truth, that every thing passes with the utmost order; and, so far as I can judge from observation and report, freedom of remark encounters less danger here than at the court of Manheim.

Nothing

Nothing could surpass the strictness which prevailed in every quarter where the fugitive nobility are received; and if I might draw conclusions respecting the country at large from what I see around me, restraint of opinion is exiled with those who owed to its existence their guilty pre-eminence.

The day after our arrival was rendered festive by a new enrolment of national guards. This was formed out of the citizens above the age of eighteen years, and was effected without the least symptom of disorder. Beside the guard thus regularly embodied, the citizens are seen every evening in different parts of the town, learning, against an emergency, the use of arms. It certainly is animating to read, in a thousand conspicuous places, proclamations setting forth the right of private judgment; allowing to every man the free exercise of his opinion in matters of religion; and establishing to each individual the liberty of adopting that mode of worship he best approves.

This would, however, be nugatory and ridiculous, were the slightest encouragement given to contumacy and disorder. This has been said out of the country; but the contrary has appeared wherever I have inquired. I read upon the door of the cathedral at Strasburg an advertisement, which stated, "That a young man having behaved improperly in the cathedral during the performance of divine service; and, after admonition from the centinel, persisted in a conduct unbecoming the solemnity of the place and occasion, was, by the officers of the police, sentenced to imprisonment for this insult of-

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fered to religious worship." This accords but ill with a toleration of disorder.

*Account of the Public Eating-house
at Vienna. From the same.*

IN all these houses the custom is, to give every man his portion separate; insomuch that though numbers dine at the same table, they seldom dine in common. In almost all the dining-houses here, a bill of fare, containing a vast collection of dishes, is written out, and the prices affixed to each article. As the people of Vienna eat of variety, the calculation at the conclusion of the repast would appear somewhat embarrassing; this, however, is done by mechanical habit with great speed. The custom is, for the party who has dined to name the dishes, his quantity of bread and wine. The keller, who attends on this occasion, follows every article you name, with the sum which this adds to the calculation; and the whole is performed, to whatever amount, without ink or paper. It is curious to hear this ceremony, which is muttered with great gravity, yet performed with accuracy and dispatch. It is inconceivable how numerous these houses are in Vienna, to which we have in England nothing that corresponds exactly. There is something remarkably pleasant in this mode of living. An evening seldom passes in these houses without music, and the German dances have an air of vivacity and cheerfulness superior to all others.

I have been often regaled by a strolling band at one of these houses; where, deeming myself totally unknown, I was accustomed

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to pass an evening hour. I usually entered them, wrapped in my cloak, and took my seat in a corner of the room, where I might register what passed without attracting notice. A principal part of my amusement arose from the warm debates of some worthy citizens, who, having dispatched the business of the day, were relaxing their minds with a little politics. I was diverted to hear these great personages regulating the affairs of empires—leading the combined armies into the heart of France, by a shorter cut than the Duke of Brunswick had taken—making the rebels own their lawful king, and receive their expatriated princes. I had remarked every night that I frequented one house, a little man of uncouth figure, and unpropitious physiognomy; and had observed him constantly twirling a large key over his finger, whenever he entered into conversation, and striking this forcibly against the table, when he wished to establish his argument or silence his adversary. I was astonished to find so much wit and pleasantry in his discourse. He rallied with much vivacity all nations, and all governments—but his own. He thought that France and Switzerland, which boasted of the purest constitutions, had less liberty than the Austrians, whose constitution of government he owned was the worst. “In Switzerland,” said he, “a man cannot speak his sentiments without hazard of imprisonment, nor in France without the danger of decapitation; while in Vienna a man may indulge himself in all freedom of remark, and runs no risk, till he lends his aid to plots, cabals, and conspiracies.”

There are, however, discontents at Vienna; and, were there all that freedom of speech on which the orator insisted, the coffee-houses would resound with the complaints and remonstrances of the people. On the various topics he ran over, he expressed himself with great vehemence, took much snuff, and smote frequently with his key. Some intelligence which I picked up from the house has acquainted me, that he has lately married a very pretty woman; and that every evening when he leaves her, he locks the door, and pockets the key. I will make no apology for these colorings after nature—however remote from the splendid scenes of life: my fortune has at present thrown me into those walks of society, where higher incidents cannot occur.

The Life and Writings of the Abbé Barthelemy: by the Duke de Nemours.

John James Barthelemy was born January 20, 1716, at Cassis, a small sea-port in Provence, situated between Toulon and Marseilles; his family had long been established at Aubagne, a pleasant town in that neighbourhood, where they were much respected; his mother, Magdalen Rastit, was the daughter of a merchant at Cassis; he lost her at four years of age. At 12, his father sent him to school at Marseilles, where he made some progress in his studies under the Père Renaud, at the college of the Oratoire; but, being destined for the church, and M. de Belzunce, the bishop of Marseilles, objecting to admit the students of that seminary into orders, he was removed

ed with regret to the college of the Jesuits: there he fell into bad hands, and was therefore happily induced to form a plan of study for himself, independent of the professors of the college, and devoted himself to the study of the ancient languages, the Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, and Chaldean, with so great ardour, that it nearly cost him his life; nor did he recover his health till the period of his entering the seminary in which he received the tonsure. There he became intimately acquainted with a young Maronite, who had been educated at Rome, and now resided with his uncle, a Turkish merchant, at Marseilles, from whom he acquired a fundamental knowledge of the Arabic language, and learned to speak it with facility. By the recommendation of this young man, he got by heart several Arabic sermons, which he preached to a congregation of Arabian and Armenian Catholics; who did not understand the French language. After he had finished his academic studies, Barthelemy retired to Aubagne, where he resided some time, often paying visits at Marseilles to those learned academicians with whom a similarity of literary pursuits had naturally connected him; among the rest with M. Cary, a great collector of medals, and with Père Sigaloux, of the convent of Minims, with whom he studied astronomy.

In 1744, he went to Paris with a letter of recommendation to M. de Boze, keeper of the cabinet of medals, and secretary of the academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres; by whom he was very kindly received, and introduced to the most distinguished members of the academy. The age and infirmities of M. de Boze calling for some assist-

ance in his laborious occupation, he pitched upon Barthelemy for an associate in the care and arrangement of the cabinet; and his appointment was confirmed by M. de Maurepas, minister of that department. Barthelemy lost no time in arranging in perfect order the large and valuable collection of M. D'Etrées and the Abbé de Rothelin, which lay in confused heaps in boxes. These he separated, compared, and described in a supplementary catalogue. While he was thus occupied in a manner so congenial to his taste and his talents, he was apprehensive he should be drawn off from these pursuits to enter on a very different career. His friend and countryman, M. de Bausset, had engaged to promote him in the church; and, being now bishop of Béziers, invited him to accept the office of his vicar-general. Barthelemy, having promised to follow the fortunes of his friend, had no intention of retracting his engagement; but, wishing to be released from it, and to be left at liberty to follow his favourite studies, he submitted himself entirely to the decision of the worthy prelate, who had too much good sense, and too warm an affection for his friend, not to comply with his wishes.

In 1747, on the death of M. Burette, he was elected associate of the academy of inscriptions, M. le Beau having very handsomely declined in his favour; and when M. de Bougainville resigned the office of secretary, and recommended Barthelemy to M. D'Argenson as his successor, Barthelemy, with equal generosity, yielded to M. le Beau, to whom he afterwards succeeded; and his annual labours in that office were in no degree check-

ed by the daily and laborious occupations, in which he was engaged in the cabinet of Medals, and in which he displayed such critical acumen and profound erudition.

In 1753, on the death of M. de Boze, with whom he had been associated for seven years, he was made keeper of the cabinet of Medals, to which office he was promoted, notwithstanding some opposition, by the zeal of his illustrious friends, M. de Malesherbes, M. de Stainville, afterwards minister and Duc de Choiseul, and M. de Gontacq, brother to the last Maréchal de Biron.

In 1754, M. de Stainville, being appointed ambassador at Rome, invited Barthelemy to accompany him to Italy; an offer which his duty and avocations would not permit him to accept. In the year 1755, however, he was enabled to take this journey with his friend M. de Cotte; and his residence in Italy was made particularly agreeable by the continuance of M. de Stainville, who introduced him to the amiable and celebrated Pope Benedict XIV. At Naples he became acquainted with Mazocchi, who was then occupied in the task of unfolding the numerous ancient MSS. that had been found in Herculaneum. Mazocchi had decyphered two or three, which containing matter of little importance, the work was on the point of being abandoned at that time but for the zealous encouragement of Barthelemy; who, if the Marquis Carraciola, then minister at Naples, and who had the matter much at heart, had lived, would certainly have been the means of the work's going on with ardour and effect. As a proof of Barthe-

lemy's retentive powers; having applied in vain for the liberty to copy one of these manuscripts, in order to send a fac simile of the ancient writing to the learned in France, and, being only suffered to examine it, he read it over attentively five or six times, and, suddenly leaving the apartment, copied the fragment from memory, and correcting, when he came back, some slight errors, he sent it the same day to the academy of Belles Lettres; enjoining secrecy, however, that no blame might attach to Mazocchi. At Rome he had the pleasure and honour to give a new and satisfactory explanation of the beautiful Mosaic of Palestina, which is printed in the thirteenth volume of the academy of inscriptions.

M. de Stainville, on his return to Paris in 1757, being named to the embassy of Vienna, Barthelemy joined him there with Madame de Stainville, who had remained behind at Rome: and a very flattering offer was then made him to undertake a voyage to Greece; and up the Levant, at the king's expence; but he declined it, as incompatible with the duties of his office.

In 1758, M. de Stainville, then Duc de Choiseul, having succeeded to the ministry in the room of Cardinal de Bernis, he determined to provide for Barthelemy; which he accordingly did, by granting him successively pensions on the archbishoprick of Abby, and upon the treasury of St. Martin of Tours, and finally, the place of secretary-general of the Swiss; besides which, he enjoyed a pension of 5000 livres on the Mercure.

In 1771, M. de Choiseul was displaced in the ministry by M. D'Aiguillon,

D'Aiguillon, and banished to Chanteloup, where Barthelemy did not hesitate to follow him; and, when that minister was compelled to resign his office of general of the Swiss, he would have given up the place of secretary immediately, had not M. de Choiseul prevailed upon him to retain it until he could obtain an indemnity for it. He went therefore to Paris, and offered the surrender of his brevet to the Comte D'Affry, who refused to accept it; and, with many other considerable persons about the court, shewed a great inclination to protect Barthelemy if he would consent to give up his patron. This he positively refused to do, upon which M. D'Affry, much to his honour, terminated the business by accepting his resignation, and granting him 10,000 livres out of the annual profits of the place; and Barthelemy set off the next day for Chanteloup. He was now in possession of 35,000 livres per annum, 10,000 of which he distributed annually to men of letters in distress, and enjoyed the remainder in a manner becoming a philosopher. He educated and established in the world three nephews; he assisted what remained of his family in Provence; and he collected a numerous and well-chosen library, which he sold some years before his death. By the suppression of his places and appointments, he was, at the close of his life, reduced to great difficulties; but was never known to complain; and might be seen daily traversing Paris on foot, bent double with age and infirmity, and paying his accustomed visits to his respectable friend Madame de Choiseul. In the 5th volume, p. 136, and in the 7th

volume, p. 74, of the octavo edition of *Anarcharsis*, he has drawn the characters of the Duke and Duchess de Choiseul under the names of Phédime and Arsame.

In 1789, he was urged to accept the vacant seat in the French academy; and, though he had several times before declined it from prudence and modesty, he at length yielded to the pressing solicitation of his friends, and took his place where his reputation had gone before him, his voyage of *Anacharsis* having been published in the preceding year. Of this incomparable work, replete with taste and erudition, it is unnecessary to say more than that it is in the hands of all the world, and that it will be read again and again with unceasing delight and instruction.

In 1790, on the resignation of M. le Noir, librarian to the king, that honourable post was offered to Barthelemy by M. de St. Priest. He declined it, however, being unwilling to engage in the detail of an employment that would obstruct his other literary pursuits, especially as he was now occupied in preparing for the press a work he had long meditated, namely, an exact description, and *catalogue raisonné* of the rich cabinet which had been so long under his care and inspection. In this favourite project, however, he was defeated by the peculiar circumstances of the times.

From the year 1792, there was a visible change in his constitution, and he became subject to fainting fits, which deprived him of his senses for many hours together. He was then 78 years of age, 60 of which he had spent in laborious occupations.

On the 30th of August, 1793,
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he with his nephew, and six other persons belonging to the public library, were denounced, under pretence of aristocracy, by persons he had never seen or known. Being then at Madame de Choiseul's, he was removed from her house, and conducted to the prison called Les Magdelonnettes. Though, from his great age and bodily infirmities, he was sensible he could not long survive the severity of confinement, still he submitted to his fate with that calmness and serenity of mind which conscious innocence can alone inspire. So great was the general estimation of his worth and character, that he was met at the prison gates by all the prisoners, who vied with each other in testimonies of affection and respect; and, in justice to the jailor, Vau-bertrand, it must be admitted, that he shewed him every humane attention and regard. A separate chamber was allotted to him and his nephew; where they received, on the evening of their imprisonment, an early visit from Madame de Choiseul. Such was her sensibility and friendship for Barthelémy upon this occasion, that she, with others of his zealous friends, lost no time in going to the committees of government to convince them of the innocence and purity of the Abbe's conduct. They hastened to rectify the mistake, and declared they had no intention of including this worthy man in the general order of arrest of all persons employed in the public library; and they immediately gave directions for his release; in consequence of which he was before midnight carried back from prison to the house of Madame de Choiseul, whence he had been taken

the same morning. In farther testimony of his virtues and talents, and to compensate in some degree for the insult offered to both, by the momentary suspicion and imprisonment which he had sustained, in the October following the office of principal librarian being vacant by the death of Carra, and the resignation of Chamfort, it was offered to him in the most flattering manner; but he chose to decline it on account of his age and infirmities. These last increased visibly; and, about the beginning of 1795, being then in his 80th year, his end rapidly approached, and was probably hastened by the extreme severity of the season. He died on the 30th of April, with little corporal suffering, preserving his senses so entirely to the last, that he was reading Horace two hours before his death, and was probably unconscious of its approach.

His figure was tall, and of good proportion; and the structure of his frame seemed well adapted to support the vigorous exertions of his mind. Houdon has finished an excellent bust of this ornament of his age and country. His relations cherish his memory with filial piety; his friends feel his irreparable loss with constant regret; to the learned he has left a model of imitation, and to all mankind a useful example.

The following is a list of his works:

1. Travels of Anacharsis in Greece, in the middle of the 4th century before the Christian æra, 4 vols. 4to. 7 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1788; with a volume of maps, memoirs and descriptions, inserted in the collection of the Academy of Inscriptions.

2. On

2. On the Pæctolus, vol. xxi. p. 19.

3. Remarks on the Medal of Xerxes, *ibid.* 404.

4. On the Inscription of Amydæ, vol. xxiii. p. 394.

5. Essay towards a Numismatic Paleography, vol. xxiv. p. 30.

6. Dissertation on the two Samaritan Medals of Antigonus, King of Judea, *ibid.* p. 49.

7. Remarks on Medals published by several authors, vol. xxi. p. 532.

8. Dissertation on the Arabian Medals, *ibid.* p. 557.

9. Reflections on the Alphabet and Language of Palmyra, *ibid.* p. 577.

10. Memoirs on the Monuments of Rome, vol. xxiii. p. 579.

11. Reflections on some Phœnician Monuments, vol. 30, p. 405.

12. Explanation of the Palestine Mosaic, *ib.* p. 503.

13. General Reflections on the Affinity of the Egyptian, Phœnician and Grecian Languages, vol. xxxii. p. 212.

14. Remarks on Medals published by different authors, *ib.* p. 671.

15. Explanation of an Egyptian Bas-relief, and of the Phœnician Inscription which accompanies it, *ib.* p. 725.

16. Remarks on the Number of Pieces which were represented in the same Day on the Theatre of Athens, vol. xxxix. p. 172.

17. Remarks on the Medals of the Emperor Antonius, vol. xli. p. 501.

18. Letters to the Authors of the Journal de Scavans: on Phœnician Medals and Inscriptions, in vol. August, 1760, 4to. p. 495; Dec. 1761, p. 871; Sept. and Nov. 1763, on Samaritan Medals, April, 1790. He wrote also many ar-

ticles in the Collection of Antiquities, by the Count de Caylus, in the Journal des Scavans for April, 1754, and June, 1760. He made the extracts of the Ruins of Balbec and Palmyra. He wrote for M. Bertin a Memoir on the Mexican Paintings; which was lost. He intended to have published a collection of all his Dissertations, with alterations and additions; which his nephew hopes one day or other to accomplish.

Character of Erasmus, from Mr. Gibbon's Posthumous Works; published by Lord Sheffield.

IF we consider the character of Erasmus, we shall be immediately struck with his extensive erudition; and that heightened by two circumstances.

First, that he was scarcely ever fixed six months in a place (excepting at Basil;) that to this wandering life, which deprived him both of books and leisure, must be added, a continued bad state of health, and the constant avocation of a vast correspondence. Secondly, that his learning was all real, and founded on the accurate perusal of the ancient authors. The numerous editions he published sufficiently evince it; and besides, those convenient compilations of all sorts, where a modern author can learn to be a profound scholar, at a very small expence, did not then exist; every thing was to be sought for in the originals themselves. But besides this learning, which was common to many, Erasmus possessed a genius, without which no writer will ever descend to posterity; a genius which could see through the vain subtleties of the

schools, revive the laws of criticism, treat every subject with eloquence and delicacy; sometimes emulate the ancients, often imitate them, and never copy them. As to his morals, they had the poor merit of being regular. In the nobler part of his character I find him very deficient. A parasite of all the great men of his time, he was neither ashamed to magnify their characters by the lowest adulation, nor to debase his own by the most impudent solicitations, to obtain presents which very often he did not want. The adventure of Eppendorf is another proof how much dearer his money was to him than his character. Notwithstanding these faults, never man enjoyed a greater personal consideration. All the scholars; and all the princes of Europe, looked upon him as an oracle. Even Charles the Fifth and Francis the First agreed in this. If we inquire why this happened to him rather than to some other great men of a merit equal, and perhaps superior to Erasmus, we must say that it was owing to the time when he lived; when the world, awaking from a sleep of a thousand years, all orders of men applied themselves to letters with an enthusiasm which produced in them the highest esteem and veneration for one of their principal restorers. Besides, as the general attention, from piety, from curiosity, from vanity, and from interest, was directed towards the religious disputes, a great divine was the fashionable character, and all parties endeavoured to attract or to preserve him. But to which of those parties did Erasmus adhere? His writings, and even his conduct, were often equivocal.

The catholics claim him, though they acknowledge that he was often indiscreet. Le Clerc challenges him for the Protestants, though he blames him for not professing what he knew to have been the truth; and attributes his reserve solely to timidity and self-interest. Erasmus has certainly exposed all the grosser superstitions of the Romish worship to the ridicule of the public; and had his free opinion been taken, I believe he was a protestant upon most of the contested points. But many other motives might restrain him from a declaration. He was always persuaded, that any speculative truths were dearly purchased at the expence of practical virtue and public peace. Besides, many considerations might make him balance as to those truths; prejudices of education, the authority of the fathers, and a natural inclination to scepticism. Add to this, that really disapproving many things in the protestant communion, though more in the Romish, by remaining in the loose situation of a man who was unwilling to quit the religion of his ancestors, he could blame many things in it with freedom; whereas, had he deserted it, he must either have set up a standard himself, or else have enlisted blindly under that of Luther or Æcolampadius. It is surprizing that Erasmus, who could see through much more plausible fables, believed firmly in witchcraft.

*Anecdotes of the late Dr. James Fordyce.
From the European Magazine.*

THIS gentleman was one of the twenty children, by one wife, of Provost Fordyce, of Aberdeen. He received his education at the Marischal

rishal College of that place, and early devoted himself to the ministry. His first preferment, at least that we know of, was to be minister at Brechin, where he officiated as early as the year 1752. He soon after became minister of Alloa, where he remained until about the year 1760. At that period he came to London, and proposed himself as a candidate for a vacancy at the meeting at Carter's-lane, in which he was unsuccessful. On this occasion it was objected to him as strangely inconsistent, for any person who had subscribed the articles of the Scotch confession of faith, to offer himself in the character of a minister to a dissenting congregation which had so very different a creed. This objection, however, was not sufficiently powerful to prevent his being chosen as coadjutor to Dr. Lawrence, to the Pastorship at Monkwell-street, where he continued to preach to crowded audiences, for a great number of years. In that year he was honoured by the university of Glasgow with the degree of Doctor of Divinity. In May 1771, he married Miss Henrietta Cummyng, and in 1775 was involved in a dispute with his coadjutor, the Rev. Thomas Toller, son-in-law of Dr. Lawrence, at first, as it appears, in the letters published on the occasion, on account of the omission of some ceremonials of politeness, which, by want of mutual concessions increased, until the breach became too wide to be healed. On this occasion Dr. Fordyce took a step which was not universally approved of by his brethren the dissenters; he engaged to do the duty both of Mr. Toller and himself, and caused the former to be

ejected, without any charge against him (for he was a man of irreproachable character), from his office in the meeting. From this period, if we are not misinformed, the meeting itself was less attended than before, and on Dr. Fordyce's feeling the infirmities of age growing on him, the congregation by degrees dwindled away, and the house itself has been since shut up. Finding himself incapable of continuing his exertions as a preacher, in the manner he had been used, he retired, first into Hampshire, and then to Bath, where he died the 1st of October, 1796, at the age of 75.

The following is the list of Dr. Fordyce's works.

1. The eloquence of the pulpit. An Ordination Sermon. To which is added, A Charge. 12mo. 1752.

2. An Essay on the Action proper for the Pulpit. 12mo.

Both these are printed at the end of Theodorus. A Dialogue concerning the Art of Preaching. By Mr. David Fordyce. Third Edition. 12mo. 1775.

3. The methods of promoting Edification by Public Institutions. An Ordination Sermon. To which is added, A Charge. 12mo. 1754.

These were delivered at the Ordination of Mr. John Gibson, Minister of St. Ninian's, May 9, 1754.

4. The Temple of Virtue. A Dream. 12mo. 1757. The 2d Edition, much altered, 12mo. 1775.

5. The Folly, Infamy, and Miserie of unlawful Pleasure. A Sermon, preached before the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, May 25, 1760. 8vo. 1760.

6. A Sermon occasioned by the Death of the Rev. Dr. Samuel Lawrence,

Lawrence, who departed this life, Oct. 1, 1760. With an Address at his Interment. 8vo. 1760.

7. Sermons to Young Women. 2 vols. 12mo. 1766.

8. The Character and Conduct of the Female Sex, and the advantages to be derived by young Men from the society of virtuous Women. A Discourse in three parts. Delivered in Monkwell-street Chapel, Jan. 1, 1776. 8vo. 1796.

9. Addresses to young Men. 2 vols. 12mo. 1777.

10. The delusive and persecuting Spirit of Popery. A Sermon preached in Monkwell-street, on 10th of Feb. being a day appointed for a General Fast. 8vo. 1779.

11. Charge delivered in Monkwell-street Meeting, at the Ordination of the Rev. James Lindsey. 8vo. 1783.—Printed with the Sermon preached by Dr. Hunter on that occasion.

12. Addresses to the Deity. 12mo. 1785.

13. Poems. 12mo. 1786.

Account of the Royal Society of England, from Hutton's Mathematical and Philosophical Dictionary.

THE Royal Society of England is an academy or body of persons, supposed to be eminent for their learning, instituted by King Charles the 1st, for promoting natural knowledge.

This once illustrious body originated from an assembly of ingenious men, residing in London, who, being inquisitive into natural knowledge, and the new and experimental philosophy, agreed, about the year 1645, to meet weekly on a certain day, to discourse upon such subjects. These meetings, it is

said, were suggested by Mr. Theodore Haak, a native of the Palatinate in Germany; and they were held sometimes at Dr. Goddard's lodgings in Wood-street, sometimes at a convenient place in Cheapside, and sometimes in or near Gresham College. This assembly seems to be that mentioned under the title of the *Invisible, or Philosophical College*, by Mr. Boyle, in some letters written in 1646 and 1647. About the years 1648 and 1649, the company which formed these meetings began to be divided, some of the gentlemen removing to Oxford, as Dr. Wallis and Dr. Goddard, where, in conjunction with other gentlemen, they held meetings also, and brought the study of natural and experimental philosophy into fashion there; meeting first in Dr. Petty's lodgings, afterwards in Dr. Wilkins's apartments, in Wadham College, and upon his removal, in the lodgings of Mr. Robert Boyle; while those gentlemen who remained in London continued their meetings as before. The greater part of the Oxford Society coming to London, about the year 1659, they met once or twice a week in Term-time at Gresham College, till they were dispersed by the public distractions of that year, and the place of their meeting was made a quarter for soldiers. Upon the Restoration, in 1660, their meetings were revived, and attended by many gentlemen eminent for their character and learning.

They were at length noticed by the government, and the king granted them a charter, first the 15th of July 1662, then a more ample one the 22d of April 1663, and thirdly the 8th of April 1669, by

by which they were erected into a corporation, *consisting of a president, council and fellows, for promoting natural knowledge*, and endued with various privileges and authorities.

Their manner of electing members is by balloting; and two-thirds of the members present are necessary to carry the election in favour of the candidate. The council consists of 21 members, including the president, vice-president, treasurer, and two secretaries; ten of which go out annually, and ten new members are elected instead of them, all chosen on St. Andrew's day. They had formerly also two curators, whose business it was to perform experiments before the society.

Each member, at his admission, subscribes an engagement, that he will endeavour to promote the good of the society; from which he may be freed at any time, by signifying to the president that he desires to withdraw.

The charges are five guineas paid to the treasurer at admission; and one shilling per week, or 52s. per year, as long as the person continues a member; or, in lieu of the annual subscription, a composition of 25 guineas in one payment.

The ordinary meetings of the society are once a week, from November till the end of Trinity term the next summer. At first, the meeting was from three o'clock till six after noon. Afterwards their meeting was from six to seven in the evening, to allow more time for dinner; which continued for a long series of years, till the hour of meeting was removed, by the present president, to between eight and nine at night, that gentlemen

of fashion, as was alleged, might have the opportunity of coming to attend the meetings after dinner.

Their design is to "make faithful records of all the works of nature or art, which come within their reach; so that the present, as well as after ages, may be enabled to put a mark on errors which have been strengthened by long prescription; to restore truths that have been long neglected; to push those already known to more various uses; to make the way more passable to what remains unrevealed, &c."

To this purpose they have made a great number of experiments and observations on most of the works of nature; as eclipses, comets, planets, meteors, mines, plants, earthquakes, inundations, springs, damp, fires, tides, currents, the magnet, &c.: their motto being *Nullius in Verba*. They have registered experiments, histories, relations, observations, &c. and reduced them into one common stock. They have, from time to time, published some of the most useful of these, under the title of *Philosophical Transactions*, &c. usually one volume each year, which were till lately very respectable, both for the extent or magnitude of them, and for the excellent quality of their contents. The rest, that are not printed, they lay up in their registers.

They have a good library of books, which has been formed, and continually augmenting, by numerous donations. They had also a museum of curiosities in nature, kept in one of the rooms of their own house in Crane-court, Fleet-street, where they had their meetings, with the greatest reputation,

for

for many years, keeping registers of the weather, and making other experiments; for all which purposes those apartments were well adapted. But, disposing of these apartments, in order to remove into those allotted them in Somerset-Place, where, having neither room nor convenience for such purposes, the museum was obliged to be disposed of, and their useful meteorological registers discontinued for many years.

Sir Godfrey Copley, Bart. left five guineas to be given annually to the person who should write the best paper in the year, under the head of Experimental Philosophy: this reward, which is now changed to a gold medal, is the highest honour the society can bestow; and it is conferred on St. Andrew's day; but the communications of late years has been thought of so little importance, that the prize medal remains sometimes for years undisposed of.

Indeed this very respectable Society, now consisting of a great proportion of honorary members, who do not usually communicate papers; and many scientific members being discouraged from making their usual communications, by what is deemed the present arbitrary government of the Society; the annual volumes have in consequence become of much less importance, both in respect of their bulk and the quality of their contents.

Anecdotes of the late Sir William Chambers. From the European Magazine.

THIS gentleman, whose fame will last as long as the noble building of Somerset House shall

rear its majestic head, was by birth a Swede. It has been said, that he was descended of the ancient family of Chalmers in Scotland, Barons of Tartas in France, and that his father was a merchant, who suffered much by supplying Charles XII. with money and goods during his wars, for which he received only the base copper coin of that monarch, struck for the purpose in his emergencies; and, like the French assignats, afterwards depreciated; by which means the holder was involved in ruin.

At the age of two years Sir William was brought over to England, and at a proper time placed at Rippon school in Yorkshire, where, it is believed, he continued until he was appointed chief supercargo of the Swedish ships to China. In this situation he did not remain long, probably not more than one voyage. On quitting this employment he determined to follow the bent of his genius, which led him to design and architecture.

His first residence in London was in Poland-street; but not, as has been asserted, in the business of a carpenter. He at an early period displayed the talents he possessed, and soon was considered as one of the best architects and draftsmen in Europe. His abilities introduced him to the knowledge of Lord Bute, by whose interest he was appointed drawing-master to his Majesty, then Prince of Wales.

His first work of consequence was Lord Besborough's villa at Roehampton, which from his conduct in that business, procured him many other buildings. He gave in his plan to Lord Besborough with an estimate as an architect,

architect; and on that nobleman's applying to him to know whether he would build it himself for the money mentioned in the estimate, he consented to undertake it.

It was accordingly finished, and both parties, the employer and the builder, were satisfied with their bargains, and each with the other.

The intercourse which Sir William had obtained with his majesty soon after his sovereign's accession to the crown, procured for him the laying out and improving the gardens at Kew, which from the nature of the ground, he was obliged to ornament in the Chinese taste. In 1763 he published "Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Perspective Views, of the Gardens and Buildings at Kew, in Surry, the Seat of her Royal Highness the Princess Dowager of Wales;" a magnificent work, in which the architectural designs were drawn by our author, the views by Messrs. Kirby, Thomas Sandby, and Marlow, and the engravings by Paul Sandby, Woollett, Major, Grignon, and Rooker. In this work, Sir William assigns the reason for his adopting the Chinese style in this instance. "The gardens of Kew," says he, "are not very large, nor is their situation by any means advantageous; as it is low, and commands no prospects. Originally the ground was one continued dead flat: the soil was in general barren, and without either wood or water. With so many disadvantages, it was not easy to produce any thing even tolerable in gardening: but princely munificence, and an able director, have overcome all difficulties, and converted what was once a desert into an Eden." The

difficulty of ornamenting such a situation few persons will deny; but as few will be inclined to desire the introduction of such exotics in places where nature has been more bountiful.

In the year 1771 our architect was announced in the catalogue of the Royal Academy as Knight of the Polar Star, and the next year he published the work which has afforded much entertainment from itself, but more from the admirable piece supposed to be the production of Mr. Mason, entitled "An Heroic Epistle." Sir William Chambers's work was entitled "A Dissertation on Oriental Gardening," 4to. which, in the preface, he says was collected from his own observations in China, from conversations with their artists, and remarks transmitted to him at different times by travellers. A sketch of it had been published some years before; but the performance itself appearing immediately after Mr. Mason's English Garden, it was invidiously suggested, that the intention of our author was to depreciate English gardeners, in order to divert his royal master from his plan of improving the gardens at Richmond as they are to be seen at this time. The horrible and strange devices described to exist in the Chinese gardens have been much ridiculed, but are no more than had been before published by father Attiret, in his account of the Emperor of China's gardens near Peking, translated by Mr. Spence, under the name of Sir Harry Beaumont, in 1753, and since republished in Dodsley's Fugitive Pieces.

Sir William Chambers' next work was on Civil Architecture; and in the year 1775, on the building

ing of Somerset House, he was appointed to conduct that great national work. He was also controller general to the works of the king, architect to the queen and the princess dowager, treasurer to the Royal Academy, member of the Royal Academy of Arts at Florence, and of the Royal Academy of Architecture at Paris.

After a long illness he died, at a very advanced age, the 8th of March 1796; leaving a son, married to Miss Rodney, and three daughters, the wives of Mr. Cotton, Mr. Innes, and Mr. Harward, with a considerable fortune, acquired honourably, and enjoyed with hospitality bordering on magnificence; and what is still better, quitting life with the regret and concern of all those with whom he had been connected; esteemed, loved, and lamented, by all with whom he had any intercourse either as an artist or as a man.

On the 18th of March his remains were interred in the Poets' Corner, Westminster Abbey, being attended by his son, his sons-in-law, his executors, the dean of Lincoln, minister of the parish, Mr. Penneck of the Museum, and a few other friends, the president, officers, and council of the Royal Academy, and the clerks of the Board of Works. In the Abbey they were joined by the master-workmen belonging to the Board of Works, who attended unsolicited, to testify their regret for the loss, and their esteem for the memory of a man, by whom their claims had ever been examined with attention, and decided with justice, and by whom themselves were always treated with mildness, courtesy, and affability.

An Account of the late James Macpherson, Esq. From the same.

THIS gentleman was descended from one of the most ancient families in the north of Scotland, being cousin-german to the chief of the clan of the Macphersons, who deduce their origin from the ancient Catti of Germany. He was born at Ruthven in the county of Inverness, in the latter end of the year 1738, and received the first rudiments of his education at home, from whence he was sent to the grammar school of Inverness, where his genius became so conspicuous, that his relations, contrary to their original intention, determined to breed him to a learned profession. With this view, he was sent successively to the universities of Aberdeen and Edinburgh, in the last of which he finished his studies.

While at the university, he exercised his poetical talents, which, however, were not (if a few passages of Ossian are excepted) of the first order. In the year 1758, he printed at Edinburgh a poem in six cantos, entitled, "The Highlander," in 12mo. This performance is a tissue of fustian and absurdity, feeble, and in some parts ridiculous, and shews little or no talent in that art of versification. In a short time the author was sensible himself of its faults, and, it is said, endeavoured to suppress it. We shall, therefore, not revive this abortive effort by any extract.

It was intended that he should enter into the service of the church; but whether he ever took orders we are uncertain. Mr. Gray speaks of him as a young clergyman,

man,* but David Hume probably more truly describes him as "a modest sensible young man, not settled in any living, but employed as a private tutor in Mr. Graham of Balgowan's family, a way of life which he is not fond of." This was in the year 1760, when he surprized the world by the publication of "Fragments of Ancient Poetry, collected in the Highlands of Scotland, and translated from the Galic or Erse language." 8vo. These Fragments, which were declared to be genuine remains of ancient Scottish poetry, at their first appearance delighted every reader; and some very good judges, and among the rest Mr. Gray, were extremely warm in their praises. As other specimens were said to be recoverable, a subscription was set on foot to enable our author to quit the family he was then in, and undertake a mission into the Highlands, to secure them. He engaged in the undertaking, and soon after produced the works whose authenticity has since occasioned so much controversy, but which now seem generally admitted to be the works of Mr. Macpherson himself.

In 1762 he published "Fingal, an ancient epic poem, in six books," together with several other poems, composed by Ossian, the son of Fingal, translated from the Galic language, 4to. The subject of this epic poem is an invasion of Ireland, by Swaran, king of Lochlin. Cuchullin, general of the Irish tribes during the minority of Cormac, king of Ireland, upon intelligence of the invasion, assembled his forces near Tura, a

castle on the coast of Ulster. The poem opens with the landing of Swaran; councils are held, battles fought, and Cuchullin is at last totally defeated. In the mean time Fingal, king of the Highlands of Scotland, whose aid had been solicited before the enemy landed, arrived, and expelled them from the country. This war, which continued but six days, and as many nights, is, including the episodes, the story of the poem. The scene the heath of Lena, near a mountain called Cromleach in Ulster. This poem also was received with equal applause as the preceding fragments.

The next year he produced "Temora," an ancient epic poem, in eight books: together with several other poems composed by Ossian, son of Fingal, 4to. which, though well received, found the public somewhat less disposed to bestow the same measure of applause. Though these poems had been examined by Dr. Blair and others, and their authenticity asserted, there were not wanting some of equal reputation for critical abilities, who either doubted or declared their disbelief of the genuineness of them. By this time the author seems to have divested himself of that modesty which Mr. Hume had formerly commended, and treated his antagonists in an arrogant manner, not calculated to remove any impressions they had received.

"Since the publication," says he, "of the last collection of Ossian's poems, many insinuations have been made, and doubts arisen, concerning their authenticity. I shall

* Mason's Life of Gray,

shall probably hear more of the same kind after the present poems make their appearance. Whether these suspicions are suggested by prejudice, or are only the effects of ignorance of facts, I shall not pretend to determine. To me they give no concern, as I have it always in my power to remove them. An incredulity of this kind is natural to persons who confine all merit to their own age and country. These are generally the weakest as well as the most ignorant of the people. Indolently confined to a place, their ideas are very narrow and circumscribed. It is ridiculous enough, to see such people as these are, branding their ancestors with the despicable appellation of barbarians. Sober reason can easily discern where the title ought to be fixed with more propriety.

“As prejudice is always the effect of ignorance, the knowing, the men of true taste, despise and dismiss it. If the poetry is good, and the characters natural and striking, to them it is a matter of indifference, whether the heroes were born in the little village of Angles in Juteland, or natives of the barren heaths of Caledonia. That honour which nations derive from ancestors worthy or renowned is merely ideal. It may buoy up the minds of individuals, but it contributes very little to their importance in the eyes of others. But of all those prejudices which are incident to narrow minds, that which measures the merit of performances by the vulgar opinion concerning the country which produced them, is certainly the most ridiculous. Ridiculous, however, as it is, few have the courage to reject it; and I am thoroughly con-

vinced, that a few quaint lines of a Roman or Greek epigrammatist, if dug out of the ruins of Herculaneum, would meet with more cordial and universal applause than all the most beautiful and natural rhapsodies of all the Celtic bards and Scandinavian scalders that ever existed.”

After the publication of *Temora*, Mr. Macpherson was called to an employment which withdrew him for some time both from the muses and his country. In 1764 governor Johnstone was appointed chief of Pensacola, and Mr. Macpherson accompanied him as his secretary. If we are not mistaken, some difference arose between the principal and his dependent, and they parted before their return to England. Having contributed his aid to the settlement of the civil government of that colony, he visited several of the West India islands, and some of the provinces of North America, and returned to England in the year 1766.

He soon returned to his studies, and in 1771 produced “*An Introduction to the History of Great Britain and Ireland*,” 4to. a work which, he says, “without any of the ordinary incitements to literary labour, he was induced to proceed in by the sole motive of private amusement.” The subject of this performance, it might reasonably be supposed, would not excite any violent controversial acrimony; yet neither it nor its author could escape from several most gross and bitter invectives.

His next performance produced him neither reputation or profit. In 1773 he published “*The Iliad of Homer*” translated, in two volumes, 4to. a work fraught with
vanity,

vanity and self-consequence, and which met with the most mortifying reception from the public. It was condemned by the critics, ridiculed by the wits, and neglected by the world. Some of his friends, and particularly Sir John Elliott, endeavoured to rescue it from contempt, and force it into notice. Their success was not equal to their efforts. After a very acute, learned, and witty critique, which was universally ascribed to a gentleman still living, and inserted in the Critical Review, the new translation was confessed to possess no merit, and ever since has been consigned to oblivion.

About this time seems to be the period of Mr. Macpherson's literary mortifications. In 1773 Dr. Johnson and Mr. Boswell made the Tour of the Hebrides; and in the course of it, the former took some pains to examine into the proofs of the authenticity of Ossian. The result of his inquiries he gave to the public in 1775, in his narrative of the Tour, and his opinion was unfavourable. "I believe they (i. e. the poems, says he) never existed in any other form than that which we have seen. The editor or author never could shew the original; nor can it be shewn by any other. To revenge reasonable incredulity by refusing evidence, is a degree of insolence with which the world is not yet acquainted; and stubborn audacity is the last refuge of guilt. It would be easy to shew it if he had it; but whence could it be had? It is too long to be remembered, and the language had formerly nothing written. He has doubtless inserted names that circulate in popular stories, and may have translated some wandering ballads, if any

can be found; and the names and some of the images being recollected, make an inaccurate auditor imagine, by the help of Caedonian bigotry, that he has formerly heard the whole." Again, "I have yet supposed no imposture but in the publisher, yet I am far from certain, that some translations have not been lately made, that may now be obtruded as parts of the original work. Credulity on one part is a strong temptation to deceit on the other, especially to deceit of which no personal injury is the consequence, and which flatters the author with his own ingenuity. The Scots have something to plead for their easy reception of an improbable fiction: they are seduced by their fondness for their supposed ancestors. A Scotchman must be a sturdy moralist who does not love Scotland better than truth: he will always love it better than inquiry, and, if falshood flatters his vanity, will not be very diligent to detect it. Neither ought the English to be much influenced by Scotch authority; for of the past and present state of the whole Erse nation, the Lowlanders are at least as ignorant as ourselves. To be ignorant is painful; but it is dangerous to quiet our uneasiness by the delusive opiate of hasty persuasion."

The opinions above declared by Dr. Johnson incensed our author so much, that he was prompted by his evil genius to send a menacing letter to his antagonist, which produced the severe, spirited, and sarcastic reply which has been already printed in the European Magazine. Whether his warmth abated, or whether he had been made sensible of his folly by the interposition of friends, we know not; but certain it is, we hear no more afterwards of this

ridiculous affair, except that our author is supposed to have assisted Mr. Nicol in an answer to Dr. Johnson's Tour, printed in 1779.

In 1775 Mr. Macpherson published "The History of Great Britain, from the Restoration to the Accession of the House of Hanover," in two vols. 4to. a work which has been decried with much clamour, but without much argument or proof. The author appears to have been influenced by some prejudices in favour of the Tory party; but his performance, as far as we have had an opportunity of comparing his narrative with his authorities, is not liable to the censure thrown out upon it. In this publication he certainly acted with great fairness, as along with it he published the proofs upon which his facts were founded, in two quarto volumes, entitled, "Original Papers, containing the secret History of Great Britain, from the Restoration to the Accession of the House of Hanover. To which are prefixed Extracts from the Life of James II. as written by himself." These papers were chiefly collected by Mr. Carte, but are not of equal authority. They however clear up many obscurities, and set the characters of many persons in past times in a different light from that in which they have been usually viewed.

Soon after this period, the tide of fortune flowed very rapidly in Mr. Macpherson's favour, and his talents and industry were amply sufficient to avail himself of every favourable circumstance which arose. The resistance of the colonies called for the aid of a ready writer to combat the arguments of the Americans, and to give force to the reasons which influenced

the conduct of government, and he was selected for the purpose. Among other things (of which we should be glad to give a more particular account) he wrote a pamphlet, which was circulated with much industry, entitled, "The Rights of Great Britain asserted against the Claims of the Colonies; being an Answer to the Declaration of the General Congress," 8vo. 1776, and of which many editions were published. He also was the author of "A short History of the Opposition during the last Session of Parliament," 8vo. 1779, a pamphlet which, on account of its merit, was by many ascribed to Mr. Gibbon.

But a more lucrative employment was conferred on him about this time. He was appointed agent to the nabob of Arcot, and in that capacity exerted his talents in several appeals to the public in behalf of his client. Among others, he published "Letters from Mahommed Ali Khan, Nabob of Arcot, to the Court of Directors. To which is annexed, a State of Facts relative to Tanjore, with an Appendix of Original Papers," 4to. 1777; and he was supposed to be the author of "The History and Management of the East India Company, from its Origin in 1600 to the present Times, vol. I. containing the Affairs of the Carnatic; in which the Rights of the Nabob are explained, and the Injustice of the Company proved." 4to. 1779.

In his capacity of agent to the Nabob, it was probably thought requisite that he should have a seat in the British parliament. He was accordingly in 1780 chosen member for Camelford, but we do not re-

collect

collect that he ever attempted to speak in the house. He was also rechosen in 1784 and 1790.

For a few years last past his health began to fail, and he returned to his native country in expectation of receiving benefit from the change of air. He continued however to decline, and after lingering some time, died at his seat at Bellevue, in Inverness-shire, on the 17th of February, 1796.

He appears to have died in very opulent circumstances, and by his will, dated June 1793, gave various annuities and legacies to several persons to a great amount. He also bequeathed 1000*l.* to John Mackenzie, of Figtree-court, in the Temple, to defray the expence of printing and publishing Ossian in the original. He directed 300*l.* to be laid out in erecting a monument to his memory, in some conspicuous situation at Bellevue aforesaid, and ordered that his body should be carried from Scotland, and interred in the Abbey-church of Westminster, the city wherein he had passed the greatest and best part of his life.

He was accordingly brought from the place where he died, and buried in the poets'-corner of the church.

Interesting History of Don Pedro and Donna Ignez de Castro. From Murphy's Travels in Portugal.

THERE are but few personages recorded in history, who have been oftener celebrated by dramatic writers than this princess. There have been no less than five tragedies formed from her pitiful narrative; viz. two in English, one in French, one in Spanish, and one in Portuguese. The latter, perhaps, approaches the nearest to

the truth of history, and is not inferior in point of poetical merit. The author, Senhor Nicole Luis, had no occasion to resort to fiction to heighten the passions of an audience, as the simple facts are sufficient to fill up all the senses of pity and terror, and to shew to what lengths love and revenge are capable of transporting the human mind.

The subject of this tragical piece is as follows: Don Pedro, son of Alonso the Fourth, king of Portugal, and heir apparent to the crown, having fallen in love with a lady of the court, named Donna Ignez de Castro, thought he could not share the crown which awaited him with a more amiable person. She united to all the charms of beauty, the most graceful and accomplished manners. The prince, waving all considerations of birth and fortune, was privately married to her by the bishop of Guarda.

Notwithstanding the nuptials were performed with all the secrecy imaginable, yet they reached the king's ear, who had premeditated a consort for Don Pedro in the king of Castile's daughter. He questioned him as to the truth of the report; but, knowing his father's arbitrary disposition, he thought it prudent then to conceal the fact.

The nobility also had intimation of the marriage, and the preference given to Ignez had awakened their jealousy. Hence they took every opportunity of representing her as a woman of the greatest ambition, and pretended that very fatal consequences were to be apprehended from such an alliance; they also condemned the prince as a rash and disobedient son.

The king, who was a man of
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weak understanding; gave ear to their calumny, and they worked upon his passions to that degree that he resolved to murder the unfortunate princess. Accordingly he set out to perpetrate the horrid deed, accompanied by three of his courtiers, and a number of armed men.

Donna Ignez at this time resided in Coimbra, in the palace of Santa Clara, where she passed her time in the most private manner, educating her children, and attending to the duties of her domestic affairs.

The prince, unfortunately, was abroad on a hunting party when the king arrived. The beautiful victim came out to meet him, with her two infant children, who clung about his knees, screaming aloud for mercy. She prostrates herself at his feet, bathes them with tears, and supplicates pity for her children, beseeching him to banish her to some remote desert, where she would gladly wander an exile with her babes.

The feelings of nature arrested his arm, just raised to plunge a dagger into her breast. But his counsellors urging the necessity of her death, and reproaching him for his disregard to the welfare of the nation, he relapsed into his former resolution, and commanded them to dispatch her! at which they rushed forward, regardless of the cries of innocence and beauty, and instantly struck off her head.

Soon after the above transaction the prince arrived; but, alas! found those eyes that were wont to watch his return with impatience, closed in death. The sight of his beloved Ignez weltering in gore filled his mind with distrac-

tion, and kindled every spark of revenge within his soul. In all the agony of rage, he called aloud on the avenging hand of Heaven to punish those monsters, who deprived him of all he held dear upon earth.

As soon as her remains were interred, he put himself at the head of an army, who sympathized with his distress; they carried fire and sword through the adjacent provinces, and laid waste the estates of the murderers. The royal troops could not oppose them; they fled at the appearance of the gallant avengers of innocence. But the king, wretched man! could not fly from himself; the cries of his grand-children still echoed in his ears, and the bleeding image of their unfortunate mother was constantly before his eyes. Death at length commiserated his situation, and he expired full of repentance for his accumulated crimes. He was an undutiful son, an unnatural brother, and a cruel father.

The prince now ascended the throne, in the thirty-seventh year of his age. He no sooner obtained the power, than he meditated to revenge the death of his beloved Ignez. The three murderers; namely, Pedro Coello, Diogo Lopez Pacheco, and Alvaro Gonsalvez, had fled into Castile, previous to the death of the late king. The prince ordered them to be tried on a charge of high treason, and being found guilty, their estates were confiscated. Next he contrived to seize their persons, by agreeing with the king of Castile, that both should reciprocally deliver up the Portuguese and Castilian fugitives who sought protection in their respective dominions. Gonsalvez
and

and Coello were accordingly arrested, and sent in chains to Portugal; Pacheco escaped into France.

The king was at Santarém when the delinquents were brought to him; he instantly ordered them to be laid on a pyre that was previously formed, contiguous to which he had a banquet prepared. Before the torch was kindled, and whilst they agonized at every pore under the most lingering tortures, their hearts were cut out, one at his breast, the other at his back. Lastly, the pyre was set on a blaze, in presence of which he dined, whilst they evaporated in flames.

Having thus far appeased his insatiable thirst of revenge, he ordered his marriage with Donna Ignéz to be published throughout the kingdom; then her body was taken out of the sepulchre, covered with regal robes, and placed on a magnificent throne, around which his ministers assembled, and did homage to their lawful queen.

After this ceremony, her corpse was translated from Coimbra to Alcobaca, with a pomp hitherto unknown in the kingdom; though the distance between these two places is fifty-two miles, yet the road was lined on both sides all the way, with people holding lighted tapers. The funeral was attended by all the noblemen and gentlemen in Portugal, dressed in long mourning cloaks; their ladies also attended, dressed in white mourning veils.

The cloud which the above disaster cast over the mind of Don Pedro was never totally dispersed; and as he lived in a state of celibacy the remainder of his life, agreeably to his vow, there was nothing to divert his attention from rumi-

nating on the fate of his beloved spouse. The impression her death made on him was strongly characterized, not only in the tortures he inflicted on her murderers, but also in all the acts of his administration, which, from their severity, induced some to give him the appellation of Pedro the Cruel; by others he was called Pedro the Just; and, upon the whole, it appears, that the last title most properly appertained to him.

Extracts from the Correspondence of Mr. Gibbon, with various men of eminence in the Literary World. From the Miscellaneous Works of Edward Gibbon, Esq.

Extract of a Letter from Dr. Robertson to Mr. Strahan, dated Edinburgh College, March 15, 1776.

**** Since my last I have read Mr. Gibbon's history with much attention, and great pleasure. It is a work of very high merit indeed. He possesses that industry of research, without which no man deserves the name of an historian. His narrative is perspicuous and interesting; his style is elegant and forcible, though in some passages I think rather too laboured, and in others too quaint. But these defects are amply compensated by the beauty of the general flow of language, and a very peculiar happiness in many of his expressions. I have traced him in many of his quotations (for experience has taught me to suspect the accuracy of my brother pen-men), and I find he refers to no passage but what he has seen with his own eyes. I hope the book will be as successful as it deserves to be. I

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have not yet yet read the two last chapters, but am sorry, from what I have heard of them, that he has taken such a tone in them as will give great offence, and hurt the sale of the book.

Mr. Ferguson to Mr. Gibbon.

Edinburgh, March 19th, 1776.

DEAR SIR,

I received, about eight days ago, after I had been reading your history, the copy which you have been so good as to send me, and for which I now trouble you with my thanks. But even if I had not been thus called upon to offer you my respects, I could not have refrained from congratulating you on the merit, and undoubted success, of this valuable performance. The persons of this place whose judgment you will value most, agree in opinion, that you have made a great addition to the classical literature of England, and given us what Thucydides proposed leaving with his own countrymen, a possession in perpetuity. Men of a certain modesty and merit always exceed the expectations of their friends; and it is with very great pleasure I tell you, that although you must have observed in me every mark of consideration and regard, that this is, nevertheless, the case, I receive your instruction, and study your model, with great deference, and join with every one else, in applauding the extent of your plan, in hands so well able to execute it. Some of your readers, I find, were impatient to get at the fifteenth chapter, and began at that place. I have not heard much of their criticism, but am told that many doubt of your orthodoxy. I wish to be always of

the charitable side, while I own you have proved that the clearest stream may become foul when it comes to run over the muddy bottom of human nature. I have not stayed to make any particular remarks. If any should occur on the second reading, I shall not fail to lay in my claim to a more needed, and more useful admonition from you, in case I ever produce any thing that merits your attention. And am, with the greatest respect, Dear Sir, Your most obliged, and most humble
Servant,

ADAM FERGUSON.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. David Hume to Mr. Strahan, dated Edinburgh, April 8th, 1776.

**** I am very much taken with Mr. Gibbon's Roman history, which came from your press, and am glad to hear of its success. There will no books of reputation now be printed in London but through your hands and Mr. Cadell's. The author tells me, that he is already preparing a second edition. I resolved to have given him my advice with regard to the manner of printing it; but as I am now writing to you, it is the same thing. He ought certainly to print the number of the chapter at the head of the margin; and it would be better if something of the contents could also be added. One is also plagued with his notes, according to the present method of printing the book: when a note is announced, you turn to the end of the volume; and there you often find nothing but a reference to an authority. All these authorities ought only to be printed at the margin, or the bottom of the page. I de-
sire

sire a copy of my new edition should be sent to Mr. Gibbon; as wishing that gentleman, whom I so highly value, should peruse me in a form the least imperfect to which I can bring my work.

***** Dr. Smith's performance is another excellent work that has come from your press this winter; but I have ventured to tell him, that it requires too much thought to be as popular as Mr. Gibbon's.

Mr. Ferguson to Mr. Gibbon.

Edinburgh, April 18th, 1776.

Dear Sir,

I SHOULD make some apology for not writing you sooner an answer to your obliging letter; but if you should honour me frequently with such requests, you will find, that, with very good intentions, I am a very dilatory and irregular correspondent. I am sorry to tell you, that our respectable friend [Mr. Hume] is still declining in his health; he is greatly emaciated, and loses strength. He talks familiarly of his near prospect of dying. His mother, it seems, died under the same symptoms; and it appears so little necessary, or proper, to flatter him, that no one attempts it. I never observed his understanding more clear, or his humour more pleasant and lively. He has a great aversion to leave the tranquillity of his own house, to go in search of health among inns and hostlers. And his friends here gave way to him for some time; but now think it necessary that he should make an effort to try what change of place and air, or any thing else sir John Pringle may advise, can do for him. I left him this morning in the mind to com-

ply in this article, and I hope that he will be prevailed on to set out in a few days. He is just now sixty-five.

I am very glad that the pleasure you give us, recoils a little on yourself, through our feeble testimony. I have, as you suppose, been employed, at any intervals of leisure or rest I have had for some years, in taking notes, or collecting materials, for a history of the distractions that broke down the Roman republic, and ended in the establishment of Augustus and his immediate successors. The compliment you are pleased to pay, I cannot accept of, even to my subject. Your subject now appears with advantages it was not supposed to have had; and I suspect that the magnificence of the mouldering ruin will appear more striking, than the same building when the view is perplexed with scaffolding, workmen, and disorderly lodgers, and the ear is stunned with the noise of destructions and repairs, and the alarms of fire. The night which you begin to describe is solemn, and there are gleams of light superior to what is to be found in any other time. I comfort myself, that as my trade is the study of human nature, I could not fix on a more interesting corner of it, than the end of the Roman republic. Whether my compilations should ever deserve the attention of any one besides myself, must remain to be determined, after they are farther advanced. I take the liberty to trouble you with the inclosed for Mr. Smith, whose uncertain stay in London makes me at a loss how to direct for him. You have both such reason to be pleased with the world just now,

that I hope you are pleased with each other.

I am, with the greatest respect,

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient,

And most humble servant,

ADAM FERGUSON.

Mr. Gibbon to Dr. Robertson.

Paris, 1777.

SIR,

WHEN I ventured to assume the character of historian, the first, the most natural, but at the same time most ambitious, wish which I entertained, was to obtain the approbation of Dr. Robertson and of Mr. Hume; two names which friendship united, and which posterity will never separate. I shall not therefore attempt to dissemble, though I cannot easily express, the pleasure which I received from your obliging letter, as well as from the intelligence of your most valuable present. The satisfaction which I should otherwise have enjoyed, in common with the public, will now be heightened by a sentiment of a more personal and flattering nature; and I shall frequently whisper to myself, that I have in some measure deserved the esteem of the writer whom I admire.

A short excursion which I made to this place, during the summer months, has occasioned some delay in my receiving your letter, and will prevent my possessing, till my return, the copy of your history, which you so politely desired Mr. Strahan to send me. But I have already gratified the eagerness of my impatience; and although I was obliged to return the book much sooner than I could have wished, I have seen enough to convince me, that the present publi-

cation will support, and, if possible, will extend the fame of the author; that the materials are collected with diligence, and arranged with skill; that the first book contains a learned satisfactory account of the progress of discovery; that the achievements, the dangers, and the crimes, of the Spanish adventurers are related with a temperate spirit; and that the most original, perhaps the most curious, portion of the history of human manners is at length rescued from the hands of sophists and declaimers. Lord Stormont, and the few in this capital, who have had an opportunity of perusing the history of America, unapprisingly concur in the same sentiments. Your work is already become a favourite topic of public conversation; and Mr. Suard is repeatedly pressed, in my hearing, to fix the time when his translation will appear.

I flatter myself you will not abandon your design of visiting London next winter: as I already anticipate, in my own mind, the advantages which I shall derive from so pleasing and so honourable a connexion. In the mean while, I should esteem myself happy, if you could think of any literary commission, in the execution of which I might be useful to you at Paris, where I propose to stay till very near the meeting of Parliament. Let me, for instance, suggest an inquiry, which cannot be indifferent to you, and which might, perhaps, be within my reach. A few days ago I dined with Beniowski, the famous adventurer, who escaped from his exile at Kamshatska, and returned into Europe by Japan and China. His narrative was amusing, though

I know

I know not how far his veracity, in point of circumstances, may safely be trusted. It was his original design to penetrate through the North East Passage; and he actually followed the coast of Asia as high as the latitude of $67^{\circ} 35'$, till his progress was stopped by the ice, in a streight between the two continents, which was only seven leagues broad. Thence he descended along the coast of America, as low as Cape-Mendocin; but was repulsed by contrary winds, in his attempts to reach the port of Acapulco. The journal of his Voyage, with his original charts, is now at Versailles, in the *Dépôt des Affaires Étrangères*; and if you conceived that it would be of any use to you for a second edition, I would try what might be obtained: though I am not ignorant of that mean jealousy which you yourself have experienced, and so deservedly stigmatised. I am, &c,

Dr. Robertson to Mr. Gibbon.

SIR,

I HAD the honour of your obliging letter, and I should be a very proud man indeed, if I were not vain of the approbation which you are pleased to bestow upon me. As you will now have had an opportunity to peruse the book, which you had only seen when you wrote to me, I indulge myself in the hopes, that the favourable opinion you had formed of it, is not diminished. I am much pleased with your mentioning my friendship with Mr. Hume; I have always considered that as one of the most fortunate and honourable circumstances of my life. It is a felicity of the age and country in which

we live, that men of letters can enter the same walk of science, and go on successfully, without feeling one sentiment of envy or rivalry. In the intercourse between Mr. Hume and me, we always found *something to blame*, as well as *something to commend*. I have received frequently very valuable criticisms on my performances from him; and I have sometimes ventured to offer him my strictures on his works. Permit me to hope for the same indulgence from you. If, in reading the history of America, any thing, either in the matter or style, has occurred to you as reprehensible, I will deem it a most obliging favour if you will communicate it freely to me. I am certain of profiting by such a communication.

I return you thanks for your frank offer of executing any literary commission for me. I accept it without ceremony, and am flattered with the idea of receiving such aid from your hands. I know nothing of Beniofski's Adventures, but what was published in some newspapers. If one can rely on his veracity, what he relates must be very interesting to me. If you had been writing the history of America, the question concerning the mode of peopling it, might not perhaps have occupied your attention very much. But it was proper for me to consider it more fully. Beniofski (if he may be credited) has seen what it may be useful for me to know. I can see no reason why the court of France should be shy about communicating his journal, and the charts which illustrate it; possibly my name may operate somewhat towards obtaining a copy of both;
your

your interposition, I am confident will do a great deal. It will be very illiberal indeed, if such a communication were refused. My Lord Stormont (by whose attention I have been much honoured) would not decline to give his aid, were that necessary. But if your court resembles that of Spain, I am afraid every proposal from an ambassador is received with some degree of jealousy. Your own private application will, I apprehend, be more effectual. As it is probable a second edition may go to press early in the winter, it will add to the favour, if you can soon inform me concerning the success of your negotiation. As this is something in the style of the *Corps Diplomatique*, allow me to recommend one of its members to you. Mr. Fularton, the new secretary to the embassy, is a particular friend of mine. He is a young man of such qualities both of head and heart, that I am sure you will esteem and love him. Please remember me to him. I have the honour to be, with great respect,

Your obliged humble servant,
WILLIAM ROBERTSON.

Sir William Jones to Mr. Gibbon.

Lamb Buildings, June 30th, 1781.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE more than once sought, without having been so fortunate as to obtain, a proper opportunity of thanking you very sincerely for the elegant compliment which you pay me, in a work abounding in elegance of all kinds.

My Seven Arabian Poets will see the light before next winter, and be proud to wait on you in their English dress. Their wild pro-

ductions will, I flatter myself, be thought interesting, and not venerable merely on account of their antiquity.

In the mean while, let me request you to honour me with accepting a copy of a Law Tract, which is not yet published: the subject is so generally important, that I make no apology for sending you a professional work.

You must pardon my inveterate hatred of C. Octavianus, basely surnamed Augustus. I feel myself unable to forgive the death of Cicero, which if he did not promote, he might have prevented. Besides, even Mæcenas knew the cruelty of his disposition, and ventured to reproach him with it. In short, I have not Christian charity for him.

With regard to Asiatic letters, a necessary attention to my profession will compel me wholly and eternally to abandon them, unless Lord North (to whom I am already under no small obligation) should think me worthy to concur in the improved administration of justice in Bengal, and should appoint me to supply the vacancy on the India Bench. Were that appointment to take place this year, I should probably travel for speed, through part of Egypt and Arabia, and should be able, in my way, to procure many eastern tracts of literature and jurisprudence. I might become a good Mahomedan lawyer before I reached Calcutta, and, in my vacations, should find leisure to explain, in my native language, whatever the Arabs, Persians, and Turks, have written on science, history, and the fine arts.

My happiness by no means depends on obtaining this appointment,

ment, as I am in easy circumstances without my profession, and have flattering prospects in it; but if the present summer and the ensuing autumn elapse without my receiving any answer, favourable or unfavourable, I shall be forced to consider that silence as a polite refusal; and having given sincere thanks for past favours, shall entirely drop all thoughts of Asia, and, "deep as ever plummet sounded, shall drown my Persian books." If my politics have given offence, it would be manly in ministers to tell me so. I shall never be personally hostile to them, nor enlist under party banners of any colour; but I will never resign my opinions for interest, though I would cheerfully abandon them on conviction: My reason, such as it is, can only be controuled by better reason, to which I am ever open. As to my freedom of thought, speech, and action, I shall ever say what Charles XII. wrote under the map of Riga, "*Dieu me l'a donnée; le diable ne me l'otera pas.*" But the fair answer to this objection is, that my system is purely speculative, and has no relation to my seat on the bench in India, where I should hardly think of instructing the Gentoos in the maxims of the Athenians. I believe I should not have troubled you with this letter, if I did not fear that your attendance in parliament might deprive me of the pleasure of meeting you at the club next Tuesday; and I shall go to Oxford a few days after. At all times, and in all places, I shall ever be, with undissembled regard, dear Sir, your much obliged and faithful servant,

W. JONES.

Edward Gibbon, Esq. to the Right Honourable Lord Sheffield.

Lausanne, Nov. 14, 1783.

LAST Tuesday, November 11, after plaguing and vexing yourself all the morning, about some business of your fertile creation, you went to the House of Commons, and passed the afternoon, the evening, and perhaps the night, without sleep or food, stifled in a close room by the heated respiration of six hundred politicians, inflamed by party and passion, and tired of the repetition of dull nonsense, which, in that illustrious assembly, so far outweighs the proportion of reason and eloquence. On the same day, after a studious morning, a friendly dinner, and a cheerful assembly of both sexes, I retired to rest at eleven o'clock, satisfied with the past day, and certain that the next would afford me the return of the same quiet and rational enjoyments. *Which has the better bargain?—*

Dr. Adam Smith to Mr. Gibbon.

Edinburgh, Dec. 10, 1788.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I HAVE ten thousand apologies to make, for not having long ago returned you my best thanks for the very agreeable present you made me of the three last volumes of your history. I cannot express to you the pleasure it gives me to find, that by the universal assent of every man of taste and learning, whom I either know or correspond with, it sets you at the very head of the whole literary tribe at present existing in Europe. I ever am, my dear friend, most affectionately yours,

ADAM SMITH.

NATURAL

NATURAL HISTORY.

Some Particulars in the Anatomy of a Whale. By Mr. John Abernethy. From the Philosophical Transactions, Part I.

THERE are some particulars in the anatomy of the whale, which, I believe, have either entirely escaped, or have not been as yet communicated to the public. The parts which in the whale correspond in situation and office with the mesenteric glands of other animals, differ considerably from those glands in structure. These peculiarities are not only curious in themselves, but are illustrative of circumstances hitherto esteemed obscure, in the anatomy and œconomy of the lymphatic glands in general. I therefore take the liberty of submitting the following account of them to the inspection of this learned society.

The animal, from which the parts that I am going to describe were taken, was a male, of the genus named by Linnæus *balæna*.

Being désirous of making an anatomical preparation, to shew the distribution of the mesenteric vessels and lacteals of the whale, I procured for this purpose a broad portion of the mesentery with the annexed intestine; and proceeded

in the first place to inject the blood vessel. The mesentery had been cut from the animal as close to the spine as possible: had a less portion been taken away, the parts which I am about to describe would have been left with the body, for they are situated upon the origin of the blood vessels belonging to the intestines; and this, perhaps, is the reason why they have not been observed before.

When I threw a red-coloured waxen injection into the mesenteric artery, I saw it meandering in the ramifications of that vessel; but at the same time I observed it collecting in several separate heaps, about the roots of the mesentery, which soon increased to the size of eggs. At the time, I imagined that the vessels had been ruptured, and that the injection in consequence had become extravasated; but I was conscious that no improper degree of force had been used in propelling the injection.

I next threw some yellow injection into the vein, when similar phænomena occurred; the branches of the vein were filled, but at the same time the masses of wax near the root of the mesentery were increased by a further effusion of the injection. These lumps had now acquired a spherical form, and

and some of them were of the size of an orange.

After the injection had become cold, I cut into the mesentery, in order to remove these balls of wax; when I found that they were contained in bags, in which I also observed a slimy and bloody-coloured fluid. On the inner surface of these bags a greater number of small arteries and veins terminated; from the mouths of which the injection had poured into their cavities. There were seven of these bags in that piece of mesentery which I had to examine; but I am not able to determine what number belonged to the animal; for I do not know whether the portion of mesentery that I possessed was complete. Having removed the injection from these bags, I observed on the inside of them a soft whitish substance, apparently containing a plexus of lacteal vessels. This substance entered the bags at that part of them which was nearest to the intestines, and went out at the part next to the spine. I now poured some quicksilver into those lacteals which appeared to lead to this soft substance; the quicksilver soon entered the vessels which were contained in it, and thus its nature was ascertained. A number of lacteals having entered one of these bags were observed to communicate with each other, then again to separate, and form other vessels, which went out of the bag. It was some time before the quicksilver passed through the plexus of vessels contained in the first bag, but after having pervaded it, it passed on to a second bag, in which was concealed a similar plexus of lacteals. The quicksilver perme-

ated these last vessels with much greater facility than it did the former, and quickly ran out of the large lacteals which were divided at the origin of the mesentery. Besides those absorbents which passed through the bags in the manner described, there were great numbers of others, which terminated by open orifices in every part of them. When quicksilver was poured into any of the lacteals, which were found near the sides of the bags, it immediately ran in a stream into their cavities. I introduced about a dozen bristles, through as many lacteals, into different parts of two of these bags. These were doubtless few, in comparison to the whole number which terminated in them, but as the mesentery was fat, and the vessels were small, more could not easily be passed.

I afterwards stuffed two of the bags with horse-hair, dried them, and preserved them as an anatomical preparation. In this state great numbers of arteries and veins, but chiefly of the former vessels, are seen terminating on their inside, in the same indistinct manner as the *foramina Thebesii* appear when the cavities of the heart are laid open; the bristles also render visible the termination of a certain number of lacteals. I examined the sides of these bags, which were moderately thick and firm; but I did not see any thing which, from its appearance, I could call a muscular structure.

From the circumstances that have been related, it appears, that in the whale there are two ways by which the chyle can pass from the intestines into the thoracic duct;

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one of these is through those lacteals, which pours the absorbed chyle into bags, in which it receives an addition of animal fluids. The other passage of the chyle is through those lacteals which form a plexus on the inside of the bags; through these vessels it passes with some difficulty, on account of their communications with each other; and it is conveyed by them to the thoracic duct, in the same state that it was when first imbibed from the intestines. The lacteals, which pour the chyle into the bags, are similar to those which terminate in the cells of the mesenteric glands of other animals: there is also an analogy between the distribution of the lacteals on the inside of these bags, and that which we sometimes observe on the outside of the lymphatic glands in general. In either case, a certain number of the *vasa inferentia*, as they are termed, communicate with one another, and with other vessels, named *vasa efferentia*.

By this communication, the progress of the fluids contained in these vessels is in some degree checked; which impediment increases the effusion into the cavities of the gland made by the other lacteals: but should these cavities be obstructed, from disease, or other causes, an increased determination of fluids into the communicating absorbents must happen, which would overcome the resistance produced by their mutual inoscultations, and the contents of the vessels would be driven forwards towards the trunk of the system. In the whale, as in other animals, we find that the impediment, occasioned by this communication of lacteals, is greatest in the first glands

at which they arrive after having left the intestines.

The ready termination of so many arteries in the mesenteric glands of the whale, makes it appear probable that there is a copious secretion of the fluids mixed with the absorbed chyle; and, as I have before observed, a slimy blood-coloured fluid was found in them. As the orifices of veins were open, it appears probable that the contents of the bags might pass in some degree into those vessels.

The eminent anatomists, Albinus, Meckel, Hewson, and Wisberg, were of opinion, that the lymphatic glands were not cellular, but were composed of convoluted absorbing vessels. This notion seems, however, to have been gradually declining.

Mr. Cruikshank has of late publicly maintained a contrary opinion; and has shewn, that the cells of these glands have transverse communications with each other; which it is not likely they would have, if they were only the sections of convoluted vessels. Some additional observations have occurred to me confirming this opinion, and which, as I believe they have not been publicly noticed by others, I beg leave to relate to this society. I have injected the lymphatic glands of the groin and *axilla* of horses with wax, and afterwards destroyed the animal substance, by immersing them in muriatic acid. In some of these glands the wax appeared in very small portions, and irregularly conjoined; which is a convincing proof, that it had acquired this irregular form from having been impelled into numerous minute cells. But in several

veral instances, I found one solid lump of wax, after the destruction of the animal substance: and it appears to me sufficiently clear, that the glands which were filled in this manner, were formed internally of one cavity, and were not, as is commonly the case, composed of many minute cells. I have also filled the glands of this structure, in the mesentery of an horse, with quicksilver: I have then dried them, cut open the bags, and introduced a bristle into them through the *vas inferius*. And in the human mesentery, after having injected the artery, I have filled a bag resembling a gland with quicksilver; which being opened, a mixture of injection and quicksilver was found in its cavity.

That the lymphatic glands in most animals are cellular, may not, perhaps, be hereafter doubted: that they are sometimes mere bags, analogy and actual observation induce me to believe. It might be said, that in those instances which I have related, the cells were burst, or that the glands were diseased: to which I can only reply, that there was no appearance to lead me to such a conclusion.

If, then, the lymphatic glands are either cellular, or receptacles resembling bags for the absorbed fluids, we are naturally led to inquire, what advantages arise from this temporary effusion of the contents of the absorbents. That there is a considerable quantity of fluids poured forth from the arteries of the whale, to mix with the absorbed chyle, is very evident; nor can it be doubted that the same thing happens in other animals; for the cells of the lymphatic glands are easily inflated, and injected from the arteries.

The ready communication of these bags with the veins of the whale, induced me to examine whether I should ascertain any thing similar in other animals. Air impelled by the lymphatic glands, however, seldom gets into veins: sometimes indeed veins are injected from these glands; but when this has occurred to me, I have observed an absorbent arising from the gland, and terminating in the adjacent vein.

These remarks, perhaps, may not be very important; such, however is the nature of the subject, that all the knowledge we have hitherto obtained of the absorbing vessels has been acquired by fragments, and all our future acquisitions must be made in the same manner: I have wished, therefore, by offering these observations, to contribute my mite to the general stock of our knowledge of this subject.

An Account of the late Discovery of Native Gold in Ireland. In a Letter from John Lloyd, Esq. to Sir Joseph Banks, Bart. From the same.

*Cronbane Lodge, near Rathdrum,
the 4th November, 1795.*

DEAR SIR,

THE late very important mineralogical discovery in Ireland, and a desire I had long entertained of visiting the celebrated copper mine at this place, together with the opportunity that presented itself, of making my tour in company with our friend Mr. Mills, who is one of the proprietors, as well as director of the mine, induced me to seize this moment

ment for my excursion; and yesterday Mr. Mills and I visited the spot, where so much pure gold has been of late taken up, being distant about five miles from this place.

About seven miles westward of Arklow, in the county of Wicklow, there is a very high hill, perhaps 6 or 700 yards above the sea, called Croughan Kinshelly, one of whose NE abutments, or buttresses, is called Ballinagore, to which the ascent may be made in half or three quarters of an hour. Should you have Jacob Nevil's map of the county of Wicklow, published in 1760, at hand, by casting your eye on the river Ovo, which runs by Arklow, at about four miles above the latter place, you will perceive the conflux of two considerable streams, and of a third about half a mile higher up, close to a bridge. By tracing this last to its source, you will come to a place, set down in the map Ballinvalley: this is a ravine between two others, that run down the side of the hill into a semicircular, or more properly, semi-elliptical valley, which extends in breadth from one summit to the other of the boundary of the valley, and across the valley three quarters of a mile, or somewhat less. The hollow side of the hill forms the termination of the valley, and down which run the three ravines abovementioned. At their junction, the brook assumes the name of Ballinasloge; at this place the descent is not very rapid, and so continues a hanging level for about a quarter of a mile, or somewhat more, when the valley grows narrower, and the sides of the brook become steeper; and it should seem that, some rocky bars across the course

of the brook have formed the gravelly beds, above, over, and through which the stream flows, and in which the gold is found. The bed of the brook, and the adjacent banks of gravel on each side, for near a quarter of a mile in length, and for 20 or 30 yards in breadth, have been entirely stirred and washed by the peasants of the country, who amounted to many hundreds, at work at a time, whilst they were permitted to search for the metal.

A gentleman, who saw them at work, told me, he counted above 300 women, at one time, besides great numbers of men and children.

The stream runs down to the NE from the hill, which seems to consist of a mass of schistus and quartz; for on examination of the principal ravine, which is now washed clean by the late heavy rains, the bottom consisted of schistus, intersected at different distances and in various places, by veins of quartz, and of which substances the gravelly beds at the bottom, where the gold is found, seem to consist.

Large tumblers of quartz are thickly scattered over the surface of the top of the hill, under a tumbary of considerable thickness, upon the removal of which these tumblers appear.

I shall not take up your time in attempting to give a minute geological description of this part of the country, as I have prevailed with Mr. Mills (who from his minute examinations, and practical knowledge, is so conversant with the mineralogy of the county), to undertake that task, which I am persuaded he will perform to your satisfaction.

The gold has been found in masses

masses of all sizes, from those of small grains to that of a piece of the weight of five ounces, which beautiful specimen is intended for the cabinet of a nobleman, adored in this country, and not less respected by his friends in England, and which, I dare to say, you will shortly have an opportunity of seeing in London. One piece of 22 ounces has been taken up, and which, I am told, is to be presented to his majesty.

In our visit to this extraordinary place, we were most hospitably entertained by Mr. Graham, of Ballycoage, whose house is not more than a mile from the gold mine: from him and his brothers I learnt, that about 25 years ago or more, one Dunaghoo, a school-master, resident near the place, used frequently to entertain them with accounts of the richness of the valley in gold; and that this man had used to go in the night, and break of day, to search for the treasure; and these gentlemen with their school-fellows, used to watch the old man in his excursions to the hill, to frighten him, deeming him to be deranged in his intellects: however, the idea of his treasure did, at last, actually derange him.

John Byrne told me, that about 11 or 12 years ago, when he was a boy, he was fishing in this brook, and found a piece of gold, of a quarter of an ounce, which was sold in Dublin; but that upon one of his brothers telling him it must have been dropped into the brook by accident, he gave over all thoughts of searching for more. Charles Toole, a miner at Cronebane, tells me, he heard of this discovery at the time, but gave no

credit to it, as he never found any gold, and lives very near the place. I am credibly informed too, that a goldsmith in Dublin, has every year, for 11 or 12 years, bought four or five ounces of gold, brought constantly by the same person, but not John Byrne.

Thus, sir, you have all I could learn respecting this important event; which is at your service to lay before the Royal Society, should you not have been furnished with an account from an abler pen.

I am, &c.

JOHN LLOYD.

P. S. I am told the name of the brook, where the gold is found, is, in Irish, *Angbatina-vought*.

A Mineralogical account of the Native Gold lately discovered of in Ireland. In a Letter from Abraham Mills, Esq. to Sir Joseph Banks, Bart. K. B. P. R. S.

Cronebane Copper Mines, near Rathdrum, November 21, 1795.

SIR,

THE extraordinary circumstance of native gold being found in this vicinity, early excited my attention, and led me to seize the first opportunity that presented itself, after my late arrival here, to inspect the place where the discovery was made.

I went thither on Tuesday, the 3d of this month, with Mr. Lloyd, of Havodynos, and Mr. Weaver. The former having given you some account of the circumstances which attended the original discovery, and since he left me, a favourable day having enabled me to take a se-

cond view of the adjacent country, I shall now attempt to describe the general appearance, and add such further information as has come to my knowledge.

The workings which the peasantry recently undertook, are on the north east side of the mountain Croughan Kinshelly, within the barony of Arklow, and county of Wicklow, on the lands of the earl of Carysfort, wherein the Earl of Ormond claims a right to the minerals, in consequence (as I have been informed), of a grant in the reign of king Henry the second, by prince John, during his command of his father's forces in Ireland; which grant was renewed and confirmed by queen Elizabeth, and again by king Charles the second.

The summit of the mountain is the boundary between the counties of Wicklow and Wexford; seven English miles west of Arklow, ten to the south-westward of Rathdrum, and six south-westerly from Cronebane mines; by estimation about six hundred yards above the level of the sea. It extends W by N and E by S, and stretches away to the north-eastward, to Ballycoage, where shafts have formerly been sunk, and some copper and magnetic iron ore has been found; and thence to the NE there extends a tract of mineral country, eight miles in length, running through the lands of Ballymurtagh, Ballygahan, Tigrony, Cronebane, Connerly, and Kilmacoe, in all which veins of copper ore are found, and terminating at the slate quarry at Balnabarny.

On the highest part of the mountain are bare rocks, being a variety of argillite, whose joints range NNE and SSW, hade to the SSW, and in one part include a rib of quartz, three inches wide, which follows the direction of the strata. Around the rocks, for some distance, is found ground covered with heath; descending to the eastward, there is a springy ground, abounding with coarse grass; and below that, a very extensive bog, in which the turf is from four to nine feet thick, and beneath it, in the substratum of clay, are many angular fragments of quartz, containing chlorite, and ferruginous earth. Below the turbary the ground falls with a quick descent, and three ravines are observed. The central one, which is the most considerable, has been worn by torrents, which derive their source from the bog, the others are formed lower down the mountain by springs, which uniting with the former, below their junction the gold has been found. The smaller have not water sufficient to wash away the incumbent clay, so as to lay bare the substratum; and their beds only contain gravel, consisting of quartz with chlorite, and other substances of which the mountain consists. The great ravine presents a most interesting aspect; the water in its descent has, in a very short distance from the bog, entirely carried off the clay, and considerably worn down the substrata of rock, which it has laid open to inspection.

Descending along the bed of the great ravine, whose general course is to the eastward, a yellow argillaceous

aceous schistus is first seen; the laminæ are much shattered, are very thin, have a slight hade to the SSW, and range ESE and WNW. Included within the schist, is a vein of compact barren quartz, about three feet wide, ranging NE and SW; below this is another vein, about nine inches wide, having the same range as the former, and hading to the northward, consisting of quartz, including ferruginous earth. Lower down, is a vein of a compact aggregate substance, apparently compounded of quartz, ochraceous earth, chert, minute particles of mica, and some little argillite, of unknown breadth, ranging E and W, hading fast to the southward, and including strings of quartz, from one or two inches thick, the quartz containing ferruginous earth. The yellow argillaceous schistus is again seen with its former hade and range; and then adjacent to the quartz vein, is laminated blue argillaceous schistus, ranging NE and SW, and hading SE; which is afterwards seen varying its range and hade, running ENE and WSW, and hading NNW; lower down, the blue schist is observed more compact, though still laminated. The ground less steep, becomes springy, is inclosed, and the ravine, shallower, has deposited a considerable quantity of clay, sand, and gravel. Following the course of the ravine, or, as it may now more properly be called, the brook, arrive at the road which leads to Arklow; here is a ford, and the brook has the Irish name of *Aughatinawright* (the river that drowned the old man); hence it descends to the Aughrim river, just above its confluences with that

from Rathdrum, which, after their junction, take the general name of the Ova, that discharging itself into the sea near the town of Arklow, forms an harbour for vessels of small burden.

The lands of Ballinvally are to the southward, and the lands of Ballinagore to the northward of the ford, where the blue schistus rock, whose joints are nearly vertical, is seen ranging ENE and WSW, including small strings of quartz, which contain ferruginous earth. The same kind of earth is also seen in the quartz, contained in a vein from ten to twelve inches wide, ranging ENE and WSW, and hading to the southward which has been laid open in forming the Arklow road.

Here the valley is from twenty to thirty yards in width, and is covered with substances washed down from the mountain, which on the sides have accumulated to the depth of about twelve feet. A thin stratum of vegetable soil lies uppermost; then clay, mingled with fine sand, composed of small particles of quartz, mica, and schist; beneath which the same substances are larger, and constitute a bed of gravel, that also contains nodules of fine grained iron stone, which produces 50 per cent. of crude iron: incumbent on the rock are large tumblers of quartz, a variety of argillite and schistus; many pieces of the quartz are perfectly pure, others attached to the schistus, others contain chlorite, pyrites, mica, and ferruginous earth; and the arsenical cubical pyrites frequently occur, imbedded in the blue schistus. In this mass of matter, before the workings began, the brook had formed its

its channel down to the surface of the rock, and between six and seven feet wide, but in times of floods extended itself entirely over the valley.

Researches have been made for the gold, amidst the sand and gravel along the run of the brook; for near half a mile in length; but it is only about one hundred and fifty yards above, and about two hundred yards below the ford, that the trials have been attended with much success: within that space the valley is tolerably level, and the banks of the brook have not more than five feet of sand and gravel above the rock; added to this, it takes a small turn to the southward, and, consequently, the rude surfaces of the schistus rock in some degree cross its course, and form natural impediments to the particles of gold being carried further down the stream, which still lower has a more rapid descent; besides, the rude manner in which the country people worked, seldom enabled them to penetrate to the rock, in those places where the sand and gravel were of any material depth. Their method was, to turn the course of the water wherever they deemed necessary, and then, with any instruments they could procure, to dig holes down to the rock, and by washing, in bowls and sieves, the sand and gravel they threw out, to separate the particles of gold which it contained; and from the slovenly and hasty way in which their operations were performed, much gold most probably escaped their search; and that indeed actually appears to have been the case, for since the late rains washed the clay and gravel which had been thrown up,

gold has been found lying on the surface. The situation of the place, and the constant command of water, do, however, very clearly point out the great facility with which the gold might be separated from the trash, by adopting the mode of working practised at the best managed tin stream works in the county of Cornwall; that is, entirely to remove (by machinery) the whole cover off the rock, and then wash it in proper buddles and sieves. And by thus continuing the operations, constantly advancing in the ravine towards the mountain, as long as gold should be found, the vein that forms its matrix might probably be laid bare.

The discovery was made public, and the workings began, early in the month of September last, and continued till the 15th of October, when a party of the Kildare militia arrived, and took possession by order of government; and the great concourse of people, who were busily engaged in endeavouring to procure a share of the treasure, immediately desisted from their labour, and peaceably retired.

Calculations have been made, that during the foregoing period, gold to the amount of three thousand pounds Irish sterling was sold to various persons; the average price was three pounds fifteen shillings per ounce; hence eight hundred ounces appear to have been collected within the short space of six weeks.

The gold is of a bright yellow colour, perfectly malleable; the specific gravity of an apparently clean piece 19,000. A specimen, assayed here by Mr. Weaver, in the moist way, produced from 24 grains,

grains, $22\frac{5}{16}$ grains of pure gold, and $1\frac{1}{16}$ of silver. Some of the gold is intimately blended with, and adherent to quartz; some (it is said) was found united to the fine grained iron stone, but the major part was entirely free from the matrix; every piece more or less rounded on the edges, of various weights, forms, and sizes, from the most minute particles up to 2 oz. 17 dwt.; only two pieces are known to have been found of superior weight, and one of those is 5, and the other 22 ounces.

I much regret not having been present when the work was going on, that I might have seen the gold as found, before prepared for sale by breaking off any extraneous matter that adhered; for in that state, a proper attention to the substances with which it was united, and a subsequent diligent inspection of the several veins that range through the mountain, might assist towards the discovery of that from whence it was detached.

I shall shortly return to England; and on my arrival, will send specimens of the gold, and of the different substances of the mountain, to be deposited (if you think proper) in the collection of the Royal Society.

And am, with great respect, &c.
ABRAHAM MILLS.

The bearings are all taken by the compass, without allowing for the variation.

BESIDES these accounts of the gold found in Ireland, the following information has been received on that subject.

William Molesworth, esq. of Dublin, in a letter to Richard

Molesworth, Esq. F. R. S. writes, that he weighed the largest piece of gold in his balance, both in air and water; that its weight was 20 oz. 2 dwt. 21 gr. and its specific gravity, to that of sterling gold, as 12 to 18. Also that Richard Kirwan, Esq. F. R. S. found the specific gravity of another specimen to be as 13 to 18. Hence, as the gold was worth 4l. an ounce, Mr. William Molesworth concludes that the specimens are full of pores and cavities, which increase their bulk, and that there are some extraneous substances, such as dirt or clay, contained in those cavities.

This opinion was discovered to be well founded, by cutting through some of the small lumps.

STANESBY ALCHORNE, Esq. his majesty's assay-master at the Tower of London, assayed two specimens of this native gold. The first appeared to contain, in 24 carats,

$21\frac{6}{8}$ of fine gold;

$1\frac{2}{8}$ of fine silver;

$\frac{1}{8}$ of alloy, which seemed to be copper tinged with a little iron.

The second specimen differed only in holding $21\frac{5}{8}$ instead of $21\frac{6}{8}$ of fine gold.

Major John Brown, of the royal engineers, transmitted to the right hon. Thomas Pelham, a sketch of the spot where the gold was found, which Mr. Pelham has obligingly permitted to be engraved, for the use of the Royal Society. C. B.

On the C. M. fl. on high Mountains, and at great D. pths. From Dr. Hunter's Translation of Euler's Letters to a German Princess.

IT appears very surprizing, that
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we should feel the same degree of cold in all regions, after we have risen to a certain height, say 24,000 feet; considering that the variations with respect to heat, on the earth, not only in the different climates, but in the same country, at different seasons of the year, are so perceptible. This variety, which takes place at the surface of the globe, is undoubtedly occasioned by the sun. It appears, at first sight, that his influence must be the same above and below, especially when we reflect, that a height of 24,000 feet, or a mile, though very great with respect to us, and even far beyond the height of the loftiest mountains, is a mere nothing, compared to the distance of the sun, which is about thirty millions of miles*. This is therefore, a very important difficulty, which we must endeavour to solve. For this purpose, I begin with remarking, that the rays of the sun do not communicate heat to any bodies, but such as do not grant them a free passage. You know that bodies, through which we can discern objects, are denominated transparent, pellucid, and diaphanous. These bodies are glass, crystal, diamond, water, and several other liquids, though some are more or less transparent than others. One of these transparent bodies being exposed to the sun, is not heated to such a degree as a body not transparent, as wood, iron, &c. Bodies not transparent are denominated opaque. A burning glass, for example, by transmitting the rays of the sun, sets on fire opaque bodies, while the glass itself is not sensibly heated. Water exposed to the sun

becomes somewhat warm, only because it is not perfectly transparent; when we see it considerably heated by the sun at the brink of rivers, it is because the bottom, being an opaque body, is heated by the rays which the water transmits. Now, every heated body communicates that heat to all adjoining bodies; the water accordingly derives heat from the bottom. If the water be very deep, so that the rays cannot penetrate to the bottom, it has no perceptible heat, though the sun bears upon it.

As air is a very transparent body, to a much higher degree than glass or water, it follows, that it cannot be heated by the sun, because the rays are freely transmitted through it. The heat which we frequently feel in the air, is communicated to it by opaque bodies, which the rays of the sun have heated; and were it possible to annihilate all these bodies, the air would scarcely undergo any change in its temperature by the rays of the sun: exposed to it or not, it would be equally cold. But the atmosphere is not perfectly transparent: it is even sometimes so loaded with vapours, that it loses almost entirely its transparency, and presents only a thick fog. When the air is in this state, the rays of the sun have a more powerful influence upon it, and heat it immediately.

But these vapours rise to no great height; at the height of 24,000 feet, and beyond, the air is so subtle and so pure, that it is perfectly transparent; and for this reason the rays of the sun cannot immediately produce any effect upon it. This air is likewise too

* Mr. Euler always means German miles, of 4000 fathoms each, or somewhat under $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles English.—E. E.

remote from terrestrial bodies; to receive a communication of heat from them; they act only upon such as are adjacent. Hence you will easily perceive, that the rays of the sun cannot produce any effect in regions of the air very much elevated above the surface of the earth; and that the same degree of cold must always, and universally, prevail in such regions, as the sun has no influence there, and as the heat of terrestrial bodies cannot be communicated so far. This is nearly the case on the summit of very high mountains, where it is always much colder than on plains and in vallies*.

The city of Quito, in Peru, is almost under the equator, and were we to form our judgment from its situation on the globe, we would suppose it oppressed with intolerable heat; the air, however, is abundantly temperate, and differs very little from that of Paris. Quito is situated at a great height above the real surface of the earth. In going to it from the sea shore, you have to ascend for several days; it is accordingly built in an elevation equal to that of our highest mountains, though surrounded by others still much higher, called the Cordeliers. This last circumstance would afford a reason for thinking,

that the air there must be as hot as at the surface of the earth, as it is contiguous on all sides, to the opaque bodies, on which the rays of the sun fall. The objection is solid; and no solution can be given but this: that the air at Quito, being very elevated, must be much more subtile; and of less gravity than with us; and the barometer, which always stands considerably lower, incontestibly proves it.

Air of such a quality is not so susceptible of heat as common air, as it must contain less vapour and other particles which usually float in the atmosphere; and we know by experience, that air, very much loaded, is proportionably susceptible of heat. I must here subjoin another phenomenon, no less surprising: in very deep pits, and lower still, if it were still possible to descend, the same degree of heat always, and universally prevails, and nearly for the same reason. As the rays of the sun exert their influence only on the surface of the earth, and as the heat which they there excite communicates itself up and down, this effect, at very great depths, is almost imperceptible. The same thing holds respecting considerable height. This elucidation will, I flatter myself, prove satisfactory†.

Account

* There are clouds, however, above these mountains, and in almost as great a quantity as above the plains, which is demonstrated by the snows which cover the highest summits. There are few naturalists who have not been surprised by clouds in their excursions upon the mountains. The heat that is felt when such clouds are formed, must be attributed almost entirely to the transmission of the water which found itself dissolved in the air, under the form of elastic fluid, to a liquid state. The heat of the solar rays, intercepted by the cloud, can produce no change in the inferior temperature, as it would have been transmitted from the ground.—F. E.

† The reason which professor Euler assigns for the cold that prevails in the higher regions of the atmosphere seems plausible, but will not stand an accurate examination. Light is much impaired in its passage through the atmosphere,

*Account of the Great Speckled Diver
or Loon. From White's Natural-
ist's Calendar.*

AS one of my neighbours was
traversing Wolmer forest from
Bramshot across the moors, he
found

and the heat communicated is in every case proportional to the quantity of absorption. It appears, from some ingenious experiments of Mr. Bouguer, that we receive only four-fifths of the rays of a vertical sun; and when that luminary approaches the horizon, the portion of this light, which reaches the surface of the earth, is much smaller. Thus, at an elevation of 20 degrees, it is one-half; at that of 10 degrees, one-third; and at that of five degrees, one-eighth. Hence, the sun-beams are most powerful on the summits of lofty mountains, for they suffer the greatest diminution in passing through the dense air of the lower regions. If the air derived its heat from the surface of the earth, those countries would be warmest which enjoyed the greatest quantity of sun-shine. The British islands are shrouded in clouds nine months of the year; yet our climate is milder than that of the same parallel on the continent, where the sky is generally serene. The elevated town of Quito, exposed to a brilliant sun, enjoys a temperate air; while the Peruvian plains, shaded with fleecy clouds, are parched with heat. Were the reasoning in the text to be admitted, we would conclude, that the tops of mountains are warmer than their basis. To say that air, much rarified, is not susceptible of heat, is a very extraordinary assertion, since we are acquainted with no substance whatever that may not be heated. Besides, a more intense cold may be artificially produced than what prevails in the lofty regions of the atmosphere. We must recur to other principles for the true solution of the fact. It is indifferent what portion of the air first receives the heat; the effect depends entirely on the nature of its distribution. If the atmosphere were of an uniform density throughout, the heat would, at all heights, be likewise the same. But as the density varies according to the altitude, the distribution of heat is affected by that circumstance, and follows a certain corresponding law. I would gladly develop the principles from which this theory is deduced, but the popular nature of the present treatise forbids all abstract discussion. I shall, therefore, content myself with giving a table of the diminution of heat at different altitudes.

Altitude in feet.					Diminution of heat, in degrees of Fahrenheit.
3,000	—	—	—	—	120
6,000	—	—	—	—	24½
9,000	—	—	—	—	38
12,000	—	—	—	—	53
15,000	—	—	—	—	68½
18,000	—	—	—	—	86½
21,000	—	—	—	—	94½

The diminution of heat, on the ascent, is not quite so great in extensive continents; for the intercourse between the rare and the dense portions of the atmosphere is, in this case, necessarily slow, and the heat, which is principally formed at the surface, will only be partially dispersed.

It is a common mistake to suppose, that the same heat obtains, at a certain depth, in every part of the globe. The fact is, that heat, originally derived from the sun, is communicated very slowly to the matter below the surface, which, therefore, does not feel the vicissitude of seasons, but retains the average temperature of the climate for many ages. Hence the utility of examining the heat of springs which is the same with that of the substances through which they flow.

The

found a large uncommon bird fluttering in the heath, but not wounded; which he brought home alive. On examination it proved to be *Colymbus glacialis*, Linn.: the great speckled diver or loon, which is most excellently described in Willoughby's ornithology.

Every part and proportion of this bird is so incomparably adapted to its mode of life, that in no instance do we see the wisdom of God in the creation to more advantage. The head is sharp, and smaller than the part of the neck adjoining, in order that it may pierce the water; the wings are placed forward, and out of the centre of gravity, for a purpose which shall be noticed hereafter; the thighs quite at the podex, in order to facilitate diving; and the legs are flat, and as sharp backwards almost as the edge of a knife, that in striking they may easily cut the water; while the feet are palmed, and broad for swimming, yet so folded up when advanced forward to take a fresh stroke, as to be full as narrow as the shank. The two exterior toes of the feet are longest; the nails flat and broad resembling the human, which

give strength and increase the power of swimming. The foot, when expanded, is not at right angles to the leg or body of the bird: but the exterior part inclining towards the head forms an acute angle with the body; the intention being not to give motion in the line of the legs themselves, but by the combined impulse of both in an intermediate line, the line of the body.

Most people know, that have observed at all, that the swimming of birds is nothing more than a walking in the water, where one foot succeeds the other as on the land; yet no one, as far as I am aware, has remarked that diving fowls, while under water, impel and row themselves forward by a motion of their wings, as well as by the impulse of their feet: but such is really the case, as any person may easily be convinced, who will observe ducks when hunted by dogs in a clear pond. Nor do I know that any one has given a reason why the wings of diving fowls are placed so forward: doubtless, not for the purpose of promoting their speed in flying, since that position certainly impedes it;

The following table exhibits the average heat of places on the level of the sea, computed by the celebrated astronomer, professor Meyer, for every five degrees of latitude.

Latitude.	Average Temperature.	Latitude.	Average Temperature.
0 —	— 84°	50 —	— 53½°
5 —	— 83½	55 —	— 49
10 —	— 82½	60 —	— 45
15 —	— 80½	65 —	— 41½
20 —	— 78	70 —	— 36
25 —	— 74½	75 —	— 35½
30 —	— 71	80 —	— 32½
35 —	— 67	85 —	— 32½
40 —	— 62½	90 —	— 32
45 —	— 58		

By comparing this table with the preceding, it is easy to discover, for any latitude, the altitude of the curve of congelation, or where the average temperature is 32°.—E. E.

but

but probably for the increase of their motion under water, by the use of four oars instead of two; yet were the wings and feet nearer together, as in land birds, they would, when in action, rather hinder than assist one another.

This Colymbus was of considerable bulk, weighing only three drachms short of three pounds avoirdupoise. It measured in length from the bill to the tail (which was very short), two feet; and to the extremities of the toes four inches more; and the breadth of the wings expanded was 42 inches. A person attempted to eat the body, but found it very strong and rancid, as is the flesh of all birds living on fish. Divers or loons, though bred in the most northerly parts of Europe, yet are seen with us in very severe winters; and on the Thames are called sprat loons, because they prey much on that sort of fish.

The legs of the Colymbi and Mergi are placed so very backward, and so out of all centre of gravity, that these birds cannot walk at all. They are called by Linæus compedes, because they move on the ground as if shackled, or fettered.

Contrasts and Consonancies between Animals and the Earth. From Dr. Hunter's Translation of St. Pierre's Studies of Nature.

THERE is seen, on the shores of India, a large and beautiful bird, white, and fire-coloured, called the flamingo, not that it is of Flemish extraction, but the name is derived from the old French

word *flambant* (flaming), because it appears, at a distance, like a flame of fire. He generally inhabits in swampy grounds, and salt marshes, in the waters of which he constructs his nest, by raising out of the moisture, of a foot deep, a little hillock of mud, a foot and a half high. He makes a hole in the summit of this little hillock; in this the hen deposits two eggs and hatches them, with her feet sunk in the water, by means of the extreme length of her legs. When several of these birds are sitting at the same time on their eggs, in the midst of a swamp, you would take them, at a distance, for the flames of a conflagration, bursting from the bosom of the waters.

Other fowls present contrasts of a different kind on the same shores. The pelican, or wide throat, is a bird white and brown, provided with a large bag under its beak, which is of excessive length. Out he goes every morning to store his bag with fish: and, the supply of the day having been accomplished, he perches on some pointed rocks on a level with the water, where he stands immovable till the evening, says father Du Tertre*, "as in a state of profound sorrow, with the head drooping, from the weight of his long bill, and eyes fixed on the agitated ocean, as motionless as a statue of marble." On the dusky strand of those seas may frequently be distinguished herons white as snow, and in the azure plains of the sky, the palléu of a very white, skimming through it almost out of sight: he is sometimes glazed over with a bright red, having likewise the two long

* History of the Antilles.

feathers of his tail the colour of fire, as that of the South-seas.

In many cases, the deeper that the ground is, the more brilliant are the colours in which the animal, destined to live upon it, is arrayed. We have not, perhaps, in Europe, any insect with richer and gayer clothing than the ster-coraceous scarab, and the fly, which bears the same epithet. This last is brighter than burnished gold and steel; the other, of a hemispherical form, is of a fine blue, inclining to purple; and in order to render the contrast complete, he exhales a strong and agreeable odour of musk.

Nature has bestowed at once, in the colours of innoxious animals, contrasts with the ground on which they live, and consonances with that which is adjacent, and has superadded the instinct of employing these alternately, according as good or bad fortune prompts. These wonderful accommodations may be remarked in most of our small birds, whose flight is feeble, and of short duration. The grey lark finds her subsistence among the grass of the plains? Does any thing terrify her, she glides away, and takes her station between two little clods of earth, where she becomes invisible. On this post she remains in such perfect tranquillity, as hardly to quit it, when the foot of the fowler is ready to crush her.

The same thing is true of the partridge. I have no doubt that these defenceless birds have a sense of those contrasts and correspondencies of colour; for I have remarked it even in insects. In the month

of March last, I observed, by the brink of the rivulet which washes the Gobelins *, a butterfly of the colour of brick, reposing with expanded wings on a tuft of grass. On my approaching him, he flew off. He alighted, at some paces distance, on the ground, which, at that place, was of the same colour with himself. I approached him a second time; he took a second flight, and perched again on a similar stripe of earth. In a word, I found it was not in my power to oblige him to alight on the grass, though I made frequent attempts to that effect, and though the spaces of earth which separated the turfy soil were narrow, and few in number.

This wonderful instinct is likewise conspicuously evident in theameleon. This species of lizard, whose motion is extremely slow, is indemnified for this, by the incomprehensible faculty of assuming, at pleasure, the colour of the ground over which he moves. With this advantage, he is enabled to elude the eye of his pursuer, whose speed would soon have overtaken him. This faculty is in his will, for his skin is by no means a mirror. It reflects only the colour of objects, and not their form. What is farther singularly remarkable in this, and perfectly ascertained by naturalists, though they assign no reason for it, he can assume all colours, as brown, grey, yellow, and especially green, which is his favourite colour, but never red. Theameleon has been placed, for weeks together, amidst scarlet stuffs, without acquiring the

* A small village in the suburbs of Paris, noted for its manufactures in fine tapestry and superb mirrors.

slightest shade of that colour. Nature seems to have withheld from the creature this shining hue, because it could serve only to render him perceptible as a greater distance; and farther, because this colour is that of the ground of no species of earth, or of vegetable, on which he is designed to pass his life.

But, in the age of weakness and inexperience, nature confounds the colour of the harmless animals, with that of the ground on which they inhabit, without committing to them the power of choice. The young of pigeons, and of most granivorous fowls, are clothed with a greenish shaggy coat, resembling the mosses of the nests. Caterpillars are blind, and have the complexion of the foliage, and of the barks, which they devour. Nay, the young fruits, before they come to be armed with prickles, or inclosed in cases, in bitter pulps; in hard shells, to protect their seeds, are, during the season of their expansion, green as the leaves which surround them. Some embryos, it is true, such as those of certain pears, are ruddy or brown; but they are then of the colour of the bark of the tree to which they belong. When those fruits have inclosed their seeds in kernels, or nuts, so as to be in no farther danger, they then change colour. They become yellow, blue, gold-coloured, red, black; and give to their respective trees their natural contrasts. It is strikingly remarkable, that every fruit which has changed colour has seed in a state of maturity.

It is in the countries of the North, and on the summit of cold mountains, that the pine grows, and the fir, and the cedar, and most

part of resinous trees, which shelter man from the snows by the closeness of their foliage, and which furnish him, during the winter season, with torches, and fuel for his fire-side. It is very remarkable, that the leaves of those evergreen trees are filiform, and are extremely adapted, by this configuration, which possesses the farther advantage of reverberating the heat, like the hair of animals, for resistance to the impetuosity of the winds, that beat with peculiar violence on elevated situations. The Swedish naturalists have observed, that the fattest pines are to be found on the driest and most sandy regions of Norway. The larch, which takes equal pleasure in the cold mountains, has a very resinous trunk.

Mathiola, in his useful commentary on Dioscorides, informs us, that there is no substance more proper than the charcoal of these trees, for promptly melting the iron minerals, in the vicinity of which they peculiarly thrive. They are, besides, loaded with mosses, some species of which catch fire from the slightest spark. He relates, that being obliged, on a certain occasion, to pass the night in the lofty mountains of the strait of Trento, where he was botanizing, he found there a great quantity of larches (*larix*) bearded all over, to use his own expression, and completely whitened with moss. The shepherds of the place, willing to amuse him, set fire to the mosses of some of these trees, which was immediately communicated with the rapidity of gunpowder touched with a match. Amidst the obscurity of the night, the flame and the sparks seem to ascend up to the

the very heavens. They diffused, as they burnt, a very agreeable perfume. He farther remarks, that the best agaricum grows upon the larch, and that the arquebuses of his time made use of it for keeping up fire, and for making matches. Thus, nature, in crowning the summit of cold and ferruginous mountains with those vast vegetable torches, has placed the match in their branches, the tinder at their foot, and the steel at their roots.

To the south, on the contrary, trees present, in their foliage, fans, umbrellas, parasols. The *latanier* carries each of its leaves plaited as a fan, attached to a long tail, and similar, when completely displayed, to a radiating sun of verdure. Two of those trees are to be seen in the royal-garden. The leaf of the banana resembles a long and broad girdle, which, undoubtedly, procured for it the name of Adam's tree. The magnitude of the leaves of several species of trees increases in proportion as we approach the Line. That of the coconut-tree, with double fruit of the *Shelles Islands*, is from twelve to twenty feet long, and from seven to eight broad. A single one is sufficient to cover a numerous family. One of these leaves is, likewise, to be seen in the Royal Cabinet of Natural History. That of the talipot of the Island of Ceylon is of nearly the same size.

The interesting and unfortunate Robert Knox, who has given the best account of Ceylon which I am acquainted with, tells us, that one of the leaves of the talipot is capable of covering from fifteen to twenty persons. When it is dry, continues he, it is at once strong

and pliant, so that you may fold and unfold it at pleasure, being naturally plaited like a fan. In this state it is not bigger than a man's arm, and extremely light. The natives cut it into triangles, though it is naturally round, and each of them carries one of those sections over his head, holding the angular part before, in his hand, to open for himself a passage through the bushes. The soldiers employ this leaf as a covering to their tents. He considers it, and with good reason, as one of the greatest blessings of Providence, in a country burnt up by the sun, and inundated by the rains, for six months of the year.

Nature has provided, in those climates, parasols for whole villages; for the fig-tree, denominated, in India, the fig-tree of the Banians, a drawing of which may be seen in Tavernier, and in several other travellers, grows on the very burning sand of the sea-shore, throwing, from the extremity of its branches, a multitude of shoots, which drop to the ground, there take root, and form, around the principal trunk, a great number of covered arcades, whose shade is impervious to the rays of the sun.

In our temperate climates, we experience a similar benevolence on the part of nature. In the warm and thirsty seasons, she bestows upon us a variety of fruits, replenished with the most refreshing juices, such as cherries, peaches, melons; and as winter approaches, those which warm and comfort by their oils, such as the almond and the walnut. Certain naturalists have considered even the lignous shells of these fruits, as a prerogative against the cold of the gloomy

my season; but these are, as we have seen, the means of floating and of navigating. Nature employs others with which we are not acquainted, for preserving the substances of fruits, from the impressions of the air. For example, she preserves, through the whole winter, many species of apples and pears, which have no other covering than a pellicle so very thin, that it is impossible to determine how fine it is.

Nature has placed other vegetables in humid and dry situations, the qualities of which are inexplicable on the principles of our physics, but which admirably harmonize with the necessities of the men who inhabit those places. Along the water-side grow the plants and the trees which are the dryest, the lightest, and, consequently, the best adapted for the purpose of crossing the stream. Such are reeds, which are hollow, and rushes which are filled with an inflammable marrow. It requires but a very moderate bundle of rushes to bear the weight of a very heavy man upon the water. On the banks of the lakes of the north are produced those enormous birch-trees, the bark of a single one of which is sufficient to form a large canoe. This bark is similar to leather in pliancy, and so incorruptible by humidity, that, in Russia, I have seen some of it extracted from under the earth which covered powder magazines, perfectly sound, though it had lain there from the time of Peter the Great.

Account of the Kainsi, a species of Gazelle or Antelope. From le Vaillant's Second Journey into the Interior of Africa.

THE Kainsi has received from the Dutch its name of rock-jumper (*klip-springer*), merely on account of the nimbleness with which it bounds from rock to rock; and in fact, of all the gazelle tribe it is the most active. It is the size of a roebuck of a year old, and has a coat of a yellowish grey; but its hair is singular in this respect, that instead of being round, supple, and solid, like that of most quadrupeds, it is flat, harsh, and so little adherent to the skin, that the least friction causes it to fall off. Hence nothing is more easy than to strip the animal of hair, dead or alive; friction, or even touching the skin, is sufficient for the purpose. Often have I endeavoured to preserve the fur of those which I had killed, without being able to effect it: notwithstanding all my precautions in skinning them, the greatest part of the hair fell off. Another particularity is the brittleness of the hair; which is such that, if a portion be taken between the fingers, and twisted with the other hand, the hairs break. This property, however, is common to several quadrupeds which live among rocks.

This gazelle also differs from the other species in the form of its hoof, which is not pointed like theirs, but rounded at the extremity; and as it is its custom, in leaping or walking, to pinch with the point of the hoof without bearing on the heel, it leaves a print distinguishable from those of all the African antelopes. Its flesh is exquisite, and much in request, especially among the hunters. The panthers and leopards are equally fond of it. I have heard the Hotentots relate that these animals unite to hunt the kainsi; and that when

when the latter has taken refuge on the point of some steep rock, one of them will go below to wait for the prey, while the rest advance and try to force it to precipitate itself.

I do not, however, give credit to these pretended associations of animals of the tyger kind.

The chase of the kainsi is very amusing. It can scarcely, indeed, be forced by dogs, from whom it soon escapes by its inconceivable agility, and gets out of their reach on the point of some insulated rock; on which it remains for hours together, safe from all pursuit, and suspended, as it were, over the abyss:—but in this position it seems to offer the best mark to the ball or the arrow; and if the hunter cannot always easily get at it after he has killed it, he may almost constantly shoot it. Many times have I been witness of the extreme nimbleness of the animal: but one day I saw an instance of it which astonished me. I was hunting one, and from the nature of the place it was suddenly so pressed by my dogs, that it seemed to have no possibility of escape. Before it, was an immense perpendicular crag, which stopped it short: but on this wall, which I thought vertical, was a little ledge projecting two inches at most, which the kainsi had perceived. He leaped on it, and to my great surprise held fast. I thought at least he would soon be precipitated; and my dogs themselves so much expected it, that they ran below to seize him when he should fall. I threw stones at him to endeavour to make him lose his balance. All at once, as if he had divined my intention, he col-

lected all his force, sprang to my side, flew over my head, and then, alighting some paces from me, escaped like lightning. I might still easily have shot him, but his leap had so surprised and pleased me that I gave him his life. My dogs only were taken in, who, confused at his escape, did not return to me without a kind of shame.

Reflections of certain effects of Heat and Cold on the living System. By Thomas Beddoes, M. D. From Medical Facts and Observations.

I know not whether it has been observed that the inflammations, particularly those of the eyes, which are so frequent, in hot climates, where it is the custom to sleep during the summer in the open air, are to be referred to the succession of heat to cold. Travellers, especially those into Egypt, have variously attempted to account for this phenomenon. Hasselquist imputes it to certain miasmata arising from the almost empty reservoirs in which the water of the Nile is preserved from inundation to inundation. This is, however, a mere hypothesis, unconfirmed by any strict analogy; nor is the supposed cause in any way brought home to the effect. As little, in my opinion, can the inflammation of the eyes be ascribed to the influence of the nocturnal light of the heavens upon the eye, the eyelids being more or less closed during sleep. The cause seems inadequate. It is common, in this country, to sleep in chambers not less strongly illuminated (if not more so) than in Egypt, during the night, without any inconvenience to our sight.

sight. Besides, I think, if we could suppose the eye to be so dazzled by the light of the night as to be injured, the injury ought to fall upon the nerve, and not upon the eyelids and external parts. The nitrous particles with which Alpinus imagines the atmosphere of Egypt to be impregnated, will not, I suppose, be considered as a cause more probable than any of the preceding: but the following passage may serve to give an idea of the nature of the complaint in question, and its frequency, at Cairo. “Plurimasque (oculorum lippitudines) Cayri easdemque per omnia anni tempora homines invadere ob nitrosam pulverem, qui continuè oculos habitantium mordicat, & calescit, observatur, longè maximèque in ætatis primâ parte, quo tempore calor ambientis summè calidi oculos inflammat, taliumque morborum númerum auget. *Sparsim* vero per urbem toto anno hæ oculorum inflammationes vagantur; atque *epidemica plurimæ* in primâ ætatis parte calidissimâ in æqualissimâque ob vehementissimum * meridionalium ventorum calorem, atque inflammatarum arenarum copiam, quæ ab iisdem ventis asportantur. Eo enim anni tempore è centum hominibus quinquaginta saltem lippientes observantur.” (De Medicin. Ægypt. p. 24). The flying sand must be troublesome, and probably, in many cases, supports and increases the inflammation, and in some may give rise to it; but the following fact, which seems to me to render the induction complete, shews that the true and general cause is the great inequality between the tem-

perature of the night and day; to which cause signal effect is given by the practice of sleeping *sub dio*. Mr. Clarkson (in his essay on the impolicy of the African slave-trade) informs us (p. 71), that, “when the slaves are brought on board, the seamen, to make room for them, are turned out of their apartments between decks, and sleep, for the most part, either on deck or in the tops of the vessel during the whole of the middle passage; or from the time of their leaving the coast of Africa (where the days are excessively hot, and the dews are excessively cold and heavy, *ibid.* p. 68), to that of their arrival at the West-India islands.” “From this bad lodging,” he proceeds, “and this continual exposure to colds and damps, and suddenly afterwards to a burning sun, fevers originate which carry many of them off. Nor is this the only effect which this continual vicissitude from heat to extreme dampness and coldness has upon the surviving crew: inflammatory fevers necessarily attack them. This fever attacks the whole frame; the eye feels the inflammation most. This inflammation terminates either in dispersion or suppuration: in the first instance the eyes are saved; in the latter they are lost.

The inflammation of the eye is not the only disease produced in Egypt by the succession of hot days to cool nights, any more than on board our slave-ships; in both situations causes and effects run parallel, as the reader will find upon recurring to Alpinus and the later travellers. The well-known danger of exposure to dews in hot

* See Niebuhr's Thermometrical tables in the first volume of his Travels.

climates, and indeed in all climates, in certain cases, seems to depend upon the same principle: It is also probable, that the heat of the preceding day, enables the dews of the night to prepare the system for the stimulating effects of the heat of the succeeding day; so that, of two persons who should expose themselves without precaution to the cold of night and the heat of the following day, he who should have been most exhausted the day before by the heat, would, if other circumstances could be rendered alike equal, be most injured by the next alternation.

Several circumstances, such as the redness and swelling of the parts exposed to cold, together with the frequent occurrence of inflammatory disorders not long after exposure to cold, were calculated to mislead observers into a belief that these disorders were the direct effect of cold. Yet the great difference in the state of a part during inflammation, and under the influence of cold, might have induced them to suspect that so slight an analogy might be illusive: and, after taking into the account other well-ascertained facts, they ought to have concluded that the theory was false. Linnæus, in a paper in the *Amœnitates Academicæ*, expresses his astonishment at the impunity with which the heated Laplander rubs himself with snow, or even rolls in the snow, and drinks the cold snow-water. We every day see horses in a state of the most profuse perspiration freely washed with cold water, and always without injury. I have several times within these two years caused horses accustomed to be stabled, to be turned out for a single

night in winter: and no cough, catarrh, or other disorder, has ever been the consequence. It appears, therefore to me, that within certain limits, and those not very narrow, the transition from a higher to a lower temperature is attended with no danger to animals in a state of tolerable health; and a person, I conceive, might suddenly pass from a higher to a lower temperature without inconvenience, even where the difference is so great as to be capable of producing considerable inflammation, if the change should be made with equal celerity in a contrary direction. On this, though an interesting subject for observations on man, and experiments on animals, we want precise facts; and I state the principle in order to induce observers to compare it with the facts that fall in their way.

Besides the succession of heat and *vice versa*, there is a third case well worthy of consideration; and this where part of the body is exposed to one of these powers, and the remaining part to the other; as, for instance where a stream of comparatively cold air flows upon part of the body of a person sitting in a warm room, and perhaps also drinking stimulating liquors. In making chemical experiments it often happens that a cold (catarrh) is taken, if the hands be much immersed in cold water, when the laboratory is much heated; by adding warm water, to raise the temperature of that in the trough, this danger is easily avoided. In these cases the effect seems to be the same as that of the succession of heat to cold. In persons whose bowels are extremely liable to be affected, it sometimes happens, as I have myself known it to happen,

that the removal of a foot into a cold part of the bed, after the body has become warm in bed, shall bring on acute pain in the bowels; and yet no pain is produced in getting into bed, though the temperature be the same, and perhaps lower, than that of the part into which the foot is removed; and, probably, total immersion into cold water would not produce any pain in the bowels. The laws of such phenomena, however deserving of investigation, have, as yet, scarcely been an object of attention with pathologists. It is probable that the phenomena, in any given case, are regulated by two circumstances: first, by the excess of heat (or the strength of the stimulus, whatever it be), to which the greater part of the body is exposed, above that to which the smaller is exposed. The second circumstance is the difference between the extent of the heated and cooled surfaces. When the latter is not extremely minute, and yet confined within moderate limits, the inflammatory effects seem to be considerable. Should the circumstances be reversed, and a stream of air, so warm as to convey heat to the body, instead of carrying it away, play upon a small part of its surface, the rest being exposed to a moderate or a low temperature, it is probable the result would be the same as when moderate cold succeeds to warmth, *i. e.* no bad effect would follow.

Account of the Manner of treating Bees in Portugal. From Murphy's Travels in that Country.

TO form a colony of bees, a spot of ground is chosen for the hives,

exposed towards the south or south-east, well sheltered from the northern blasts, and surrounded with shrubs and flowers; of the latter, the best is rosemary. The richer the neighbouring grounds are the better, for bees are said to range for food to the distance of a league from their homes. The situation being chosen, lanes must be cut through the shrubby thickets of five or six feet wide. The fences between the lanes should be about the same dimensions, and formed at intervals into small recesses, like bowers or niches, to receive the hives.

The figures of the hives used here in general are cylindrical; in height about twenty-seven inches by fourteen diameter. They are formed of the rind of the cork-tree, and covered with a pan of earthenware inverted, the edge of which projects over the hive like a cornice. The whole is fastened with pegs made of some hard and durable wood, and the joints stopped with peat. In the front of the cylinder, at the height of about eight inches, there is a small aperture where the bees enter. The inside is divided into three equal divisions, which are separated by cross sticks: here the bees form their combs or cells.

When the bees swarm, which is usually in the month of May or June, the hives are placed to receive them where they light. If they descend on a tree, they are shaken off: the person who performs this operation must not be afraid of them: as they do not commonly sting unless they are irritated; it will be safer, however, to cover the head with a wire-mask, and the hands with gloves.

Some bees are so wild, that they

fly away in attempting to collect them, but they may be caught again in this manner: a sheet is placed by night on the ground contiguous to the swarm, and when they alight, the hive is placed over them, with the entrance stopped; then the whole is covered with a sheet, in which they are carried home. But they should not be placed near the hive whence they had originally departed.

When the time arrives for taking out the honey-combs, which is generally in the month of June, when the flowers begin to decay, it should be done in the heat of the day, as the greater part of the bees are then abroad, but not during a high wind, or at the commencement of a new or full moon. The hiver must have his face and hands defended as above-mentioned, and accompanied by a person holding a chaffing-dish, with a coal fire, covered with moist peat, to make the greater smoke: the smoke being infused among the bees from the top of the cylinder, they fly away, or remain intoxicated at the bottom. Then the hive is taken to pieces by drawing out the pins. The combs are cut out without destroying the bees, except two cells, which are left around the hive; and, lest the bees should feed on what remains, the incision is covered with pulverised clay: after this, the hive is put together as before.

The combs should not be taken out but when they are full of honey; it is rarely good the first year the bees assemble. In the months of March and August the wax is

taken out, which is lodged in the first division of the hive, after which the bees form other combs, and generate a young colony.

The hiver should often visit the ground, and repair any accidents that have happened. If snakes frequent the place, they should not be killed, since they do not molest the bees, but destroy the toads and lizards, which are obnoxious to them.

When the hives are decayed, they are taken asunder and fumigated; then the bees forsake their habitations and take shelter in an adjoining hive, previously prepared for that purpose. This should be performed in the spring, when the flowers begin to open and afford them succour. The same method may be used in taking out the honey; but if repeatedly practised, it will extinguish the colony.

As the bees, in returning from their excursions, are loaded and fatigued, there should be nothing near the hives to obstruct their descent, which is not in a perpendicular course, but in an oblique one.

On Plica Polonica by Mr. Frederick Hoffman. From the Memoirs of the Manchester Society.

SYNONYMS. *Lues Pocusiensis**: *Tricæ*: *Trichoma*. POL. Koldun or Gózdz. GERMAN. *Fuden-zopff*: *wichiel-zopff*: *wixel-zorff*: *weich-el-zorff*.

DISEASES, the tendency of which is fatal, and the occurrence

* *Pokusia* is a territory of Poland.

frequent, peculiarly claim the attention of the practical physician; while morbid affections which appear more rarely, and present unusual phenomena, more especially attract the inquiries of those whose object is the extension of general science. The disease termed *Plica Polonica* is of the latter class. It is endemic in Poland; and seldom, if ever, observed in any other part of Europe. During a long stay at Breslau in Silesia, I had frequent opportunities of observing this disease, and, as it is at present little known in Britain, I trust a brief narration of the principal circumstances connected with it will not prove uninteresting.

Both sexes are equally liable to the attacks of *Plica*. It usually appears during infancy; and but seldom after the age of twenty. When once produced, it continues during the remainder of life. The accession of the complaint is in general preceded by irregular spasmodic affections, pains in different parts of the body, a slow fever, and various diseases of the eyes; all which cease immediately on the appearance of the *Plica*.

The disorder consists in a præternatural rapid growth of the hair, with a copious secretion of a viscid matter from its bulbs. For the most part, the hairs of the head are alone affected; and that only in peculiar parts. In these, the hairs grow considerably longer than in the rest; and are knotted and entangled with each other; being also covered with the viscid matter which issues from their roots, and which assists in gluing them together.

In proportion as the quantity of

this gluten, and the implication of the hair increases, it is still more and more difficult to clean and comb it; hence a degree of phthiasis is produced, and the head contracts an extremely foetid smell, to which however the Polish peasants are so much accustomed, that they endure it without complaint, or any manifest inconvenience.

It is also an opinion universally prevalent with them, that the disease is a salutary effort of nature to expel a morbid matter from the body; and that to interrupt the course of it would be productive of imminent danger; hence they make no attempt to cure, or even palliate the complaint. And if we may repose confidence in authors of established reputation, morbid affections of a similar nature to those which precede its occurrence, paralysis, and even death itself, have succeeded imprudent attempts to check the progress of the disease. In this respect, *Plica* bears some analogy to the *exanthemata*, and various chronic cutaneous eruptions.

I am as yet unable to decide whether this complaint is hereditary or not. From some observations indeed it appears, that a predisposition to it may be transmitted from parents to their offspring; but my information on this head is too limited to ascertain the point. In one case which fell under my own observation, two brothers had *Plica*, both on the left side of the head, and in about one third of their hairs: I learned from them, that their father and grandfather had also been affected with the disease in a form exactly similar.

Besides

Besides the human species, other animals are subject to this complaint. It appears in some of the finest horses in Poland. In them it is situated in the mane, and sometimes in the long hairs around the hoof and fetlock joint. It attacks also the different species of the canine genus; dogs, wolves, and foxes. Previous to its occurrence in the first, the symptoms of *rabies* usually appear: the tail is dropped between the hind legs, there is a flow of frothy saliva from the mouth, the sight and appetite are impaired or entirely lost; they are snappish, and disposed to bite, but their bite does not produce hydrophobia. The wolf is affected in the same manner; he leaves his wonted concealments in the woods, and runs wildly among the flocks, biting, and destroying them, but without producing hydrophobia.

The impossibility of ascertaining the true causes of this singular disease, has given rise to several vague conjectures on the subject; as that of Le Fontaine, who attributes it to a corruption of the fat.

It is somewhat remarkable, that Plica takes place only among the lower class of people; whence some have conceived, that it is to be considered merely as a consequence of uncleanness.

But, in objection to this opinion, it may be urged, that it is unknown in the adjoining countries subject to the Prussian Government, where the peasants are habituated to the same customs and mode of life, or nearly the same, as in Poland—that its appearance affords evident relief to the system, and its retrocession is productive of dangerous consequences. The idea that it is a real and idiopathic disease,

is confirmed also by its occurrence in a variety of animals, and by the circumstance of its being confined to particular parts of the head; for which no reason can be assigned on the former supposition.

A peculiarity of climate cannot be adduced as a cause of this disease. Poland differs little in this respect from the adjoining countries. The summer heat is considerable, the thermometer rising frequently to 98° . 100° . 104° , and the cold in winter so great, that it falls sometimes 10, 15 degrees below 0. But though the changes in the atmosphere are so remarkable, at different periods of the year, they take place with the utmost regularity, the temperature passing, by insensible degrees, from one extreme to the other.

The Poles themselves are a vigorous, hardy race; inured from infancy to labour, and to exposure to the vicissitudes of the atmosphere; almost regardless of cold, they frequently sleep in the open air. Their diet consists chiefly of animal food; and they are much addicted to the use of spirits. They have an equal fondness for other strong stimulating liquors. I have seen them drink, with the greatest pleasure, the salt brine in which herrings have been preserved, and even nitrous acid diluted with water.

Since no other cause can be assigned for this disease, it is probable that it arises, according to the general opinion, from contagion; a contagion which, like that of Psora, can be communicated by contact only: but this I have not been able to ascertain by any observations of my own.

It is said, however, by authors
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of reputation, that Plica is frequent in Tartary; and that it was brought into Poland in the 13th century by the Tartars, who at that period made frequent irruptions into the eastern parts of Europe.

A perfect confidence in the liberality and candour of a society, the exertions of which have added considerably to the treasure of science, encourages me to submit to it these few crude and cursory remarks; trusting that the most trivial contribution to the general stock, will not be deemed unworthy its attention. At some future period I hope to have opportunity and leisure to renew my observations on the subject; and I shall endeavour to supply the deficiencies of the present sketch, by transmitting to the society the result of my future remarks.

On the Power of the fixed Alkaline Salts to preserve the Flesh of Animals from Putrefactions, by the Rev. Hugh Hamilton. From the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy.

I CAME to the knowledge of the above-mentioned power of alkaline salts, I may say, accidentally: I had a wish to procure some kind of alkaline liquor that might be safely taken for the purpose of correcting acidities in the stomach. I knew that a solution of salt of tartar was exceedingly offensive to the taste; and that, if it was of strength sufficient to neutralize any quantity of acid in the stomach, it could not be swallowed without danger to the passages, from its causticity. It occurred to me, that its causticity might proba-

bly arise from its having a strong affinity to something or other, to get at which it burned or destroyed the texture of the flesh. If this should be the case, it was natural to suppose, that this salt, if intimately mixed with flesh, would saturate itself with whatever it was that it had such a strong appetite for; and, being so saturated, it would act no farther on our flesh, and might, without danger, be taken inwardly. To try this, I first enclosed some bits of lean raw mutton in a vial, with a strong solution of salt of tartar: but, after standing several days, no such alteration as I expected appeared in the liquor. I was willing to account for this, by supposing the salt had a greater affinity to the water than to any thing in the flesh; I therefore cut some flesh from the breast of a turkey, roasted the day before, and made it as dry as I could; this I pounded in a mortar, adding, by degrees, some dry and finely-powdered salt of tartar*, until I thought there was enough, for I had no rule to judge by. The mixture grew moist; and, when it was sufficiently pounded, I spread it into a thin cake on an earthen dish, and set it before the fire, where it soon became dry. I found it had then a saponaceous mild taste; for, the taste of the salt was scarcely perceptible. Having macerated this flesh in warm water, and poured off the clear liquor, I found it effervesced with vinegar, which shewed that the salt was not so far neutralized but that it would unite itself with an acid, so that I considered it as a mild alkaline liquor, such as I sought for. However, that I might have an opinion from

* This salt had been sent to me rendered caustic by quick-lime, though I had not desired it.

a person of skill on the subject, I wrote to my late worthy and ingenious friend Dr. M'Bride, and acquainted him with the preparation I had made, and the intention of it. In his answer, he was pleased to say he approved of the idea, and would make some of the liquor I described, and let me know what he thought of it. He afterwards wrote to me, and said he had tried the alkaline liquor, and thought it might prove an useful medicine, particularly as it might be mixed with milk and given to children, who have often acids in their stomachs. He also mentioned a physician, then in Dublin, to whom he had recommended the liquor, and who had found great benefit from it. I first made this liquor in the year 1771; and, in the year 1777, being then in Bath, I met with an account of some experiments made by Mr. Bewly, an ingenious chemist, which plainly proved that fixed air is an acid, and saturates alkaline salts; this at once informed me what it was, in the flesh of an animal, that alkaline salts had such a strong affinity to. At the same time I got from London one of Dr. Nooth's glass machines, for impregnating water with fixed air, and to the water I added salt of tartar; after this, I thought no more of my alkaline broth, having got a way of obtaining what I wanted in a much more elegant manner.

The only thing now worth attention in the experiment I have related, is, that it discovered a power in even caustic alkaline salts to preserve flesh, I may say, incorruptible; though it has been gene-

rally imagined that such salts would consume it. I have some flesh prepared with these salts in the year 1772; for finding some bits made the year before had continued unaltered, I made some more, and laid it by, to see how long it would keep, and what alterations it would undergo. I made it into a cake, and, when quite dry, I cut it into round bits, about the size of half-a-crown, and put them into a drawer in my desk: I shewed some of them to Mr. Kirwan the summer before last; when I had the honour of receiving a visit from him at Armagh; and a few months ago I found some pieces in another drawer, where they have lain near two and twenty years, and remain unaltered. When these pieces are broken, they hang together by fibres, and look like a piece of plaster taken from a wall; the fibrous or stringy parts of the flesh do not seem to have been corroded or dissolved by the salt.

After I knew that fixed air was an acid, and saturated alkaline salts, I began to form conjectures about the means by which these salts had so entirely prevented putrefaction in the flesh to which they were united. Animal substances afford much volatile alkali, and now they are known to contain also a volatile acid gas. While these two volatile principles continue united with each other, they may prevent any material change from taking place in the substance; but, if one of them by any means escapes, the other will follow; the acid seems to be the most volatile, and escapes first, though we may not be sensible of its escape, because it has no such strong smell as

the alkali has. The letting loose these volatile principles seems to be the beginning of putrefaction. If this be the case, we may see the reason why flesh, when growing putrid, is restored to sweetness by fixed air; that acid replacing what has escaped, and retaining the volatile alkali. It is probably on this account, that the aerial acid is found to be of use in stopping the progress of some putrid disorders; it seems to act as a sort of pickle. If vinegar preserve flesh by keeping its volatile alkali united with this acid, which is not volatile, we may expect a fixed alkali will have a like effect in preserving flesh, by expelling the weaker volatile alkali, and uniting itself to the volatile acid, which will therefore be attained. This I found to be really the case; for, while the flesh and alkali were combining in the mortar, a very strong smell arose, like that of *sal volatile*; and, at one time that I used a brass or metal mortar, I perceived its edges to be tinged with blue, which shewed that the metal had been affected by the volatile alkali.

There seems to be a good reason why fixed alkaline salts should preserve flesh much longer than any fluid acid, such as vinegar can do; for when the alkaline salt combines with the flesh, it expels what is volatile, the mass grows hard, and it is easily reduced to a state of dryness, in which no sort of fermentation, or any intestine motion can take place, and therefore there is nothing that can effect a change in this compound substance. Whereas, when an animal or vegetable substance is immersed in vinegar, a very heterogeneous mixture is formed, which, in

length of time, will be apt to run into a sort of fermentation, with an intestine motion among the minute particles; this will bring on some change in the texture of the substance, and every fermentation, when long continued, ends in putrefaction, which, indeed, is said to be the last stage of fermentation.

Whether the conjectures I have offered on this subject be well or ill founded is but of little consequence; the facts I have mentioned may be relied on.

Observations on the Nature of Honey, particularly on its saccharine Parts when obtained in a solid Form. By Mr. Lowitz, of the Oeconomical Society at St. Petersburg.

I. A substance so remarkable and so useful as honey, ought to have been long since accurately analyzed by the chemists. Its saccharine taste has always led them to suppose that it contained a large quantity of sugar; but the great question was, how to separate the saccharine part from the mucilaginous, and other heterogeneous parts. This separation was the principal object of my inquiry, in the experiments of which I am going to give some account.

II. The property possessed by charcoal, of decomposing and absorbing the mucilaginous and phlogistic parts of various substances, (a discovery which I formerly made, and of which I then gave an account), induced me to hope that I could, by its means, obtain the object I had in view. I did indeed succeed in depriving honey, which had previously been dissolved in a sufficient quantity of water, of that smell

smell which is peculiar to it, and also of its taste and colour; but, when I evaporated the solution, by a very gentle fire, it soon acquired its former brown colour, and did not shew any disposition to produce regular crystals. I therefore thought it reasonable to conclude, that this property of recovering its original colour, either was natural to the whole substance of honey, or belonged exclusively to one of those constituent parts of it upon which charcoal had no power; for when a solution of common sugar is thickened by boiling, even though it is made to boil violently, it does not contract any colour until all the aqueous parts are evaporated.

III. The honey which had been treated with charcoal, and thickened by evaporation, in the manner already described, was observed, two months after, to have a great number of small white lumps in it, which had the appearance of crystals; and, soon after, the whole mass seemed to be full of them. To distinguish accurately the nature of these small lumps, it was necessary to separate them from the rest of the mass, which was entirely coagulated, very thick and glutinous. This operation I performed tolerably well, by washing the mass with alkalized spirit of wine, without heat. I soon perceived that the spirit dissolved the glutinous part completely, merely by shaking the mixture; but that fluid did not seem to have any effect upon the white granulated part; so that I succeeded in obtaining this last quite pure. After having separated this saccharine granulated part from the liquor, by means of a filter, I dried it by a

gentle heat, and reduced it into powder; this powder did not attract moisture, and had a very agreeable sweet taste.

IV. As the granulated consistence of white honey seems to arise from the coagulation of its saccharine parts, I endeavoured to separate that part by means of the purest spirit of wine, and which contained the smallest possible quantity of water. From twelve ounces of this sort of honey, I procured three ounces of saccharine matter. This matter still contained some heterogeneous substances, which appear not to be soluble in spirit of wine. To dissolve the saccharine part, I again had recourse to the purest spirit of wine I could procure; which I made use of by putting the mixture into a glass matrass, and boiling it therein for some time. By these means the saccharine part was entirely dissolved; while the insoluble part remained behind upon the filter, having the appearance of a greyish dirty slime. I had filtered the mixture while it was hot; after which I had poured the clear liquor into another matrass, in which I let it stand quiet for some days. After that time the sugar of the honey began to fix itself to the bottom of the vessel, in the form of little spherical knobs, ranged in lines by the side of each other; these, increasing in number every day, formed at last a solid crust, which was as white as snow, rather rough at the top, and which after being separated from the liquor above it, was so firm as to bear cutting with a knife into very thin slices. The remaining liquor, having been left quiet for some days, let fall, in that interval,

val, a fresh portion of this saccharine matter, which was exactly similar to that already spoken of.

V. Having thus provided myself with a certain quantity of this kind of sugar, I tried various methods to make it take a regular crystallized form; but in that respect, all my trials were in vain. Whether I used the purest spirit of wine, or water, to dissolve this substance, the result was the same. I remarked, indeed, that the solution of it in water, which had been thickened to the consistence of syrup, deposited, after some time, small knobs on the sides of the vessel, which had the form of cauliflower; the whole solution afterwards coagulated, and appeared like a solid, dry, white mass, full of small cavities, which, when examined with a microscope, seemed to be composed of very small long crystals, extremely thin, and hardly visible to the naked eye.

VI. Though this manner of crystallising sufficiently distinguishes the saccharine part of honey from common sugar, I suspected, at first, that this difference proceeded only from the presence of some heterogeneous parts, from which the honey was not sufficiently cleared; but the following experiments evidently shewed, that these two substances differ from each other by properties which are very strongly marked.

1. If a certain quantity of lime-water is added to a watery solution of the sugar of honey, it instantly acquires a brown colour, though it was before quite limpid and colourless.

2. Quick lime, which I added to the watery solution of sugar of

honey, while it was upon the fire, produced a very strong effervescence, and the mixture immediately became of a dark brown colour, almost black. By continuing to add quick lime until the effervescence ceased, the sugar of honey was entirely decomposed; the mixture turned quite black, and emitted a smell which was very disagreeable, and even nauseous.

3. The dark coloured solution contains a large quantity of lime, which cannot be precipitated by means of aerated alkali, nor by an alkali rendered perfectly caustic.

4. If vitriolic acid is made use of to precipitate this lime, it then appears in the form of gypsum; but the remainder of the liquor still contains a very empyreumatic acid, which seems to have a strong analogy with the malic acid of Scheele.

5. If the acid of sugar of honey is treated with nitrous acid, it is converted into acid of sugar.

6. A much more pure acid may be obtained by making use of a double affinity. For this purpose, it is only necessary to boil together equal parts of honey and quick lime, in a great quantity of water, adding to this solution, which is of a brownish colour, as much charcoal powder as may be requisite to take away the colour entirely. The solution must then be filtered, and to the clear liquor must be added, a very saturated solution of lead in distilled vinegar, until all precipitation has ceased. The precipitate obtained by these means must be washed in such a quantity of water as will edulcorate it thoroughly; after which, as much

much diluted vitriolic acid must be added as may be sufficient to separate the acid of the honey from the lead: this acid may then be concentrated by evaporation.

7. If the solution of honey and quick lime is thickened by evaporation, after its brown colour is taken away by charcoal, a transparent mass of a light yellow colour, is produced, which resembles gum arabic; it has a bitter taste, and does not grow moist by being exposed to the air.

8. The clear mass which is produced from a mixture of the acid of honey and lime is perfectly insoluble in spirit of wine; and it may be precipitated from its solution in water by this spirit.

9. Caustic fixed alkalies produce upon honey, and upon the sugar which is procured from it, the same effect as lime. Honey, as well as its sugar, is entirely decomposed by them; and always with a very violent effervescence. The dark coloured extractive mass which is obtained by these means is completely insoluble in spirit of wine; and, when the quantities of the two substances are exactly proportioned, very little taste can be perceived in the mass; that little is by no means alkaline, and can hardly be called saline. This proves that alkalies, as well as quick lime, may be perfectly saturated by the acid contained in honey.

10. Volatile alkali also decomposes honey in the same manner, and with the same circumstances, as other alkalies; but this decomposition takes place much more slowly, and only when heat is at the same time made use of.

VII. That constituent part of honey which is got from it by treating it with the spirit of wine (III.)

may be distinguished from the sugar of honey, by the following property, *viz.* that it cannot be reduced into a dry or solid form. It is owing to this particular part that the solution of honey so readily contracts a brown colour; for a solution of sugar of honey, deprived of this glutinous part, may be thickened upon the fire without suffering any alteration of colour. In other respects, the yellow glutinous part of honey, here spoken of, shews nearly the same properties as the sugar of honey; and when treated with caustic alkalies, or with quick lime, its taste is also the same.

VIII. The properties which I have above described, are those by which the sugar of honey differs essentially from common sugar. If this last is treated like honey, it exhibits the following results.

1. Neither quick lime nor fixed alkalies produce any decomposition in sugars; no effervescence is observed, nor does the solution shew any change of colour.

2. Whatever quantity of sugar is added to fixed alkalies, they always preserve their causticity; and, even if they are boiled with sugar for a considerable time, they never appear to be united with its acid.

As quick lime, when combined with sugar, is attended with some phenomena which appear not to have been taken notice of by any person, I shall here mention them.

By boiling together equal parts of sugar and quick lime, in a sufficient quantity of water, a solution is obtained, which, by the surprising quantity of lime it contains, may be considered as highly saturated lime-water, in which the taste of the sugar is not to be perceived.

By evaporating this solution to dryness, a white tenacious mass is obtained, which has such an acrid and burning taste, as to affect the tongue like caustic alkalies.

3. By exposing a solution of lime and sugar to the air, after having been filtered into an open vessel, the surface becomes gradually covered with a great number of small crystals; these are succeeded by others whenever, by shaking the liquor, the first formed ones are made to fall to the bottom of the vessel. This formation of crystals at the surface continues till the liquor contains no more lime; then the sugar again acquires its proper taste.

4. The small crystals, of which I have just spoken, very readily lose their water of crystalization, by being exposed to the open air; according to my experiments, I should consider them only as an aerated calcareous earth crystallized.

5. One of the most remarkable properties of the filtered solution of lime and sugar is, that by being made to boil, it soon grows turbid and thick; the lime then falls to the bottom of the vessel, and this precipitate is of a milk-white colour; but as soon as the solution grows cold, the lime again dissolves in it spontaneously, and the solution becomes once more as limpid and transparent as it was at first. This phenomenon (which it is rather difficult to explain) was observed by M. de Lassone, when,

in the same manner, he combined the neutral salt of tartar with quick lime. (See *Memoirs of the Academy of Paris*, 1773, page 191.)

6. Alcohol, or very highly rectified spirit of wine, precipitates the lime from the forementioned solution.

7. Mild alkalies, by the aerial acid they contain, produce the same effect.

8. Caustic alkalies do not cause the smallest alteration in the solution.

IX. From what I have said it follows, that the union which exists between the saccharine part of honey and the oily part is much weaker than the union between the same parts in sugar. This last cannot be decomposed, in the humid way, except by treating it with nitrous acid; while honey and the sugar it contains, may be decomposed, not only by that acid, but also by mild alkalies, and by lime.

Upon the whole, there appears very little reason to hope that we shall ever be able to obtain honey in the form of sugar; to bring it into that form, something more than a mere separation of its heterogeneous parts seems necessary. It is indeed said, that, in some kinds of honey, especially in that from Narbonne, crystals of sugar, completely formed, have been observed; admitting the fact, I consider it only as an accidental circumstance.

USEFUL PROJECTS.

First Report from the Select Committee appointed to take into consideration the present high price of Corn.

THE select committee appointed to take into consideration the present high price of corn, and to collect evidence relative thereto, and to report the same, from time to time, as it shall appear to them, to the house, with their observations thereupon, proceeded, in the first instance, to consider such information as had been already collected concerning the same.

They examined, for this purpose, the minutes of the evidence taken before the lords of his majesty's privy council, upon this subject. They received from sir John Sinclair, one of the members of the committee, the substance of such accounts of the state of the late crop of grain, as the correspondence of the Board of Agriculture had enabled them, at the present period, to collect. They had further the opportunity of receiving from many of their members a statement of facts within their own knowledge, or communicated by respectable authorities from their different counties.

They have received also from his majesty's principal secretary of state for the home department, such returns as had been hitherto made to the circular letter written by him by his majesty's command, to the

custodes rotulorum and sheriffs depute in England and Scotland, desiring them to obtain meetings of the magistrates for the purpose of procuring an account of the state of the late crop: but these returns are not as yet sufficiently numerous or complete to lead to any precise conclusion.

On the whole, however, the general information derived from the sources above-mentioned satisfied your committee, that the crop of other sorts of grain than wheat has been upon the whole abundant, but that the produce of wheat has proved so far deficient as to require the adoption of the speediest and most effectual measures for the remedy or alleviation of so great an evil. They were therefore of opinion, that they should best perform their duty by directing their immediate attention to the consideration of such measures; and have, on that account, deferred for the present pursuing a detailed inquiry into the exact amount of such deficiency; but they propose to report the same more particularly to the house, when they shall have received such further information as may enable them to collect more fully the general opinion, upon a point which they are sensible it is impossible at any time to ascertain with any great degree of accuracy.

The first and most obvious mode
of

of supplying this deficiency is, the importation of grain from foreign parts—and for the purpose of forming an opinion as to what may be the prospect of supply from thence, and the most expedient means to be adopted for procuring it, your committee proceeded to examine such persons, from whose knowledge and experience in the trade of corn they could expect the best information. It appeared from their concurrent testimony, that, though the crop of wheat in the United States of America, and in the countries bordering upon the Mediterranean, was represented as abundant; and in the northern and eastern parts of Europe as not materially deficient; yet, as the old stock was much exhausted, and the demand great, the price, according to the last advices, was every where uncommonly high. But, though there was upon this point some difference of opinion, it appeared upon the whole very doubtful, whether a supply to any considerable extent could be depended upon from foreign parts, whatever measures might be adopted. Your committee next proceeded to inquire what measures, in the judgment of these persons, afforded the best probability of obtaining such a supply. They thought it right to bring distinctly under their consideration the alternative of leaving the whole care of such purchases to the executive government, who would (it was conceived) be in such case the only purchasers; and be publicly known to be so; or of leaving the same to the speculation of individual merchants, encouraged by a liberal bounty on importation, and by a public declaration on the part of government

(as soon as such declaration shall be practicable) of the quantity which they may then have at their disposal in consequence of former orders, and of their intention to give no further orders for the purchase of corn, and to sell what may have been procured in limited quantities, and at the market price. It appeared to your committee to be the preponderant opinion amongst these persons to whom this alternative was stated, that, upon the whole, the restoration of the trade in corn to its natural channel, with the additional encouragement of a bounty, was the most eligible mode of endeavouring to procure from foreign parts such supplies as those markets might be found able to furnish. Your committee were further confirmed in this opinion by the information they received from some of their members, that there were merchants who had stated to them their readiness, under those circumstances, to engage in speculations to a large extent. After a full consideration and discussion of this important point, your committee were of opinion, “that it was expedient for the executive government to desist from making any further purchases of corn; and that a bounty should be granted upon the importation of certain sorts of grain into this country, for the encouragement of private speculation.”

Your committee next proceeded to the consideration of the amount and distribution of such bounty. They had been informed that, from the abundance of the crop of wheat in the countries bordering upon the Mediterranean, there might be a considerable disposeable surplus in

in those markets; but that, from the high price of freight and insurance from those ports, and from the difficulty of procuring shipping to go thither in ballast, a larger bounty would be required to encourage private speculation in that quarter than in any other; they were therefore of opinion, that a bounty of twenty shillings per quarter, and a proportional bounty per barrel, should be given on any number of quarters of wheat, weighing not less than 440 pounds avoirdupois, or on any number of barrels of flour, weighing not less than 196 pounds avoirdupois, which shall be imported into Great Britain from any port of Europe south of Cape Finisterre, or from any port in the Mediterranean, or in Africa, before the 31st day of August, 1796; until the quantity of such wheat and flour, taken together, shall equal 300,000 quarters.

They were further satisfied, upon the best information they could collect, that from the other parts of Europe, and from America, a bounty of 15s. per quarter, upon a certain quantity of wheat, and of 10s. per quarter, of all exceeding it, would be sufficient to give a fair chance of procuring for the British markets a large proportion of whatever supply those countries might be expected to furnish beyond their own consumption: and they were therefore of opinion, that a bounty of fifteen shillings per quarter, and a proportional bounty per barrel, should be given on any number of quarters of wheat, weighing not less than 440lb. avoirdupois, or on any number of barrels of flour, weighing not less than 196lb. avoirdupois, which shall be imported from all other parts of Europe, be-

fore the 31st day of August 1796; until the quantity of such wheat and flour, taken together, shall equal 500,000 quarters. Your committee were also of opinion, that a bounty of fifteen shillings per quarter, and a proportional bounty per barrel, should be given on any number of quarters of wheat weighing not less than 440lb. avoirdupois, or on any number of barrels of flour, weighing not less than 196lb. avoirdupois, which shall be imported from any of his majesty's colonies in America, or from the United States, before the 31st of August, 1796; until the quantity of such wheat and flour, taken together, shall equal 500,000 qrs. Your committee were also of opinion, that a bounty of ten shillings per quarter, and a proportional bounty per barrel should be given on any number of quarters of wheat, weighing not less than 440lb. avoirdupois, or on any number of barrels of flour, weighing not less than 196lb. avoirdupois, which shall be imported into Great Britain before the 31st day of August 1796, and on which none of the before-mentioned bounties shall have been paid.

Your committee being convinced, that if a considerable quantity of Indian corn could be obtained (which from the abundance of that crop appears not improbable) it would afford a material relief, were also of opinion, that a bounty of five shillings per quarter, and a proportional bounty per barrel, should be given on any number of quarters of Indian corn, or on any number of barrels of Indian meal, which shall be imported into Great Britain before the 31st day of August 1796; until the quantity of such Indian

corn

corn and meal, taken together, shall equal 500,000 quarters. Your committee were also of opinion, that a bounty of three shillings per quarter, and a proportional bounty per barrel, should be given on any number of quarters of Indian corn, or on any number of barrels of Indian meal, which shall be imported into Great Britain before the 31st day of August, 1796; and on which the before mentioned bounty shall not have been paid.

Your committee have some reason to believe, that there may appear such a deficiency in the crop of rye, as may lead to the application of similar measures for the encouragement of the importation of that species of grain, as have been recommended respecting wheat; but they do not yet consider their information upon that point as sufficient to authorize them, at the present moment, to report any opinion to that effect.

Your committee have thought it incumbent upon them, humbly to suggest such measures as have hitherto appeared, in their judgment, the most likely to facilitate the procuring, without loss of time, in the least exceptionable manner, and on the least unreasonable terms, the largest supply of grain from foreign parts, which, in the present relative state of the markets, they can be expected to afford. It was particularly with a view to expedition that they have suggested the proposed plan of arranging the bounty. But they feel it, at the same time, their indispensable duty expressly to state, that they are far from entertaining any opinion that any supply, by importation, can be depended upon to such an amount as to remove the necessity of

recurring to every other practicable and reasonable mode, by which the present scarcity may be relieved; and particularly of attending to strict economy in the consumption of wheat and flour, and of promoting the substitution, to a certain extent, of other articles of food.

They intend to proceed immediately to the consideration of these and other parts of this extensive and important subject; and will, with the permission of the house, report, from time to time, such opinions as they may be enabled to form thereupon.

Second Report from the Select Committee appointed to take into consideration the present high price of Corn.

THE select committee appointed to take into consideration the present high price of corn, and to collect evidence relative thereto, and to report the same from time to time, as it shall appear to them, to the house, with their observations thereupon,—have received, since their last report, further information respecting the deficiency in the crop of rye, and the great want of that article in those parts of the country where it forms the principal subsistence of the people; and they are thereby induced to think that similar measures ought to be adopted for the encouragement of the importation of that species of grain, as have been recommended respecting wheat. They beg leave therefore to submit their opinion to the house, that a bounty of ten shillings per quarter should be given for every quarter of rye, weighing not less than fifty pounds per bushel, which shall be imported into Great Britain before the 30th day of September, 1796, until the quantity

quantity of such rye shall exceed 100,000 quarters; and also that a bounty of six shillings per quarter should be given for every quarter of rye which shall be imported into Great Britain before the 30th day of September, 1796, exceeding the quantity to which the before-mentioned bounty is limited.

Your committee are also inclined to recommend an extension of the period for which the several bounties on grain and flour are proposed to be granted. They observe, from the weekly returns of the price of wheat in the whole kingdom, and of the price and quantity in the London market, since January last, that the highest price and the greatest scarcity took place during the months of July and August, and particularly in the latter. These, therefore, are the months for which it is most important to provide; and they are led to fear, that if the bounty is confined to such corn as may arrive before the 31st of August, merchants may be discouraged from sending supplies to this country during that month, by the apprehension that they may not arrive in time to be entitled to the bounty. They beg leave therefore to suggest an extension of the time to the 30th of September; and they submit, whether it might not also be expedient to place, in proper hands, a discretionary power of allowing the bounties to such ships as may arrive before the 15th of October, upon proof of their having actually set sail from Great Britain, from their respective ports, at such time that they might, in the ordinary course of their voyage, have arrived before the 30th of September.

Your committee have also re-

ceived a suggestion from merchants trading to the southern parts of Europe and to Africa, that it would be advisable to enlarge the quantity to which the highest bounty upon corn, brought from those quarters, was proposed to be limited: they do not state an expectation, that the whole of that quantity can be procured; but they are apprehensive that the original limitation may tend to check speculation, by the fear of exceeding the quantity specified—and they propose, therefore, that the highest bounty should be extended to 400,000 quarters.

Your committee have also examined several merchants, respecting the proportion which the bounty upon flour ought to bear to that upon wheat: they have been satisfied by this examination that, in consideration of the various sizes and weight of the barrels used in different countries, it would be more advisable to grant a bounty on the hundred-weight of flour than on the barrel, as had been at first suggested; that it is expedient to adopt, on the importation of wheat and wheat flour, the same proportion of bounties which has been already established by the legislature on the exportation of the same (i. e.) 1s. 6d. per hundred weight of wheat flour, as equivalent to 5s. per quarter of wheat; and that the same rule ought to be applied to Indian corn and meal.

In suggesting, in their former report, that the bounty given on wheat ought to be limited to such as weighed not less than at the rate of 55 pounds per bushel, your committee proceeded on information then received, that wheat of a lower weight was usually of so inferior

inferior a quality, as to be unfit for the use of man; and under a full persuasion of the necessity of fixing some limit, in order to prevent the object, for which the bounty is given, from being defeated by the importation of corn inapplicable to the subsistence of the people. They have since received further information, which has satisfied them, that wheat, naturally of somewhat a lower weight, may produce wholesome food; and that cargoes, not frequently, arrive out of condition, in consequence of which, the weight is for the time diminished, though it soon recovers; and that it might prove an inconvenient restraint on speculation, if the merchant were exposed to lose the whole of the bounty, by a slight inattention of his agents abroad, or by a temporary and accidental deterioration of the article imported: they are, therefore of opinion, that a bounty, equal to four-fifths of the proposed bounty, should be given on all wheat weighing not less than at the rate of fifty-three pounds per bushel.

Your committee having stated such further observations as they have thought necessary, respecting the amount of the bounties, and the limitations as to weight, and quantity, and time, beg leave to recommend, for the prevention of fraud, that all corn and flour imported for bounty should be subject, in addition to the inspection of the proper officers of the customs, to the examination of persons qualified to judge thereof; that without the certificate of such persons, stating that the article is merchantable and fit for making bread, no bounty should be paid; and that

the importation of corn and flour for bounty should be confined to such ports in which it is probable that persons so qualified may be found.

Your committee have also received information, that there are ships now in the ports of this country laden with corn, which are intended to be reported for exportation, and that other ships may arrive, the consignees of which may send their cargoes to foreign ports, unless tempted by the bounty to unload them here; and they beg leave, therefore, to submit the expediency of extending the bounty to the cargoes of all ships which may now be in the ports of this country, or may arrive here previous to the passing of the act by which it is to be granted.

Third Report from the Select Committee appointed to take into consideration the present high price of Corn.

THE select committee appointed to take into consideration the present high price of corn, and to collect evidence relative thereto, and to report the same from time to time, as it shall appear to them, to the house, with their observations thereupon, have received, since their first report, a considerable number of returns, made by the custodes rotulorum of the different counties, respecting the state of the last crop, together with much additional intelligence upon that subject communicated by many of their members. They find it however, impossible as yet to draw, either from these returns, or from any other quarter, a precise conclusion. The returns are so incomplete in their number, and are founded upon so many different prin-

principles, some stating the whole quantities of grain produced, others the number of acres sown, and others again the average produce of each acre; and drawing, in some instances, a comparison with the crop of last year, in others with that of certain preceding years, and in others with what is generally called a fair crop, that it is extremely difficult to combine and compare them, so as to state accurately the result of the whole.

Your committee would have endeavoured to render this investigation more complete, if they had not felt the great importance of suggesting, without further delay, such measures as have occurred to them for alleviating an evil which evidently exists to such an extent as to call for the most effectual remedy.

From the best consideration of such information as they have hitherto obtained, they should not feel themselves authorized in assuming as the ground of any opinion they may offer, that the deficiency of the crop of wheat is less than from one fifth to one sixth, compared with the crop of last year, and from one fourth to one fifth, compared with an average crop. The crop of rye, of which no great quantity is usually grown, may probably be considered as equally deficient; but the crops of barley and oats are represented to be nearly double those of 1794, and at least one fifth better than an average crop.

It appears also, from the concurrent testimony of intelligent persons, that the stock of wheat in hand at the commencement of the last harvest was much less than at the same period of the preceding

year, and there is also reason to believe that a larger quantity has been used for seed in the present seed time than in the last.—One of the causes of the extreme high price which prevailed antecedent to the last harvest, was generally supposed to be the very exhausted state to which the stock of the country had then been reduced. In order to avoid a repetition of this evil, to the same or to a much greater extent (if the succeeding crop should, from unfavourable seasons, be later or less productive than usual) it is certainly extremely desirable that the stock remaining in the country at the commencement of the next harvest, should be more adequate to the demand than what remained this year at a similar period. Whatever is necessary for this purpose, ought therefore to be added to the amount of the deficiency.

Your committee have stated these circumstances to the house, in order to explain more fully the grounds of their opinion, that there will be no security against very considerable distress in the course of the ensuing year, unless the deficiency of wheat and rye can be supplied by importation, or unless other means can be found, by which, out of the stock of different sorts of grain in the country, a comfortable and wholesome subsistence can be furnished to the people during the whole of that period.

Upon the first part of this alternative, your committee have already humbly submitted their opinion; and though they flatter themselves, that from the adoption of the measures now in contemplation for the encouragement

of the importation of wheat; of Indian corn; and of rye, some considerable supplies may be procured from foreign parts, yet they should think it unwise to rest in any great degree upon the hope that such supplies can cover a large proportion of the deficiency. Your committee would feel great regret in stating this to the house, if they were not also of opinion, upon the fullest consideration, that the country possesses other resources, both more extensive and more secure, in an economical use of the stock of wheat in the kingdom, and in the abundant crops of barley, of oats, and of potatoes.

It is obvious, that there must be a very numerous class of families, where, in times of ordinary plenty, the consumption of wheaten bread and of flour is by no means an object of strict regulation and attention; and it can be as little doubted, that, under such a pressure as the present, an important reduction might be effected in this respect, without diminishing, in any degree, the quantity necessary for subsistence. It is also to be remarked, that the consumption of this class of persons and their families, together with another class, far more extensive, consists in a large proportion of other articles than bread, and that the situation of those classes may enable them, as circumstances require, to augment in some degree that proportion, and thereby to leave a larger share of the stock of wheat to those for whose subsistence it is more immediately essential.

The reduction of the consumption of wheat may be considerably aided amongst this description of persons, and, in a great degree, ex-

tended to all classes of the people, if they can be induced to employ the other resource to which your committee have referred, and to avail themselves of the abundance of other crops to supply the deficiency of wheat.

For the purpose of ascertaining in what proportion the articles before enumerated, and others, could be mixed with wheat, so as to produce a bread likely to answer the purposes of general consumption, your committee have examined the result of a variety of experiments, made by the victualling office, under the direction of the privy council, and ordered to be communicated to them; and of further experiments, since made by the same office, under the direction of your committee; and have been also assisted by the Board of Agriculture, who have communicated to them an account of trials made with a still greater variety of mixtures. Your committee see no reason to doubt that good bread may be made from any of these mixtures, with no greater proportion than three-fifths or two-thirds of wheaten flour; and there is the best reason for concluding that such bread would be wholesome and nutritive; because in many parts of this country, where labour and industry are carried to as great an extent as in any other, the people are wholly fed by bread made of some one or more of the component parts of these mixtures. Your committee are further encouraged in this opinion, by finding, that in the course of the last season, the use of mixed bread of various kinds has been introduced into general consumption in many places whose consumption was before confined

to wheaten bread; that the consequence has been a considerable reduction of price to the labouring poor in such places; and that the use of it has not been found to be attended with any inconvenience. The variety of different species of mixed bread is such, as to offer a considerable number of alternatives to different parts of the country; and they will be naturally led to select those which are least foreign to their habits and prejudices, and of which, from local circumstances, they can most conveniently procure a supply.

That the sacrifice of some degree of indulgence, or of prejudice, is one, which, under the present circumstances, can be made, and ought to be made, and that without such a sacrifice to a considerable extent, the country will be exposed to still greater difficulties than those with which it has so lately contended, is an opinion with which your committee are so strongly impressed, that they cannot too earnestly recommend it to the serious attention of this house, and of the nation at large.

Deeply, however, as they feel this impression, they are far from proposing any legislative measure to enforce a compliance with this suggestion. They well know that the people of this, and of every other country, are attached by habit to their accustomed species of food; and that however they may, by recommendation and example, be induced to make a partial change, yet any sudden and compulsory alteration might, perhaps, be more sensibly felt than the very grievance it was intended to remedy.

There are indeed many precedents in the statutes of this country, of the interposition of the legislature for this purpose, at times when, from the less advanced state of cultivation and commerce, distresses of this kind occurred much more frequently and severely than at later periods; and even in more recent times, an act passed* which authorizes magistrates, whenever they think the case requires, to set the assize upon standard wheaten bread alone, and thereby to prohibit the making of all other sorts of bread. Your committee, however, entertain great hopes, that without applying this principle to the present case, the general impression produced by the late distress, and continued by the present scarcity, will incline men of all descriptions to unite voluntarily in the only measure which can give effectual and immediate relief; and they conceive, that if this house should give to such a measure the sanction of its example and recommendation, there could be little doubt of its being adopted by a proportion of the community sufficiently numerous to secure the attainment of the object in view.

Your committee beg leave to submit this suggestion to the wisdom of the house; and they hope it will not be thought beyond the line of their duty, if, upon an occasion so urgent in point of time, they presume also to suggest the principal points which such an engagement ought, in their humble opinion, to embrace.

To reduce the consumption of wheat in the families of the persons subscribing such engagement,

by at least one third of the usual quantity consumed in ordinary times.

In order to effect this purpose, either to limit to that extent the quantity of fine wheaten bread consumed by each individual in such families;

Or, to consume only mixed bread, of which not more than two thirds shall be made of wheat;

Or, only a proportional quantity of mixed bread, of which more than two thirds is made of wheat;

Or, a proportional quantity of bread made of wheat alone, from which no more than five pounds of ~~man~~ is excluded;

If it should be necessary, in order to effect the purpose of this engagement, to prohibit the use of wheaten flour in pastry, and to diminish, as much as possible, the use thereof in other articles than bread;

By one or more of these measures, or by any other which may be found equally effectual, and more expedient and practicable, in the respective situations of persons subscribing, to insure to the utmost of their power the reduction above mentioned.

This engagement to continue in force until fourteen days after the next session of parliament, unless the average price of wheat shall, before that time, be reduced to an amount to be specified.

Appendix to the Third Report from the Select Committee appointed to take

into consideration the present high price of Corn.

THE committee beg leave to lay before the house, as an appendix to their last report, an account of the experiments made by the victualling office upon different kinds of mixed bread, under the directions of the privy council, and of this committee; they have not thought it necessary to add to the account the experiments made by the Board of Agriculture, as they understand that it is the intention of that board to communicate that account to the public, together with their observations thereupon.

The committee have proceeded to take into further consideration different branches of this extensive subject. Being aware, however, that some of them contain matter which ought not to be made the object of regulation, except upon mature deliberation, and a clear conviction of necessity, they have thought it most consistent with their duty, to defer making any further report till after the recess; but they beg leave to add to this appendix, a few papers which have been communicated to them; not as intimating any opinion whatsoever, as to the different observations and suggestions contained in these papers, but with a view of drawing attention to the principal points of which it may be necessary for the committee to resume the consideration.

An account, shewing the produce of one quarter of wheat, barley, oats, and rye, respectively, dressed through a thirteen shilling cloth, and of the denomination of standard, or the whole of the flour of the grain, from which the loaves, presented to a committee of the honourable House of Commons on the 9th instant, were manufactured as specified in the accompanying schedule.

SPECIES OF GRAIN.	Weight per bushel.		Weight of the whole.		Meal.		Loss on grinding.		The whole of the grain dressed through a 13s. cloth.		Loss on dressing.		Bran.	
	lb.	oz.	lb.	oz.	lb.	oz.	lb.	oz.	lb.	oz.	lb.	oz.	lb.	oz.
Wheat	59	$9\frac{19}{16}$	476	$11\frac{4}{16}$	470	$8\frac{2}{16}$	6	$3\frac{3}{16}$	381	$9\frac{4}{16}$	0	$3\frac{1}{16}$	88	$11\frac{2}{16}$
Barley	49	$10\frac{3}{16}$	397	$1\frac{1}{16}$	388	15	8	$2\frac{1}{16}$	286	$7\frac{2}{16}$	3	$1\frac{1}{16}$	99	6
Oats	40	$11\frac{1}{16}$	325	$13\frac{1}{16}$	314	5	11	$8\frac{1}{16}$	137	$11\frac{1}{16}$	1	$7\frac{1}{16}$	175	2
Rye	54	$10\frac{9}{16}$	437	$4\frac{1}{16}$	433	11	3	$9\frac{1}{16}$	312	$14\frac{1}{16}$	1	14	118	$14\frac{1}{16}$

An account, shewing the produce of one quarter of wheat, barley, oats, and rye, respectively, dressed through a twenty-one shilling cloth, and of the denomination of household flour, from which the loaves, presented to a committee of the Honourable House of Commons on the 9th instant, were manufactured, as specified in the accompanying schedule.

SPECIES OF GRAIN.	Weight per bushel.		Weight of the whole.		Meal.		Loss on grinding.		Fine Flour.		Middling.		Loss on Dressing.		Bran.	
	lb.	oz.	lb.	oz.	lb.	oz.	lb.	oz.	lb.	oz.	lb.	oz.	lb.	oz.	lb.	oz.
Wheat	59	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	476	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	470	8 $\frac{2}{3}$	6	3 $\frac{2}{3}$	279	6	100	4	2	3	88	11 $\frac{2}{3}$
Barley	49	10 $\frac{1}{16}$	397	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	388	15	8	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	160	8	123	2	5	15	99	6
Oats	40	11 $\frac{1}{16}$	325	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	314	5	11	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	64	3	70	6	4	10	175	2
Rye	54	10 $\frac{1}{16}$	437	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	433	11	3	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	191	14	117	13	5	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	118	14 $\frac{1}{2}$

N. B. The several species of grain in these tables were British, and of the growth of the present year; and cost, on the 26th of October, 1795, viz.—wheat, 96s. per quarter—oats, 29s. 6d.—barley, 38s.—rye, 50s. 6d. At which time the middlings from wheat were worth 99s. per quarter of 10 bushels of 56 lb. each; and the bran from ditto, 10s. per quarter of sixteen bushels of 16 lb. each. But the value of the middlings and bran produced from the other species of grain, the Victualling Board are not of themselves competent to speak to.

Victualling Office, Nov. 11, 1795.

Victualling Office, 8th Dec. 1795.

An account, shewing the produce of one quarter of wheat, barley, oats, rye, and Indian corn, respectively, dressed through a twenty-one shilling cloth; prepared in pursuance of a letter from the Honourable Dudley Ryder, chairman of the corn committee of the Honourable House of Commons, dated the 28th November last.

SPECIES OF GRAIN.	Weight per bushel.		Weight of the whole.		Meal.		Loss on grinding.		Fine Flour.		Middlings.		Loss on dressing.		Bran.	
	lb.	oz.	lb.	oz.	lb.	oz.	lb.	oz.	lb.	oz.	lb.	oz.	lb.	oz.	lb.	oz.
Wheat	59	9 $\frac{13}{16}$	476	11 $\frac{1}{4}$	470	8 $\frac{2}{3}$	6	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	276	6	100	4	2	3	88	11 $\frac{2}{3}$
Barley	49	10 $\frac{1}{16}$	397	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	388	15	8	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	160	8	123	2	5	15	99	6
Oats	40	10 $\frac{10}{16}$	325	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	314	5	11	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	64	3	70	6	4	10	175	2
Rye	54	10 $\frac{10}{16}$	445	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	437	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	8	4	191	14	117	13	8	11	118	14 $\frac{1}{2}$
Indian corn	52	12	422	6	415	15	6	7	124	12	204	14	9	1	77	4

N. B. The several species of grain (excepting the Indian corn) above-mentioned were British, and of the growth of the present year; and cost, on the 26th of October, 1795, viz.—wheat, 99s. per quarter—oats, 29s. 6d.—barley, 38s.—rye, 50s. 6d.—Indian corn, 46s. At which time the middlings from wheat were worth 96s. per quarter of 16 bushels of 56 lb.—and the bran from ditto, 10s. per quarter of 16 bushels of 16 lb. But the value of the middlings and bran produced from the other species of grain, the Victualling Office are not of themselves competent to speak to.

An account, shewing the produce of 7 lb. (the stipulated quantity for two quarter loaves) of sundry mixtures of grain, &c. directed to be baked into bread;—shewing the weight of dough made therefrom, the quantity required for making two quarter loaves, according to the custom of the town bakers, being 9 lb. 10 oz. or 4 lb. 13 oz. each;—the weight it turned out over or short thereof;—and the weight of the bread when taken out of the oven:—prepared in pursuance of a letter from the chairman of the corn committee, 28th Nov. last.

No.	DESCRIPTIONS OF BREAD.	FLOUR.		DOUGH.				BREAD.				
		Weight allowed for making two quarter loaves, at 3lb. 8 oz. each.	lb.	Weight after being properly mixed with yeast, salt, and water.	Over or short of the Weight allowed.		Wt. when taken out of the oven.	Wt. when cold.	lb.	oz.		
					Over.	Short.						
											lb.	oz.
1	2-3 wheat, 1-3 Indian corn	-	7	11 9	1 15	0 0	8 10	8	8	7	8	7
2	2-3 ditto, 1-3 barley	-	7	20 14	1 4	0 0	8 7	8	8	3½	8	3½
3	2-3 ditto, 1-3 oatmeal	-	7	10 8	0 14	0 0	8 9	8	8	4½	8	4½
4	2-3 ditto, 1-3 rye	-	7	10 15	1 5	0 0	8 9	8	8	5½	8	5½
5	2-3 ditto, 1-3 potatoes	-	7	8 15	0 0	0 11	8 1½	7	7	12½	7	12½
6	3-5 ditto, 1-5 Indian corn, 1-5 potatoes	-	7	9 12	0 2	0 0	8 11½	8	8	8	8	8
7	3-5 ditto, 1-5 barley, 1-5 potatoes	-	7	9 6	0 0	0 4	9 3½	9	9	14½	9	14½
8	3-5 ditto, 1-5 oatmeal, 1-5 potatoes	-	7	9 10	0 0	0 0	8 12	8	8	8½	8	8½
9	3-5 ditto, 1-5 rye, 1-5 potatoes	-	7	9 5	0 0	0 5	8 14	8	8	9½	8	9½
10	3-5 ditto, 1-5 Indian corn, 1-5 barley	-	7	11 3	1 9	0 0	9 1½	9	9	13½	9	13½
11	3-5 ditto, 2-5 potatoes	-	7	8 10	0 0	1 0	7 11	7	7	9	7	9

Copy of a Letter from Charles Dundas, Esq. to the Chairman of the Committee appointed to inquire into the high price of Corn.

SIR,

AS many of the members, who have attended the committee appointed to inquire into the high price of corn, may visit their constituents during the Christmas recess, I beg leave to call their attention to a subject which I conceive does most materially affect the sale of wheat, and to propose a remedy for some part of the grievances which are now complained of, meaning that our constituents may be consulted, during the adjournment of parliament, on the practicability of adopting weight as a regulator of measure, which appears to me to be the only just criterion of the quality of corn.

By this, jobbing would be annihilated, and certainty would be established in the returns of your markets, and in the profits of the miller, mealman, and baker. At this instant, notwithstanding the prevailing opinion, that the Winchester bushel is the legal standard, yet there does not exist a certain measure in the kingdom. The bushel kept in the Exchequer is less than eight of the standard gallons there, the gallon less than four standard quarts, and the quart is more than two standard pints. The bushel of queen Elizabeth, 1591, contains 2,124 cubical inches; the gallon of the same date, 271 cubical inches, and the pint, dated 1602, $34\frac{8}{10}$ cubical inches: Therefore the inequalities of your

regulating standard measures are as follow:

	Cubical inch.
13 Wm. III. c. 5. Round	18 $\frac{1}{4}$
inches. Diameter 8 inches	2,150
The standard bushel in the	
Exchequer	2,124
Eight of the standard gallons	2,168
Thirty-two of the standard	
quarts	2,240
Sixty-four of the standard	
pints	2,227

But this inequality of your standard measures is not the grievance of which I particularly complain; it is the uncertain practice of selling corn in the country markets by measures of various sizes, which is an evident fraud on the consumers of bread, and an advantage to none but the jobbers in corn, who, from practice, are as well acquainted with the size of every farmer's bushel as with his face. As the measure varies almost every ten miles, the difference is a great encouragement to corn dealers, and the public are deceived by seeing in the Gazette the account of the prices of grain in different counties, which cannot be accurately collected, whilst the measures so locally differ.

In markets where certainty of measures is not strictly attended to, all averages must be false. In many, where the nine gallon measure is customary, I have known measures of ten gallons, and, what is a shameful fraud on the consumer, gentlemen's bushels of ten gallons and a half.—The dealers, knowing this, give an advanced price for the largest measures, consequently when the average of the market is struck, and a return made

made by a reduction of the customary measure of the market to Winchester measure, the price of the measure of ten gallons being ranked as nine gallons, they raise the price of the article considerably above the value it sold for. In other markets, where no average is taken, the price of bread is generally fixed from the highest sale of the best wheat which has been in the market; consequently the price of flour, bearing a proportionate value to the wheat of which it is made, and that being put at a higher average (owing to this false return) it follows, that bread is sold at a dearer rate than it would be if the sale of wheat was properly regulated.

It will be said, Why is not the use of the Winchester bushel enforced, as the law directs? This has been attempted during the last century without success; it is a very unpopular proceeding to bring this forward. The lower orders of people detest it, from the smallness of its contents, and the dealers of provisions instigate them to this, it being their interest to retain every uncertainty in weights and measures, and this cannot be enforced, but by informations, which do not suit the honest character of the people of this country; but if it was brought into general use, certainty (which is one object of this letter) could not be obtained; for in the act of measuring, no two men fill the same quantity into the same bushels, and the manner of striking the measure is as uncertain as that of filling it. Weight, regulated by the 35th Geo. III. which gives the magistrates a power of preventing false weights, would re-

medy this, and prove the difference of the quality of good and bad wheat, which is supposed to be nearly one-third; this difference will shew the fallacy of the original formation of the bushel, which is to contain 495,040 grains of wheat, "well dried, and gathered out of the middle of the ear," notwithstanding there is perhaps as much difference in ears of wheat, arising from soil, climate, and culture, as there is in the uncertain measures of this kingdom. The system of weighing corn is practised in many parts of the country; it is authorized to be done by the 31st Geo. III. in which act the respective weights of all grain taken by the bushel, and also of the meal of the different grains, is inserted; and as most corn dealers buy according to their judgment of the weight of grain, and all millers weigh their corn on its being delivered at the mill, the regulation which I propose would not be strange to them, and it will place the shopkeeper, manufacturer, and labourer (who purchase wheat for their own use) on a fair footing with dealers. It will reward the industrious farmer, by giving the highest price to the best and cleanest corn, while it exposes the idle and slovenly farmer, by reducing his price to the proportionate quality of his unproductive grain.

Salt was originally sold by measure—it is now sold by weight, 56lb. to the bushel. The act which regulated this, in one instant equalized all the salt measures in the kingdom: the same effect would follow a similar proceeding in the sale of corn, by which the assize on flour might be justly set, and the relation

relation between the articles of corn, flour, and bread, ascertained and fairly regulated, and the magistrates should be empowered to controul the clerk of the markets, millers, and bakers, so as to prevent fraud, which is the only object of any regulation which I wish to propose; but perhaps, if the quantity to be weighed in the market was declared to be not less than a bushel, this would meet the ideas of many gentlemen who now complain of the difficulty of the poor becoming the purchasers of small quantities of corn, and are desirous of having that quantity pitched in the market as a sample. And also, as the weight of the bushel of the different grain is fixed by the 31st Geo. III. c. 30. I shall add that regulation to what I wished to submit to the consideration of the committee.

lb. avoirdupoise.

Bushel of Wheat, weighing 57

Rye 55

Barley 49

Beer or bigg 42

Oats 32

shall be respectively deemed equal to every standard Winch. bush.

Wheat meal 56

Wheat flour 55

Rye meal 53

Barley meal 48

Beer or bigg meal 41

Oatmeal 22

shall be deemed equal to every such bushel of the unground grain whereof it is made, and what will not pass through a fourteen shillings cloth is to be considered as wheat meal.

If, therefore, the committee are of opinion that the introduction of the use of weight, to regulate and ascertain the measures of corn, is

likely to produce a certainty in the returns from the markets of corn in this kingdom, and by a just and clear statement of the relations between the prices of wheat and flour, to enable us to prevent fraud, and to supply the inhabitants of the country, with bread at a more moderate rate, than it has been sold for, allowing a fair profit to the persons employed in the manufacturing of these articles, I would recommend the following resolutions, or such as would enable the committee to act with certainty in setting the just values on flour and bread.

1. That the returns shall be made of the corn sold from every market town in England, stating the quantity and weight of grain sold in such markets.

2. That in striking the average of the grain so sold, it shall be computed from the weight of such grain, as that is fixed by the 31st Geo. III. c. 30.

3. That a certain quantity of the grain intended to be sold, not less than one Winchester bushel, shall be pitched in the public market, and the weight of the wheat, or other corn, openly marked on such sample.

4. That the weight of the bushel, and the quantity of the corn sold, shall be delivered, with an account of the price, to the clerk of the market, for the purpose of making his returns, and also to prove the quality of the corn, if the quantity sold should prove, on the delivery, to be of an inferior quality to the sample produced in the market.

MILLERS.

1. To keep a regular account of the weight of the corn delivered in

at their respective mills for the purpose of being ground.

2. To grind all grain separately, maslin excepted.

3. To keep a regular account of the produce of the said grain, subject to inspection of the magistrates of the county or district where the mills are situated, when they shall find occasion for setting an assize on flour or bread.

4. Persons who have had corn made into flour at any mill, to have the option of paying the miller's toil, either in money or in kind (meal) as they choose.

5. That nothing of this shall affect the custom of soke mills, as far as relates to their ancient tenures, but that the magistrates shall have a power of examining their books as above.

When I propose these resolutions to the committee, it is for the purpose of drawing their attention to the subject, and to request of them to converse with their intelligent neighbours in the country, who are either farmers, flour dealers, or bakers. I have received several letters on this subject, containing opinions of persons of experience and practice. They all agree in the justice of the plan I propose; some dread the dislike which attends every thing that is new, but almost all allow that the improvement would be of considerable benefit to the country. I am particularly satisfied by the decided opinions (in favour of weight being the regulator of measure) of Mr. Strutt, of Terring, of Mr. Davies of Longleat, and Mr. Messiter, of Wincanton (in their letters to Mr. Morton Pitt), and of Mr. Billingsley, of Ashurst Grove, in Somersetshire: gentlemen who are so fit to judge, from

their ability, experience, and judgment in these matters. Mr. Billingsley is desirous that the weight of the grain should be put higher than it is directed by the 31st Geo. III. I have subjoined his letter to this, that the weight he recommends may be considered.

I have only to add, that should the committee, on their return to parliament, approve of the proposal I have now made, and it is thought of too great importance to be contained in a part of the act for regulating the objects which now engage the attention of the corn committee, I will (unless some gentleman of more consideration will undertake it) move for leave to bring in a bill for the purposes stated in this letter.—“To use weight as the regulator of measure, in buying and selling of corn;” not intending to carry the bill through the houses of parliament in this session, but that it should be printed and distributed in the country, and brought forward hereafter, if it should be generally approved.

I have the honour to be,

With much respect,

Your obedient servant,

CHARLES DUNDAS.

Barton-court, near Newbury,

7th Dec. 1795.

*Copy of a Letter from Mr. Billingsley,
to Charles Dundas, Esq.*

DEAR SIR,

Should parliament think proper to alter the present mode of selling grain, and to substitute weight instead of measure, I think the standard should be fixed rather high than low.

Suppose

Suppose the following:

Wheat — 63 per Winch. bush.

Barley 52 or 53 ditto

Oats 38 or 40 ditto

It is not only my own opinion, but also that of the most intelligent farmers and corn dealers in our part of the kingdom, that such an alteration would be highly conducive to the general weal of the kingdom.

I am, dear Sir,

Your most humble servant,

J. BILLINGSLEY.

Ashurst-grove, Dec. 6, 1796.

10th Dec. 1795.

P. S. Since I had the honour of submitting the above letter to the committee, I have received several letters from gentlemen of experience and judgment in the country, on the proposal of substituting weight as the regulator of measures in the sales of corn: all of whom (except two very respectable men) approve of the plan. The two gentlemen I allude to say, there will be an alteration without an improvement: their reasons have, however, relieved my doubts, as they rest their opinions on two grounds:

1st, That weighing will occasion trouble.

2d, That it is already practised by all skilful purchasers.

In answer to the first. When a load of wheat is delivered, if the sacks should be suspected to be small, they are sooner weighed than measured; and if the corn is not as clean as the sample was, the weight will prove this, which cannot be done by measure.

In loading and unloading of ships, after having ascertained the

weight of a box or machine to run the wheat into, the weight of the grain would be much sooner proved than the quantity by measure.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Billingsley to Charles Dundas, Esq.

SECONDLY, as to the present practice of weight being used, I am well acquainted with this circumstance, and it is a very obvious reason for endeavouring to make the mode general, as by this public regulation, fraud would be prevented, and the labourers or manufacturers purchasing corn would be put on an equality with the most artful seller.—I have introduced the pitching of a bushel in the public markets, to meet the wishes of many respectable members of the house of commons, in consequence of applications from their constituents, who have found great difficulty in procuring wheat to purchase. But as pitching a bushel may be attended with inconvenience to the farmer, and also raise the price of that small quantity to the poor; and as compulsive regulations are considered by many as unjust and impolitic, in the sale of an article, the growth of which is optional, I beg to suggest to the committee the propriety of empowering the magistrates of towns, the clerks of the markets, or the overseers of the poor in their parishes, to open, or authorize shops (under the regulation of their justices of the peace) to supply the labourers, manufacturers, poor, &c. of their parish, with any quantity, from one peck to one quarter of corn, at the market price, with such addition as would be necessary to pay the attendance of a person

to

to retain it. This increase of price would be very inconsiderable, and would be much less than the value of the time, which would be thrown away by the purchaser waiting in the market, or his loss by his ignorance of the quality of the commodity.

What I have said respecting millers, appears to me to be most necessary to do away the present opinion, that the high price of flour is in some degree owing to the millers or mealmen: but as a respectable baronet has brought forward a bill on this subject, the resolutions contained in my letter respecting millers may be rendered unnecessary, except in drawing the attention of the country to the consideration of these subjects, which I hope will be the consequence of the attention which has been paid by the committee to inquire into the causes of the high price of corn.

A table, like the following, might regulate the prices of a market, as far as related to the quantity and weight.

<i>per bushel.</i>		<i>per load.</i>		
lb.	lb.	l.	s.	d.
60 or 59	—	12	0	0
58	— 57	—	11	17 6
56	— 55	—	11	15 6
54	— 53	—	11	12 6
52	— 51	—	11	10 0
50	— 49	—	11	7 6

Thus 1*l.* 10*s.* per load difference would be made in the price, where 28*lb.* per sack was the difference in weight, which would be five half hundreds in a load of wheat, which is the exact weight of a sack of flour, and which, the best wheat would produce more than the lightest.—I have added

this, as a rule to settle any dispute, in case the wheat delivered under a particular sample, should prove lighter than the bushel or sack registered with the clerk of the market.

I will only add, that from every conversation which I have had with farmers, mealmen and millers, since this subject was brought forward, I am convinced that the use of weight, as the regulator of measure, will prevent fraud in dealings in corn, and will enable the magistrates or others, to regulate the price of bread by the average price of wheat or flour, instead of being fixed by the highest price of wheat, as it is at present.

C. D.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Davies, to William Morton Pitt, Esq.

Longleat, Nov. 22, 1795.

YOUR question—"Whether it be possible or proper that farmers, who sell their corn by sample, should be obliged to bring the whole or a certain quantity of it to market?"—involves so many objects of consideration, that I must beg your leave not only to give my opinion, but to state my reasons at some length; the subject is a serious one, and I trust you will not think me more prolix than it requires.

The difficulties in reducing this plan to practice seems to be these:

1*st.* The infrequency of market towns in many parts of the kingdom, and the distance from those towns to the places where corn is consumed.

2*d.* The increased expence of carrying corn to markets; and then, in many instances, bringing it back again to be consumed near the spot where it grew.

3*d.* The

3. The impolicy, if not injustice, of restraining, by compulsive means, the sale of an article, which, however indispensable in itself, has as fair a claim as any other article of trade to a free and voluntary mode of sale; especially an article of which the growth is optional on the part of the seller.

4. The absolute impossibility of securing a constant uniform supply on every market day, sufficient for the consumption of the district dependant on that market, till the next market day.

The above are my doubts as to the practicability, or even the possibility of carrying a plan of this kind into effect. My opinion is, that it can do but little good, and may do a great deal of harm; and I take the liberty of supporting that opinion by the following reasons.

The present, and indeed every scarcity of corn, arises chiefly from a failure of crops.

That failure must be compensated to the grower (who is obliged to pay the same rent in all seasons) by an increased price.—That price is always regulated by the demand.—The great *desideratum* is to keep the demand and the supply as nearly regular as possible. The proposal now made to the committee has that end for its object. I have, with all deference, to prove that it is inadequate.

I live in a situation most likely to furnish me with the means of in-

formation; viz. at the junction of the country which produces corn, with the country which consumes it, within five miles of the great corn market of Warminster.

From Warminster, for near forty miles eastward, through Wilts and Hants, is a country which does not consume one fourth part of the corn it grows.—From Warminster for near forty miles westward, through a great part of Somersetshire, and including Bath and Bristol, is a country which does not produce one fourth part of the corn it consumes.

The other three-fourths of corn consumed in the latter district is brought chiefly from the former (for the increased population of the north has deprived Bristol of the resource it once had down the Severn). Warminster and Devizes are the principal markets by which this quantity is supplied. From these towns to Bristol and Bridgewater, there is not a market where corn is exposed for sale in bulk. But would it be politic to compel the growers of this one-fourth part of the consumption of Somersetshire to bring it to Warminster or Devizes, or to Bridgewater or Bristol, to sell it, to be carried back again to be consumed by the manufacturing towns of Frome or Shepton Mallett, possibly within a few miles of the place of its growth, at an advanced price, occasioned by this useless carriage*? I may be

* The proposal made in the committee, of obliging farmers to bring at least a sack of corn to market as a sample, or even a bushel, is objectionable; the latter quantity, small as it is, cannot be brought ten miles under an expence of two shillings, and nobody could buy it at that additional expence, unless they also contracted to take a greater quantity with it to cover that expence: the poor, for whom it is intended, could never buy it. Besides, in all manufacturing countries the poor seldom buy wheat at market, or would if they could; the labourers in agriculture in the villages buy it of the farmers for whom they work: the manufacturers live from hand to mouth, and buy bread ready baked. Besides, it is seldom reckoned how much a poor man loses in time and expences in going to market to buy corn, even if he could buy it.

asked, why cannot markets be held at these towns?—I answer, the establishments of markets are not the work of a day;—and suppose they were established, still that would not increase the quantity of corn grown in that country. The dealers must still go eastward for three-fourths of their supply, to the neglect of their own trifling markets, which of course would soon come to nothing again.

The avowed object of the plan before the committee is, doubtless, to defeat a supposed combination between buyers and sellers of corn to keep up its price, and to lay the markets open to a fair competition; and a very laudable object it is. I have already stated my doubts as to the possibility of carrying this plan into execution, or indeed any plan that would defeat this kind of combination; but I have very great doubts in my own mind as to the existence of combination to the extent we frequently hear of, and still greater as to the magnitude of the injury supposed to be done thereby to the public.—I am sensible I am taking the unpopular side of the argument.—I think you will agree with me in some parts of it at least; and if you do not, I am sure you will not be offended at my giving my opinion.

That a combination should exist among farmers is impossible;—they are too numerous, and many of them too necessitous, ever to act in concert.

Rich farmers may undoubtedly (and this year they have done it) keep their wheat from market. In times of scarcity, like the last months of June and July, it is well they did, we should otherwise have been quite starved in

August. The shortness of the supply then produced a saving in the consumption, and thereby the stock in hand lasted out. Suppose we had a wet harvest; in that case the new corn could not have been ground without an addition of old. The rich farmers who had wheat left would then have been useful men. The fact speaks for itself.

As to jobbers of corn, these men may combine together; their number is but few, comparatively speaking; but how do they combine? not to raise the price of corn, but to sink it! Warminster market, though a sack market, and not a sample market, is in a great measure governed by these men;—and were it not for them, Bath and Bristol must be fed much dearer than they are now. If these men cannot get corn at one market they go to another, and if there is not enough at market they go to farm-houses. But when they get to the places of consumption, there the combination ends, and competition begins;—less profit will suffice these men than the expence that would be incurred by ten times the numbers of bakers and maltsters, coming twenty or twenty-five miles to market. In fact, had it not been for men of this description, Bristol would have been starved last summer.—There were instances, more than once, of that city being without a fortnight's supply of corn. These men knew it, and ransacked the country for more.—They did it for their own sakes, and thereby served the community.

But even admitting a combination between farmers and jobbers to exist in any particular country; the moment corn gets above the price

price at which it would bear the additional expence of carriage ten miles farther; there is an end of the combination; and if it was possible the whole kingdom could combine, an importation from any country where it could be got cheaper would instantly knock it up. In fact, these very men, though dealing at all times under suspicions, and this year frequently in danger of their lives, are the very hands that transfer the plenty of one country to relieve the distresses of another; and though at former periods, as well as now, they have, in times of dearth, been pointed at as the cause of it, they have to my knowledge this year more than once saved whole towns from famine. In fact, times of scarcity are favourable to this set of men. They are then (against their will, I allow) particularly useful to all countries who do not grow corn enough for their consumption.—In times of plenty they cannot exist to answer their own purpose—in those times they are not wanted.

But the great evil which we in this country feel, and which our great corn markets rather encourage than prevent, is the inequality of measures by which corn, and particularly wheat, is sold; I do not speak of the various provincial measures. It is immaterial to a country whether eight, nine, or twelve gallons are sold for a bushel, provided all parties understand what the measure is.

But in this country, in all villages and small towns, where there is no assize of bread, the baker sells his bread and his flour at his own price, for which he always quotes the highest market price of

wheat; a few farmers, who happen to have extraordinary good wheat, make a point of adding two or three quarts to the measure. This sack of corn, so much better and bigger than the average of the market, will frequently sell for one fifth more than inferior samples of fair measure in the same market. This high price, and which it is the interest of the buyer to give, forms a standard of price of bread and flour for the ensuing week.—No existing laws are adequate to the remedy of this evil, for as neither buyer or seller complain, who is to re-measure this corn, though sold in a public market? Besides, there is so much art in measuring corn, that two people may make several quarts difference in a sack, and yet both appear to measure fair.—If any remedy can be applied to this evil, it must be a compulsion to sell corn by weight;—this is done by choice at Manchester and Liverpool, and in this country the buyer always asks the weight, though he does not buy by it;—in fact, weight determines the quality as well as the quantity. If weight was adopted, the price would be nearly equal, and it would then be possible to frame a fair assize table, which in my opinion is impossible to do from measure, especially in such a year as this, when the difference in the price of good and bad wheat is full one third.

I cannot help thinking, that if this measure was tried a year, it would be found efficacious.—It would do one thing in an instant, which the legislature has not been able to do in a century—"equalize all the various measures in the kingdom."

Copy of a Letter from Sir Francis Basset, Bart. to the Chairman of the Corn Committee.

Upper Grosvenor-street,

SIR, Dec. 22, 1795.

Many complaints having been made in different parts of England, of the hardships suffered by the poor from the present mode of payment for grinding corn, and also of the difficulty of obtaining redress, whenever there is a suspicion that frauds are practised by the millers; I beg leave, through you, to submit to the corn committee a plan for remedying those supposed grievances.

I would propose, in the first place, to alter the present custom of taking toll, into a uniform payment in money, to be settled by the justices, with respect to all mills where such alterations would not interfere with peculiar rights established by the courts of law. I further propose to enable those persons who may in future think themselves aggrieved by millers, to obtain redress by a summary proceeding before two justices of the peace, instead of being obliged to have recourse to so expensive and so tedious a process as an indictment. As the law stands at present, the proprietor of an old mill may take his accustomed toll; but as that toll is known only to himself (for it is rarely avowed to his customer), this gives him a considerable latitude, and is a constant and never-failing source of jealousy to those who employ him. I have just said that the customer seldom knows what he pays; but in the few cases which have come to my knowledge, where the miller professes to take a fixed toll, it varies

from three to six pounds per Winchester bushel, besides the allowance from a pound to a pound and a half for wastage. In taking toll, the miller by uniform custom, helps himself from the top, which consists of the best and finest flour. It appears then, that the proprietor of an old mill may take such toll as is justified by custom; but the owner of a new mill may take what toll he chuses, according to the opinion of lord Holt, in the case of the King and Burdett: this, probably, is the only existing case in which a tradesman arbitrarily fixes the price of his own labour, without acquainting his employer what his terms are.

The millers, of course, profess to take a fair price for their labour, and could not, therefore, I presume, reasonably object to a regulation, obliging them to receive a fixed payment in money, instead of an arbitrary and uncertain toll in grain; indeed, if they are convinced that the complaints alleged against them are unfounded (as in many cases they probably are), they would rather rejoice to see a mode of payment adopted, by which all jealousies will be avoided in future; and by which they would receive an adequate compensation for the labour performed, and the capital employed. The toll, as now taken, is certainly extremely oppressive to the poor, who pay the most when they can the least afford it; and if frauds are ever practised by millers, they are most likely to take place when there is the greatest temptation, that is, when corn bears a high price.

It will not be necessary to say much respecting the preference which a summary proceeding must have

have over an indictment. An indictment is attended with a great certain expence, with considerable delay, is liable to much evasion and uncertainty as to the issue; the expence of an indictment, if traversed, amounts to at least seven pounds: this circumstance alone, would make it impossible for a poor man to have recourse to it; and, indeed, would render it imprudence even for a wealthy person, as in most cases he would find the remedy worse than the disease. But the delay is another main objection to proceeding by indictment, for if traversed, it cannot be tried till the sessions after it is laid; but, after all, if neither expence nor delay are considered as sufficient objections, it must be observed, that when the cause is brought to issue, though the complainant may prove that the miller has taken exorbitant toll, the indictment must fall to the ground, provided it appears that the predecessors of the miller have taken the same toll, or that he is the proprietor of a new mill.

The measure I have in view, contains some other regulations, but they are chiefly subordinate, and connected with the two objects I have stated. If the plan I propose should be adopted, I think few disputes could hereafter arise between millers and those who employ them, as the chief subjects of their usual differences, namely, the exorbitancy and uncertainty of the toll, would no longer remain. But if, contrary to my expectation, there should be any complaints in future, they would be settled at a small expence, and without any delay, before two justices of the peace, probably well known to both

the contending parties. I propose that the decision of the justices should be final, for the purpose of avoiding expence and delay; but if this power is thought too great to be lodged in the hands of these magistrates, an appeal may be allowed to the quarter sessions.

I beg pardon for taking up so much of your time on this subject, which really appears to me important, and therefore to deserve the serious consideration of the corn committee.

I have the honour to be, &c.

FRANCIS BASSET.

The Select Committee have come to the following Resolutions respecting the making of mixed Bread.

Resolved, March 24, 1796.

1. That it is the opinion of this committee, that it is expedient that magistrates should, in times of scarcity and high price of corn, have power to make certain regulations relative to the manufacture and sale of certain sorts of meal and bread; which they do not now by law possess.

2. That it is the opinion of this committee, that whenever the average price of middling British wheat shall be above a certain sum, magistrates, at their general quarter sessions, or at any sessions to be specially appointed for that purpose, shall be empowered, within their respective jurisdictions, to prohibit, for a limited time, the separation at the mill of more than five pounds of bran from every sixty pounds of wheat; and also to prohibit the sale of any wheaten meal from which a greater proportion of bran shall have been separated.

3. That it is the opinion of this committee,

committee, that no miller should be prevented from making fine flour for the consumption of any persons who reside within the districts where the use of fine flour is not prohibited, so far as the making such flour for the consumption of such persons hath been the usual course of his trade.

4. That it is the opinion of this committee, that magistrates be also empowered to prohibit, within their respective jurisdictions, for a limited time, the making for sale any other bread made of wheat meal alone, than such as shall be made of the whole meal, deducting only at the rate of five pounds of bran out of sixty pounds of wheat.

5. That it is the opinion of this committee, that magistrates be empowered, within their respective jurisdictions, to prohibit, for a limited time, the making of any bread for sale, except such as shall be made of the whole meal of wheat as above described, or of such mixtures of wholesome farinaceous food, and in such proportions as they shall appoint.

6. That it is the opinion of this committee, that for the purpose of carrying the last resolution into effect, magistrates be empowered to oblige the millers, within their respective jurisdictions, for a limited time, to grind and dress, if required, and if consistent with the powers and mechanism of their mills, such sorts of grain as shall be necessary for making the said approved mixtures.

7. That it is the opinion of this committee, that magistrates shall not make any of the prohibitions before mentioned, without sufficient public notice.

8. That it is the opinion of this committee, that within the city of

London and the liberties thereof, the company of the bakers of the said city, and in any other county, city, division, district, town or place, any baker or maker of bread for sale, miller, or mealman, may, within the respective jurisdiction to which he or they do belong, or where, in he or they do exercise their trade, occupation, or mystery, have an opportunity of offering to such justices as aforesaid, all such objections as such company of bakers, or such bakers or makers of bread for sale, or such millers or mealmen, may have and think fit to offer, against any such prohibition or regulation as aforesaid, at the time when such justices as aforesaid shall have under consideration the ordering any such prohibition or regulation.

Sir John Sinclair's Address to the Board of Agriculture, 24th May, 1796.

Igitur et de culturâ agri præcipere, principale fuit, etiam apud exteros; siquidem et reges fecere, Hiëro, Philometor, Attalus, Archelaus, et duces Xenophon, et Pænus etiam Magi; cui quidem tantum honorem senatus noster (Romanus) habuit, Carthagine captâ; ut cum regulis Africæ bibliothecas donaret, unius ejus duo de triginta de agricultura volumina, censeret in Latinam linguam transferendo, cum jam M. Cato præcepta contulisset, perinisque linguæ Punicæ dandum negotium, in quo præcessit omnes vir clarissima familiæ D. Syllanus.

PLIN. HIST. MUND. l. xviii. c. 3.

Gentlemen,

AS it will probably be extremely difficult to procure again a sufficient attendance of the members of the Board at this season of the year, and during the bustle of a general election, I think it may
not

not be improper to take the opportunity of this meeting briefly to state the progress we have made, since I last had the honour of addressing myself to you at the conclusion of the preceding session.

It is on all hands acknowledged, that the exertions of the Board of Agriculture last year, in promoting an extra cultivation of potatoes, was attended with the happiest consequences, the beneficial effects of which (both the culture and use of that valuable root having thus been greatly extended) will probably long be felt, when the circumstance from which it originated may be forgotten. In fact, in times of scarcity and distress, there is no article comparable to potatoes. They will grow in the poorest soils; they can be taken up in detail as they are wanted; they require no manufacture of drying, milling, &c. previous to their being used; and they can be prepared in various ways for consumption. Above all, it is to be observed, that there is a space of perhaps four months, which generally is supplied from the old stock, but in times of scarcity must be taken from the new crop. That is a circumstance of less consequence where spring corn is the food of the people (but even there it is desirable to thrash the corn in winter rather than in the spring, as the straw is better for the cattle); but where the people live upon wheat, which is sown in autumn, the case is otherwise; and it is impossible to say what distress it might occasion (when there is no old stock of wheat in the country), unless the aid of such an article as potatoes can be obtained, if the farmer is obliged, in a hurried and destructive manner, to thrash corn,

both for seed for himself, and food for the public. He might be tempted, indeed, by the high price of grain, for food, to delay sowing his seed until the favourable season has elapsed, in which case it is impossible to say what damage would ultimately result from it.

The Board not having yet obtained the privilege of franking, its correspondence is much more limited and less regular than it ought to be, and is attended with a degree of trouble and inconvenience to the person who presides at it, of which it is difficult to form an adequate conception. In consequence, however, of the want of this privilege, so essential to a public institution, and the great restrictions recently imposed upon the privileges enjoyed by a member of parliament, it has been found impossible to keep up that extensive and regular correspondence, and to procure that extent of information, from which the public might derive so many important advantages. By the active zeal, however, of many friends to the institution, information was at a very early period sent to the Board, containing rather unfavourable accounts of the last year's crop of wheat. I thought it a duty, therefore, incumbent upon me, to make use of every degree of influence which my situation as president of this Board gave me with the public, to recommend, in the strongest manner, an extra cultivation of wheat last autumn. My letter upon that subject, dated 11th of September, 1795, was sent to all the members of the Board, was transmitted to the quarter sessions of the different counties, and was printed in above fifty different newspapers. It is with much

pleasure I add, that the recommendation was attended with more extensive consequences than could well have been expected. From all parts of the kingdom, intelligence has been received, that a greater quantity of wheat was sown last autumn than perhaps at any period in the memory of man; and should the ensuing harvest prove favourable, this kingdom will be as well stocked with grain as it was some years ago. At any rate, by these measures, much risk of an immediate scarcity seems to be obviated.

The high price of corn, at the commencement of the last session, naturally directed the attention of parliament to consider the best means, not only to remedy the present distress, but to prevent it in future. For obtaining the first object, a select committee was appointed, known under the name of the corn committee, whose anxious zeal to do every possible justice to the great subject referred to their consideration, merits the utmost praise. The measures recommended by that committee have since been considered unnecessary by some individuals, in consequence of the price of grain having had a temporary fall—But it will probably yet appear, that, had it not been for the earnest recommendation of that committee to economize the consumption of bread, to use other kinds of grain as substitutes for wheat, and to encourage the importation of foreign corn by bounties of uncommon magnitude, the price of grain would not probably have decreased, and complaints would have been made of the inattention of government to the distresses of the country; a

more serious ground of accusation than any over anxiety, which, at all times, particularly in regard to so critical a matter as the subsistence of the people, is at least excusable, but on the present occasion was not only necessary, but has proved extremely beneficial.

It was a matter, however, of still greater importance to prevent, by some great and effectual measure, the risk of scarcity in future, and our being under the disgraceful and fatal necessity, not only of depending upon foreign grain for our subsistence, but also of encouraging its importation by high bounties. With that view, in consequence of the directions of this Board, I had the honour of moving in parliament for the appointment of a select committee, to take into its consideration the means of promoting the cultivation and improvement of the waste, uninclosed, and unproductive lands of the kingdom. The passing of a general bill of inclosure, though long ardently wished for, has hitherto been attempted in vain, and by many was held to be impracticable. By the exertions, however, of the select committee, to whom the drawing up the bill, and the consideration of the whole subject was referred, a bill has at last been prepared, which, in the opinion of many intelligent persons conversant in that subject, is fully adequate to the object in view; and had not the last session been closed rather earlier than was expected, it would probably have received the sanction of the legislature this year. I trust, however, that the first session of the ensuing parliament will have the credit of completing this important and valuable system, on which

which the future subsistence of the country depends. It is not likely at least to fail, if it can be effected by the exertions of the Board of Agriculture.

Another measure recommended by the Board, of infinitely less importance, but at the same time beneficial to the agricultural interests of the country, has already passed. I allude to the exemption of linseed and rape cakes from duty, by an act of last session, 36 Geo. III. c. 113*. The first article, linseed cake, is of considerable importance to the feeders of cattle, and may be had, it is supposed, in abundance from America, where a great quantity of linseed oil is made use of in painting their wooden houses. The refuse, known under the name of linseed oil or cake, is of little value there, in consequence of the superabundance of other kinds of provision for cattle. Nothing would be more desirable than thus to establish a new source of trade, beneficial to two countries, inhabited by a race of men speaking the same language, descended from the same common origin, and who ought to consider themselves as the same people.—As to rape cake, it is found to be a valuable manure in many parts of this kingdom. Considerable quantities of this article, it is supposed, may be obtained from the continent of Europe; and since this regulation has taken place, rape will probably be cultivated in America. Were Russia also to devote some part of her boundless territories to the culture of that plant; the foundation of a

commerce might be laid advantageous to both empires.

In regard to collecting and circulating agricultural information, the true foundation of all those various improvements, which, under the auspices of the Board, will probably be effected, considerable progress has been made. The general views of the agricultural state of the different counties, with the exception of two small districts in Scotland (Clackmannan and Kinross,) a part of each of which is already printed, have been completed. The corrected reports of Lancashire, Norfolk, Kent, Staffordshire, and Mid Lothian, are published; and those of several other counties are almost ready for the press. A valuable addition has been made to the printed paper on manures. The sketch of a report on a point which has of late been much discussed, namely, the size of farms, has also been printed, and throws much light upon that subject. A valuable communication from Lord Winchelsea, on the advantage of cottagers renting land, was ordered to be printed, with the unanimous approbation of those who had the sanction of being present when that paper was read to the Board.

It is impossible, in this short abstract of our proceedings, to give any idea of the numerous communications transmitted to the Board, or of the various points to which its attention has been directed. Its experiments in regard to the composition of bread, and information transmitted to it upon that subject,

* Intituled “An Act for allowing the Importation of Arrow Root from the British Plantations, and also of Linseed Cakes and Rape Cakes from any foreign country, in British built ships, owned, navigated, and registered according to law, without paying of duty.”

would of itself have been sufficient to have occupied the full attention of many societies. The perfection to which the manufacturing of barley flour has been carried under the auspices of this institution, is a discovery of great importance, as it is thus ascertained, that from the meal of pearl or pot barley, bread may be made in taste and colour, and probably in nourishment, little inferior to that of wheaten flour; and that in the proportion of at least one-third, such meal may be mixed with the produce of wheat, so as hardly to be distinguished. A very general correspondence has been established, for the purpose of ascertaining the price of stock, both lean and fattened. Experiments on a great scale, under the direction of that able chymist, Dr. Fordyce, are now carrying on at Gubbins, Hertfordshire, the seat of Mr. Hunter, for the purpose of ascertaining the principles of vegetation and the effects of manures; and steps are now taking, in order to procure such information respecting the various sorts of live stock in the kingdom, as will enable us to give, in the course of next year, complete information to the public upon that important subject.

I have ever considered it to be a wise principle for the Board to adopt, not to print books for reference, but books for use; not massy volumes on a variety of different subjects, beyond the income of the generality of the people to purchase, or their time to peruse; but, if possible, distinct publications, each of them on one article, exclusively of every other, avoiding the intermixture of various topics, and districts in the same

work. It would also be desirable, that no paper should be published by the Board, until it has been before it is printed, circulated among all those who are likely to correct and improve it, and thus brought to some degree of perfection previous to its publication. Agriculture, though often treated of, has hitherto never been discussed; and it can never be much improved, until information respecting it has been collected from all quarters, has been afterwards thoroughly canvassed, and has ultimately been condensed, and systematized. Such, however, has been the great number of communications transmitted to the Board upon various important subjects, in particular, farm buildings, cottages, and the state of the poor, embankments, roads, the construction of mills, and of hand-mills in particular; together with a variety of interesting papers respecting the agriculture of foreign countries, that the Board has resolved to print a specimen of those papers in one volume quarto, in order to ascertain the opinion of the public respecting that mode of laying before it the papers we have received, in addition to the county reports now publishing.

The business gone through by the Board of Agriculture is certainly more than could possibly be expected from an institution possessed of such limited powers, and of so confined an income. The time, however, it is to be hoped, is not far distant, when it will be put on a better and more respectable footing;—when the superior importance of such inquiries, the superior value of agricultural resources, and dreadful expence, and
fatal

fatal consequences occasioned by their deficiency; will be so early ascertained as not to be a subject of doubt to the weakest understanding. For the purpose of effecting so desirable an object, I propose preparing, in the course of the ensuing recess, for the consideration of the Board, and if it should have the good fortune of meeting with their approbation, to be laid before his majesty and both houses of parliament, a general report on the agricultural state of Scotland, and the means of its improvement. That work will probably explain, in a satisfactory manner, the soundness of that political maxim, that the prosperity of a country ought to be founded on a spirit of internal improvement; and that a single additional acre cultivated at home is more truly valuable, than the most extensive possessions acquired abroad, at an enormous expense of treasure and of blood, and retained with difficulty and danger. To that important subject, when hostilities are brought to a conclusion, I trust that the attention of this country will be directed. Fortunately, by the exertions of the Board of Agriculture, when peace is happily restored, the internal state of this kingdom will be sufficiently ascertained, and we shall be able to judge, what are the fittest steps to be taken, in order to make the utmost of our domestic resources. To that period I look up with much anxiety. If Europe once more breathes in peace, and is governed by wise counsellors, the contest among nations naturally will be, not who will feel the greatest eagerness to rush again into the horrors of war, under the pretence of promoting national glory,

but who will be the most anxious to remain in peace, for securing the national interests.

I cannot conclude without expressing my best acknowledgements for the assistance I have received from so many respectable members, in carrying on the business of this institution. By their exertions, I trust, it will be brought to such a state, that from its establishment will be dated, not only the improvement and internal prosperity of our own country, but much of the comforts enjoyed in future times by society in general. Permit me to add, that when the Board re-assembles, each of us will, I hope, bring some proof of his zeal for the cause, by the additional information we shall respectively furnish. He who augments the stores of useful knowledge already accumulated, whilst he secures to himself the most satisfactory sources of enjoyment, promotes at the same time, in the most effectual manner, the happiness of others.

On the use of Rice, by Thomas Barnard, Esq. Treasurer to the Foundling Hospital.

IN the beginning of last summer, when every individual attention was directed to the saving of flour, one of the first measures adopted with that view in the Foundling hospital was, to substitute rice-puddings for those of flour, which, by the table of diet, were used for the children's dinner twice a week; and the result of the experiment proved, that one pound of rice would, in point of nutriment, supply the place of eight pounds of flour. The flour-puddings for each

each day had consisted of 168lb. of flour, 14lb. of suet, and 14 gallons of milk, and cost 3l. 2s. 3d. The rice-puddings, substituted in their place, were made of 21lb. of rice, 16lb. of raisins, and 14 gallons of milk, and cost 1l. 9s. 2d. being not quite half the expence of the flour-puddings. The 21lb. of rice was found to produce the same quantity of food, as the 168lb. of flour; but being more liked by the children, the quantity of rice has since been increased to 24lb.

The increase that rice acquires by being baked with milk, may be ascertained by baking in a common pan, without any previous preparation, eight ounces of rice, four ounces of raisins, and two ounces of brown sugar, with two quarts of milk, which, at the expense of about nine-pence, will produce four pounds and a half weight of solid, nutritious, and pleasant food.

To shew, however, that the increase of bulk and weight is not merely, though partly, owing to the milk, but chiefly to the nutritious quality of rice,—take a quarter of a pound of plain rice, and tie it up in a bag, so loose as to be capable of holding about five times that quantity, and boil it, it will produce above a pound of solid rice food; which, however easy the cookery, will, if eaten with either sweet or savoury sauce, make a good palatable pudding.

If to the quarter of a pound of rice is added an egg, a pint of milk, a little sugar and nutmeg, it will make a better pudding than is made with either flour or bread. Observe, that it is only to the boiled pudding the egg should be added.

Rice is also a good ingredient in

bread. Boil a quarter of a pound of rice till it is soft; then put it on the back part of a sieve to drain it, and, when it is cold, mix it with three-quarters of a pound of flour, a tea-cup full of yeast, a tea-cup full of milk, and a small table-spoon full of salt. Let it stand for three hours; then knead it up, and roll it up in about a handful of flour, so as to make the outside dry enough to put into the oven. About an hour and a quarter will bake it, and it will produce one pound fourteen ounces of very good white bread. The loaves should be small, not larger than what is above-mentioned. It should not be ate till it is two days old.

N. B. The draining of the rice will supply the place of starch for common articles.

In addition to the above, it is to be observed, that with a little bacon and seasoning, or any other meat, or with cheese, it stews down into a cheap and savoury dish, and that there is hardly any preparation of baked or boiled meat in which rice is not an economical and useful ingredient.

The preceding calculations were made when rice was at a higher price than at present. It will probably be much cheaper, as large quantities of rice are expected.

The nutritious quality of rice is attended with this benefit, that it is a food upon which hard work can be done. It contains a great deal of nutriment in a small compass, and does not pass quickly off the stomach, as some other of the substitutes for wheat flour do; but is bracing and strengthening, and consequently very useful and proper for the laborious part of the community.

Specification of the Patent granted to Mr. Edward Thomas Jones, of the City of Bristol, Accountant; for his Method or Plan for detecting Errors in Accounts of all kinds (called the English System of Book-keeping), whereby such Accounts will be kept and adjusted in a much more regular and concise manner than by any other method hitherto known.

TO all to whom these presents shall come, &c. Now know ye, that, in compliance with the said proviso, I the said Edward Thomas Jones, do hereby declare, that my said invention is described in manner following; that is to say, the English system of book-keeping requires three books, called a day-book or journal, an alphabet, and a ledger, which must be ruled after the following described method, viz. the day-book to have three columns on each page, for receiving the amount of the transactions; one column of which to receive the amount of the debits and credits, one column to receive the debits only, and one column to receive the credits only; or it may be ruled with only two columns on each page, one column to receive the amount of the debits, and one column to receive the amount of the credits. There must also be, on each page of the day-book, four other columns ruled, two on the left side, next the amount of the debits, and two on the right side, next the amount of the credits, for receiving the letter or mark of posting, and the page of the ledger to which each amount is to be posted. The alphabet need not be ruled at all, but must contain the name of every account in the ledger, the letter that is annexed to it as a mark of posting,

and the page of the ledger. The ledger must be ruled with three, four, five, or seven, columns on each page, as may be most agreeable for receiving the amounts of the different transactions entered in the day-book; and the process for using these books, or making up books of accounts on this plan, is as follows. When a person enters into trade, whether by himself or with copartners, he must have an account opened with himself in the ledger; entering first in the day-book, and then to the credit of his account in the ledger, the amount of the property he advances into trade; the account may be headed either with his name only, or else called his stock account. If you buy goods, give the person credit of whom you purchase: when you sell goods, debit the person to whom said goods are sold. If you pay money, debit the person to whom paid, not only for what you pay, but also for any discount or abatement he may allow, and give the cashier credit for the neat amount paid. If you receive money, credit the person of whom you receive it, not only for what he pays, but also for any discount or abatement you may allow, and debit the cashier for the neat amount received; taking care in these entries to have nothing mysterious or obscure, but merely a plain narrative of the fact, introducing not one single useless word, and avoiding every technical term or phrase, except the words debit and credit, which are full and comprehensive, and the only terms that are applicable to every transaction, and may be affixed to every entry. But, as a hurry of business will sometimes take place in almost

almost every counting-house, which may cause the entries to be made to the debit instead of the credit of an account in the day-book, and to the credit instead of the debit, I have endeavoured, as much as possible, to counteract the evil, by having only one column for receiving the amount of every transaction, whether debits or credits, at the instant of making the entry; and, for the convenience of separating the debits from the credits, previous to posting, which is necessary to prevent confusion and perplexity, I have two other columns on the same page; that on the left side into which the amount of every debit must be carefully entered, and that on the right for the amount of the credits; which columns must be cast up once a month. The column of debits and credits of itself forming one amount; the column for the debits producing a second amount; and the column of credits a third amount; which second and third amounts, added together, must exactly agree with the first amount, or the work is not done right. By this means the man of business may obtain monthly such a statement of his affairs as will shew how much he owes for that month, and how much is owing to him; and the debits being added together for any given time, with the value of the stock of goods on hand, will, when the amount of the credits is subtracted therefrom, shew the profits of the trade. I shall now proceed to the process of posting; which begins with opening an account in the ledger with every person to whose debit or credit there has been an entry

made in the day-book; affixing to each account a letter, which is to be used as a mark of posting. The person's name, place of abode, and the folio of the ledger, must then be entered in the alphabet, with the same letter prefixed to each name as is affixed to the account in the ledger. Next the page of the ledger on which each account is opened, (and which will be seen in the alphabet), must be affixed to each amount in the day-book, in the column for that purpose. The date and amount of each debit must then be posted in the columns for receiving it in the ledger, on the left or debit side of that account to which it relates; entering, as a mark of posting in the day-book, against each amount, the same letter that is affixed to the account in the ledger, to which said amount may be posted. Observing that the debits of January, February, and March, &c. must be posted into the column for those months in the ledger, and the credits must also be posted in like manner, filling up each account in centre, at the expiration of every month, with the whole amount of the month's transactions; thus having, in a small space, the whole statement of each person's account for the year; in the columns to the right and left the amount separately of each transaction, and in the centre a monthly statement. Having described the process of this method of book-keeping, I shall shew how to examine books kept by this method, so as to ascertain, to an absolute certainty, if the ledger be a true representation of the day-book; &c. not only if each transaction be correctly

correctly posted, as to the amount thereof, but also if it be rightly entered to the debit or credit of its proper account. This examination differs from the modes that have heretofore been practised, as well in expedition as in the certain accuracy which attends the process; it being only necessary to cast up the columns through the ledger debits and credits, according to the examples given, and the amount of those columns, if right, must agree with the columns in the day-book for the same corresponding space of time. These castings should take place once a month, and, if the amounts do not agree, the posting must then, but not else, be called over; and when the time, whether it be one, two, three, or four months, that is allotted to each column of the ledger, is expired, the amount of each column should be put at the bottom of the first page, and carried forward to the bottom of the next; and so on to the end of the accounts; taking care that the amount in the day-book, of each month's transactions, be brought into one gross amount for the same time. But, although this process must prove that the ledger contains the whole contents of the day-book, and neither more nor less, yet it is not complete without the mode of ascertaining if each entry be posted to its right account, which may be ascertained by the following method. I have laid down a rule that a letter, which may be used alphabetically in any form or shape that is agreeable, shall be affixed to each account in the ledger, and the same letter prefixed to the names in the alphabet, these let-

ters being used as marks of posting, and affixed to each account in the day-book as it is posted; it is only necessary therefore to compare and see that the letter affixed to each entry in the day-book is the same as is prefixed to the same name in the alphabet; a difference here shews of course an error, or else it must be right. At the end of the year, or at any other time, when persons balance their accounts, if there be no objection to the profits of the trade appearing in the books, the stock of goods on hand at prime cost may be entered in the day-book, either the value in one amount, or the particulars, specified, as may be most expedient, and an account opened for it in the ledger, to the debit of which it must be posted. The casting up of the ledger must then be completed, and when found to agree with the day-book, and the amount placed at the bottom of each column, subtract the credits from the debits, and it will shew the profit of the trade; unless the credits be the greater amount, which will shew a loss. In taking off the balances of the ledger, one rule must be observed, and it cannot be done wrong; as you proceed, first see the difference between the whole amounts of the credits and debits on each page for the year, with which the difference of the outstanding balances of the several accounts on each page must exactly agree, or the balances will not be taken right. By this means every page will be proved as you proceed, and the balances of ten thousand ledgers, on this plan, could not unobservedly be taken off wrong. In witness whereof, &c.

Account of an Improvement in Sea Compasses; by Mr. B. Romans, of Pensacola.—From the Philosophical Transactions of the American Philosophical Society.

THE common mariner's compass has always appeared to accurate observers as an imperfect instrument, but in nothing has it proved to be more defective than in its use in storms; the heaviest brass compasses now in use are by no means to be relied on in a hollow or high sea. This is owing to the box hanging in two brass rings, confining it only to two motions, both vertical, and at right angles with each other; by which confinement of the box, upon any succession, more especially sudden ones, the card is always put into too much agitation, and, before it can well recover itself, another jerk prevents its pointing to the pole; nor is it an extraordinary thing to see the card unshipped by the violence of the ship's pitching.

All these inconveniencies are remedied to the full, by giving the box a vertical motion at every degree and minute of the circle, and compounding these motions with a horizontal one, of the box, as well as of the card. By this unconfined disposition of the box, the effects of the jerks on the card are avoided, and it will always very steadily point to the pole. Experience has taught me, that the card not only is not in the smallest degree affected by the hollow sea, but that, in all the violent shocks and whirlings the box can receive, the card lies as still as if in a room unaffected by the least motion.

Lately a compass was invented and made in Holland, which has all

these motions. It is of the size of the common brass compasses: the bottom of the brass box, instead of being like a bowl, must be raised into a hollow cone, like the bottom of a common glass bottle: the vertex of the cone must be raised so high as to leave but one inch between the card and the glass; the box must be of the ordinary depth; and a quantity of lead must be poured in the bottom of the box, round the base of the cone; this secures it on the stile whereon it traverses.

This stile is firmly fixed in the centre of a square wooden box, like the common compass, except that it requires a thicker bottom. The stile must be of brass, about six inches long, round, and of the thickness of one-third of an inch; its head blunt, like the head of a sewing-thimble, but of a good polish: the stile must stand perpendicular. The inner vertex of the cone must also be well polished; the vertical part of the cone ought to be thick enough to allow of a well polished cavity, sufficient to admit a short stile, proceeding from the centre of the card whereon it traverses. The compass I saw was so constructed; but I see no reason why the stile might not proceed from the centre of the vertex of the cone, and so be received by the card the common way. The needle must be a magnetic bar, blunt at each end; the glass and cover are put on in the common way.

A compass of this kind was given by the captain of a Dutch man of war to captain Barnaby of the Zephyr sloop; this gentleman gave it to me to examine, and was very profuse in his encomiums thereon, saying,

saying, that in a very hard gale; which lasted some days, there was no other compass of any service at all; indeed; to me it appears to deserve all the praise he gave it.

Receipt to cure the Complaint of the Water in Sheep.

IT has been often remarked, how little the disorders incident to sheep are even known in sheep countries. The common shepherds keep pace with the common farriers, and only observe, *that the animals have always died, must die, and they cannot help it.*

The following experiment therefore may be useful to the public, communicated to me by a tenant of mine.

A farmer near Kilham turned his flock of sheep into a field of turnips he had hired, which were remarkably strong and good. In a short time he lost about twenty of them by the disorder called the Water. He grew so alarmed in consequence, that he removed his sheep, and would eat no more of the turnips. On this the owner of the land remonstrated, and insisted on the turnips being eaten upon the ground. After some little time and altercation, the farmer brought back his flock, and shortly after about six more died. On this he took his final leave of the turnips, and said, "They killed sheep, and would have nothing more to do with them."

The owner of the land had them publicly cried, but the turnips had got so bad a name, that with no little difficulty they were let at half price. The next farmer sent on his sheep, and in a short time lost about eight or ten. On this second disaster the reputation of the turnips was gone entirely, and my tenant had the offer of them

for nothing, provided he would eat them up, to which he agreed.

He sent there *six hundred and thirty sheep*, so that the experiment was a very full and fair one. The method he pursued he had heard of in Northumberland. As soon as the sheep had filled themselves with the turnips, he made his shepherd go amongst them and move them about. They voided in consequence a good deal of water. He did this for some days at stated intervals, and sometimes made his shepherd go amongst them in the middle of the night. By this method they were never suffered to lie long and swell with what they had eaten. The consequence of this proceeding was, that after eating up the whole of these fatal turnips, he removed his six hundred and thirty sheep all in good condition, without the loss of a single sheep.

Two circumstances may fairly be deduced from the above experiment: The first, that the complaint of the water, which frequently kills sheep when first put on to turnips, arises from their gorging themselves with this watry food, and then remaining without exercise to carry off the beginning complaint: The second, that this method may tend to prevent the disorder, at the small expence of a little trouble to the shepherd.

Should this method prove on trial as successful as the experiment gives me hope, the farmer will have many reasons to thank the man who tried it, and the public will be obliged by the communication.

I have the honour to be, &c.

EDWARD TOPHAM.

Wold Cottage, near Driffeld,

April 26.

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ANTIQUITIES.

ANTIQUITIES.

A short Account of several Gardens near London; with Remarks on some Particulars wherein they excel or are deficient, upon a View of them in December, 1691.—From the Archæologia, Vol. XII.

1. HAMPTON Court Garden is a large plat environed with an iron palisade round about next the park, laid all in walks, grass plats, and borders. Next to the house, some flat and broad beds are set with narrow rows of dwarf box, in figures like lace patterns. In one of the lesser gardens is a large green-house divided into several rooms, and all of them with stoves under them, and fire to keep a continual heat. In these there are no orange or lemon trees, or myrtles, or any greens, but such tender foreign ones that need continual warmth.

2. Kensington Gardens are not great, nor abounding with fine plants. The orange, lemon, myrtles, and what other trees they had there in summer, were all removed to Mr. London's and Mr. Wise's green-house, at Brompton-park, a little mile from them. But the walks and grass are laid very fine, and they were digging up a plat of four or five acres to enlarge their garden.

3. The Queen Dowager's Gar-

den at Hammersmith has a good green-house, with an high erected front to the south, whence the roof falls backward. The house is well stored with greens of common kinds; but the queen not being for curious plants or flowers, they were not of the most curious sorts of greens, and in the garden there is little of value but wall trees; though the gardener there, Mons. Herman Van Guine, is a man of great skill and industry, having raised great numbers of orange and lemon trees by inoculation, with myrtles, Roman bayes, and other greens of pretty shapes, which he has to dispose of.

4. Beddington Garden, at present in the hands of the duke of Norfolk, but belonging to the family of Carew, has in it the best orangery in England. The orange and lemon trees there grow in the ground, and have done so near one hundred years, as the gardener, an aged man, said he believed. There are a great number of them, the house wherein they are being above two hundred feet long; they are most of them thirteen feet high, and very full of fruit, the gardener not having taken off so many flowers this last summer as usually others do. He said, he gathered off them at least ten thousand

sand oranges this last year. The heir of the family being but five years of age, the trustees take care of the orangery, and this year they built a new house over them. There are some myrtles growing among them, but they look not well for want of trimming. The rest of the garden is all out of order, the orangery being the gardener's chief care; but it is capable of being made one of the best gardens in England, the soil being very agreeable, and a clear silver stream running through it.

5. Chelsea Physic Garden has great variety of plants, both in and out of green-houses. Their perennial green hedges and rows of different coloured herbs are very pretty, and so are their banks set with shades of herbs, in the Irish stick way; but many plants of the garden were not in so good order as might be expected, and as would have been answerable to other things in it. After I had been there, I heard that Mr. Watts, the keeper of it, was blamed for his neglect, and that he would be removed.

6. My lord Ranelagh's Garden being but lately made, the plants are but small; but the plats, borders, and walks, are curiously kept and elegantly designed, having the advantage of opening into Chelsea College walks. The kitchen gardens there lie very fine, with walks and seats, one of which, being large and covered, was then under the hands of a curious painter. The house there is very fine within, all the rooms being wainscoted with Norway oak, and all the chimnies adorned with carving, as in the council chamber in Chelsea College.

7. Arlington Garden, being now in the hands of my lord of Devonshire,

is a fair plat, with good walks both airy and shady. There are six of the greatest earthen pots that are any where else, being at least two feet within over the edge; but they stand abroad, and have nothing in them but the tree hollyoke, an indifferent plant, which grows well enough in the ground. Their green-house is very well, and their green-yard excels; but their greens were not so bright and clean as farther off in the country, as if they suffered something from the smutty air of the town.

8. My lord Fauconberg's Garden, at Sutton Court, has several pleasant walks and apartments in it; but the upper garden next the house is too irregular, and the bowling-green too little to be recommended. The green-house is very well made, but ill set. It is divided into three rooms, and very well furnished with good greens; but it is so placed, that the sun shines not on the plants in winter when they most need its beams, the dwelling-house standing betwixt the sun and it. The maze or wilderness there is very pretty, being all set with greens, with a cypress arbour in the middle, supported with a well-wrought timber frame; of late it grows thin at the bottom, by their letting the fir-trees grow without their reach unclipped. The inclosure, wired in for white pheasants and partridges, is a fine apartment, especially in the summer, when the bowers of Italian bayes are set out, and the timber walks with the vines on the side are very fine, when the blue pots are on the pedestals on the top of them, and so is the fish-pond with the greens at the head of it.

9. Sir William Temple being lately gone to live in Farnham, his garden and green-house at West Sheene, where he has lived of late years, are not so well kept as they have been, many of his orange-trees, and other greens, being given to sir John Temple, his brother at East Sheene, and other gentlemen; but his greens that are remaining (being as good a stock as most green-houses have) are very fresh and thriving, the room they stand in suiting well with them, and being well contrived, if it be no defect in it, that the floor is a foot at least within the ground, as is also the floor of the dwelling-house. He had attempted to have orange-trees to grow in the ground (as at Beddington), and for that purpose had enclosed a square of ten feet wide with a low brick wall, and sheltered them with wood, but they would not no. His orange-trees in summer stand not in any particular square or enclosure, under some shelter, as most others do, but are disposed on pedestals of Portland stone, at equal distance, on a board over-against a south wall, where is his best fruit and fairest walk.

10. Sir Henry Capell's Garden at Kew has as curious greens, and is as well kept, as any about London. His two lentiscus-trees (for which he paid forty pounds to Vesprit) are said to be the best in England, not only of their kind, but of greens. He has four white striped hollies, about four feet above their cases, kept round and regular, which cost him five pounds a tree. this last year; and six laurestinuses he has, with large round equal heads, which are very flowery and make

a fine show. His orange-trees about fourteen feet wide, enclosed with a timber frame about seven feet high, and set with silver firs hedge-wise, which are as high as the frame, and this to secure them from wind and tempest, and sometimes from the scorching sun. His terrace-walk, bare in the middle, and grass on either side, with a hedge of rue on one side next a low wall, and a row of dwarf trees on the other, shews very fine; and so do, from thence, his yew hedges, with trees of the same at equal distance, kept in pretty shapes with tonsure. His flowers and fruits are of the best, for the advantage of which two parallel walls, about 14 feet high, were now raised and almost finished. If the ground were not a little irregular, it would excel in other points as well as in furniture.

11. Sir Stephen Fox's garden at Chiswick, being of but five years standing, is brought to great perfection for the time. It excels for a fair gravel walk betwixt two yew hedges, with rounds and spires of the same, all under smooth tonsure. At the far end of this garden are two myrtle hedges that cross the garden; they are about three feet high, and covered in winter with painted board cases. The other gardens are full of flowers and salleting, and the walls well clad. The green-house is well built, well set, and well furnished.

12. Sir Thomas Cook's garden at Hackney, is very large, and not so fine at present, because of his intending to be at three thousand pounds charge with it this next summer, as his gardener said. There are two green-houses in

in it, but the greens are not extraordinary; for one of the roofs being made a receptacle for water, overcharged with weight, fell down last year upon the greens; and made a great destruction among the trees and pots. In one part of it a warren, containing about two acres, and very full of coney, though there was but a couple put in a few years since. There is a pond or a mote round about them, and on the outside of that a brick wall four feet high, both which I think will not keep them within their compass. There is a large fish-pond lying on the south to a brick wall, which is finely clad with philaria. Water brought from far in pipes, furnishes his several ponds as they want it.

13. Sir Josiah Child's plantations of walnut and other trees at Wansted, are much more worth seeing than his gardens, which are but indifferent. Besides the great number of fruit-trees he has planted in his enclosures with great regularity, he has vast number of elms, ashes, limes, &c. planted in rows on Epping-forest. Before his outgate, which is above twelve score feet distance from his house, are two large fish-ponds on the forest, in the way from his house, with trees on either side lying betwixt them; in the middle of either pond is an island betwixt 20 and 30 yards over; in the middle of each a house, the one like the other. They are said to be well stocked with fish, and so they had need to be, if they cost him 5000*l.* as it is said they did; as also that his plantations cost twice as much.

14. Sir Robert Clayton has a great plantation at Morden in Surrey, in a soil not very benign to plants; but with great charge he

forces nature to obey him. His gardens are big enough, but strangely irregular, his chief walk not being level, but rising in the middle, and falling much more at one end than the other; neither is the wall carried by a line either on the top or sides, but runs like an ordinary park wall, built as the ground goes; he built a good green-house, but set it so that the hills in winter keep the sun from it; so that they place their greens in a house on higher ground not built for that purpose. His dwelling-house stands very low; surrounded with great hills; and yet they have no water but what is forced from a deep well into a water-house, whence they are furnished at pleasure.

15. The archbishop of Canterbury's Garden at Lambeth, has little in it but walks, the late archbishop not delighting in one; but they are now making it better; and they have already made a green-house, one of the finest and costliest about the town. It is of three rooms, the middle having a stove under it: the foresides of the rooms are almost all glass, the roof covered with lead the whole part (to adorn the building) rising gravel-wise higher than the rest; but it is placed so near Lambeth church, that the sun shines most on it in winter after eleven o'clock; a fault owned by the gardener, but not thought on by the contrivers. Most of the greens are oranges and lemons, which have very large ripe fruits on them.

16. Dr. Uvedale, of Enfield, is a great lover of plants, and, having an extraordinary art in managing them, is become master of the greatest and choicest collection of exotic greens that is perhaps any where in this land. His greens

take up six or seven houses or roomsteads. His orange trees and largest myrtles fill up his biggest house, and another house is filled with myrtles of a less size; and those more nice and curious plants that need closer keeping are in warmer rooms, and some of them stoved when he thinks fit. His flowers are choice, his stock numerous, and his culture of them very methodical and curious; but, to speak of the garden in the whole, it does not lie fine to please the eye; his delight and care lying more in the ordering particular plants, than in the pleasing view and form of his garden.

17. Dr. Tillotson's Garden near Enfield is a pleasurable place for walks, and some good walls there are too; but the tall aspin trees, and the many ponds in the heart of it, are not so agreeable. He has two houses for greens, but had few in them, all the rest being removed to Lambeth. The house moated about.

18. Mr. Evelyn has a pleasant villa at Deptford, a fine garden for walks and hedges (especially his holly one, which he writes of in his *Sylva*) and a pretty little green-house with an indifferent stock in it. In his garden he has four large, round philareas, smooth clipped, raised on a single stalk from the ground, a fashion now much used. Part of his garden is very woody and shady for walking; but his garden not being walled has little of the best fruits.

19. Mr. Watts's house and garden made near Enfield are new; but the garden for the time is very fine, and large, and regularly laid out, with a fair fish-pond in the middle. He built a green-house

this summer with three rooms (somewhat like the archbishop of Canterbury's), the middle with a stove under it and a skylight above, and both of them of glass on the foreshide, with shutters within, and the roof finely covered with Irish slate. But this fine house is under the same great fault with three before (Number 8, 14, 15): they built it in summer, and thought not of winter; the dwelling-house on the south side interposing betwixt the sun and it, now when its beams should refresh plants.

20. Brompton Park Garden, belonging to Mr. London and Mr. Wise, has a large long green-house, the front all glass and board, the northside brick. Here the King's greens, which were in summer at Kensington, are placed: but they take but little room in comparison of their own. Their garden is chiefly a nursery for all sorts of plants, of which they are very full.

21. Mr. Raynton's Garden at Enfield is observable for nothing but his green house, which he has had for many years. His orange, lemon, and myrtle trees are as full and furnished as any in cases. He has a myrtle cut in shape of a chaise, that is at least six feet high from the case, but the lower part is thin of leaves. The rest of the garden is very ordinary, and on the outside of his garden he has a warren, which makes the ground about his seat lie rudely, and sometimes the coney's work under the wall into the garden.

22. Mr. Richardson at East Barnet, has a pretty garden, with fine walks and good flowers; but the garden not being walled about they have less summer fruit, yet are therefore the more industrious in managing

managing the peach and apricot dwarf standards, which, they say, supply them plentifully with very good fruit. There is a good fish-pond in the middle of it, from which a broad gravel walk leads to the highway, where a fair pair of broad gates, with a narrower on either side, open at the top to look through small bars, well wrought and well painted, are a great ornament to the garden. They have orange and lemon trees; but the wife and son being the managers of the garden (the husband being gouty, and not minding it) they cannot prevail for a house for them other than a barn end.

23. Captain Forster's Garden at Lambeth has many curiosities in it. His green-house is full of fresh and flourishing plants, and before it is the finest striped holly-hedge that perhaps is in England. He has many myrtles, not the greatest, but of the most fanciful shapes, that are any where else. He has a framed walk of timber covered with vines, which with others, running on most of his walls without prejudice to his lower trees, yield him a deal of wine. Of flowers he has a good choice, and his Virginia and other birds in a great variety, with his glass hive, add much to the pleasure of his garden.

24. Monsieur Anthony Vesprit has a little garden of very choice things. His green-house has no very great number of plants, but what he has are of the best sort, and very well ordered. His orange and lemon (fruit and tree) are extraordinary fair, and for lentiscuses and Roman bayes he has choice above others.

25. Ricketts at Hoxton has a large ground, and abundantly

stocked with all manner of flowers, fruit trees, and other garden plants, with lime trees, which are now much planted; and, for a sale garden, he has a very good green-house, and well filled with fresh greens; besides which he has another room very full of greens in pots. He has a greater stock of Assyrian thyme than any body else; for besides many pots of it, he has beds abroad, with plenty of roots, which they cover with mats and straw in winter. He sells his things with the dearest, and not taking due care to have his plants prove well, he is supposed to have lost much of his custom.

26. Pearson has not near so large a ground as Ricketts (on whom he almost joins), and therefore he has not so many trees; but of flowers he has great choice, and of anemones he avers he has the best about London, and sells them only to gentlemen. He has no green-house, yet has abundance of myrtle and striped philareas, with oranges and other greens, which he keeps safe enough under sheds sunk a foot within ground, and covered with straw. He has abundance of cypresses, which at three feet high, he sells for four-pence a-piece to those that take any number. He is moderate in his prices, and accounted very honest in his dealing, which gets him much chapmanry.

27. Darby, at Hoxton, has but a little garden, but is master of several curious greens that other sale gardeners want, and which he saves from cold and winter weather in green houses of his own making. His *Fritalaria Crassa* (a green) had a flower on it of the breadth of half a crown, like an

embroidered star of several colours; I saw not the like any where, no not at Dr. Uvedale's, though he has the same plant. He raises many striped hollies by inoculation, though Captain Foster grafts them as we do apple-trees. He is very curious in propagating greens, but is dear with them. He has a folio paper book, in which he has pasted the leaves and flowers of almost all manner of plants, which make a pretty show, and are more instructive than any cuts in Her-
bals.

28. Clements, at Mile-end, has no bigger a garden than Darby, but has more greens, yet not of such curious sorts. He keeps them in a green-house made with a light charge. He has vines in many places, about old trees, which they wind about. He made wine this year of his white muscadine, and white fro tinac, better, I thought, than any French white wine. He keeps a shop of seeds in plants, in pots next the street.

Jan. 26, 1691. J. GIBSON.

Sketch of the History of Sugar, in the early Times, and through the Middle Ages. By W. Falconer, M. D. F. R. S. From the Memoirs of the Manchester Transactions.

THE use of sugar is probably of high, though not remote antiquity, as no mention of it is made, as far as I can find, in the sacred writings

of the old Testament*. The conquests of Alexander seem to have opened the discovery of it to the western parts of the world.

Nearchus†, his admiral, found the sugar cane in the East-Indies, as appears from his account of it, quoted by Strabo. It is not however, clear, from what he says, that any art was used in bringing the juice of the cane to the consistence of sugar.

Theophrastus, who lived not long after, seems to have had some knowledge of sugar, at least of the cane from which it is prepared. In enumerating the different kinds of honey, he mentions one that is found in reeds, which must have been meant of some of those kinds which produce sugar.

Eratosthenes, also, is quoted by Strabo, as speaking of the roots of large reeds found in India, which were sweet to the taste both when raw and when boiled.

The next author, in point of time, that makes mention of sugar is Varro, who, in a fragment quoted by Isidorus, evidently alludes to this substance. He describes it as a fluid, pressed out from reeds of a large size, which was sweeter than honey.

Dioscorides, speaking of the different kinds of honey, says, that "there is a kind of it in a concrete state, called *Saccharon*, which is found in reeds in India and Arabia Felix. This, he adds, has the appearance of salt; and like

* Since writing the above, I have observed that the sweet cane is mentioned in two places in Scripture, and in both as an article of merchandize. It does not seem to have been the produce of Judea, as it is spoken of as coming from a far country. Isaiah, chap. xlii. v. 24. Jeremiah, chap. vi. v. 20.—It is worthy of remark, that the word *Sachar* signifies, in the Hebrew language, inebriation, which makes it probable, that the juice of the cane had been early used for making some fermented liquor.

† Ante Christ, Ann. 325.

that, is brittle when chewed. It is beneficial to the bowels and stomach, if taken dissolved in water; and is also useful in diseases of the bladder and kidneys. Being sprinkled on the eye, it removes those substances that obscure the sight." The above is the first account I have seen of the medicinal virtues of sugar.

Galen appears to have been well acquainted with sugar, which he describes, nearly as Dioscorides had done, as a kind of honey, called *Sacchar*, that came from India, and Arabia Felix, and concreted in reeds. He describes it as less sweet than honey, but of similar qualities, as detergent, desiccative, and digerent. He remarks a difference, however, in that sugar is not like honey injurious to the stomach, or productive of thirst.

If the third book of Galen, "Upon medicines that may be easily procured," be genuine, we have reason to think sugar could not be a scarce article, as it is there repeatedly prescribed.

Lucan alludes to sugar, in his third book, where he speaks of the sweet juices expressed from reeds, which were drank by the people of India.

Seneca, the philosopher, likewise speaks of an oily sweet juice in reeds, which probably was sugar.

Pliny was better acquainted with this substance, which he calls by the name of *Saccaron*; and says, that it was brought from Arabia and India, but the best from the latter country. He describes it as a kind of honey, obtained from reeds, of a white colour, resembling gum, and brittle when pressed by the teeth, and found in pieces of the size

of a hazel nut. It was used in medicine only.

Salmatius, in his *Plinianæ Exercitationes*, says, that Pliny relates upon the authority of Juba the historian, that some reeds grew in the Fortunate Islands, which increased to the size of trees, and yielded a liquor that was sweet and agreeable to the palate. This plant he concludes to be the sugar cane; but I think the passage in Pliny scarcely implies so much.—Hitherto we have had no account of any artificial preparation of sugar, by boiling or otherwise; but there is a passage in Statius, that seems, if the reading be genuine, to allude to the boiling of sugar, and is thought to refer immediately thereto by Stephens in his *The-saurus*.

Arrian in his *Periplus of the Red Sea*, speaks of the honey from reeds, called *Sacchar* (Σαχχαρ) as one of the articles of trade between Ariace and Barygaza, two places of the hither India, and some of the ports on the Red Sea.

Ælian, in his *Natural History*, speaks of a kind of honey, which was pressed from reeds, that grew among the *Prasii*, a people that lived near the Ganges.

Tertullian also speaks of sugar, in his book *De Iudicio Dei*, as a kind of honey procured from canes.

Alexander Aphrodisæus appears to have been acquainted with sugar, which was, in his time, regarded as an Indian production. He says, "that what the Indians called sugar, was a concretion of honey, in reeds, resembling grains of salt, of a white colour, and brittle, and possessing a detergent and purgative power like to honey,

honey; and which being boiled, in the same manner as honey, is rendered less purgative, without impairing its nutritive quality."

Paulus Ægineta speaks of sugar, as growing, in his time, in Europe, and also as brought from Arabia Felix; the latter of which he seems to think less sweet than the sugar produced in Europe, and neither injurious to the stomach nor causing thirst, as the European sugar was apt to do.

Achmet, a writer, who, according to some, lived about the year 830, speaks familiarly of sugar, as common in his time.

Avicenna, the Arab physician, speaks of sugar as being a produce of reeds; but it appears he meant the sugar called Tabaxir or Tabbarzet, at he calls it by that name.

It does not appear, that any of the above mentioned writers knew of the method of preparing sugar, by boiling down the juice of the reeds to a consistence. It is also thought, the sugar they had was not procured from the sugar cane in use at present, but from another of a larger size, called Tabbarzet by Avicenna, which is the *Arundo Arbor* of Caspar Bauhin, the *Succa Mambur* of later writers, and the *Arundo Bambus* of Linnæus. This yields a sweet milky juice, and oftentimes a hard crystallized matter, exactly resembling sugar, both in taste and appearance.

The historians of the Crusades make the next mention of sugar, of any that have fallen under my observation.

The author of the *Historia Hierosolymitana* says, that the Crusaders found in Syria certain reeds called *Canameles*, of which it was

reported a kind of wild honey was made; but does not say that he saw any so manufactured.

Albertus Agnensis relates, that about the same period, "the Crusaders found sweet honeyed reeds in great quantity, in the meadows about Tripoli, in Syria, which reeds were called *Zucra*. These the people (the Crusaders army) sucked, and were much pleased with the sweet taste of them, with which they could scarcely be satisfied. This plant (the author tells us) is cultivated with great labour of the husbandmen every year. At the time of harvest they bruise it, when ripe, in mortars; and set by the strained juices in vessels, till it is concreted in form of snow, or of white salt. This, when scraped, they mix with bread, or rub it with water, and take it as pottage; and it is to them more wholesome and pleasing than the honey of bees. The people who were engaged in the sieges of Albaria Marra, and Archas, and suffered dreadful hunger, were much refreshed hereby."

The same author, in the account of the reign of Baldwin, mentions eleven camels, laden with sugar, being taken by the Crusaders, so that it must have been made in considerable quantity.

Jacobus de Vitriaco mentions, that "in Syria reeds grow that are full of honey, by which he understands a sweet juice, which by the pressure of a screw engine, and concreted by fire, becomes sugar." This is the first account I have met with of the employment of heat or fire in the making of sugar.

About the same period, Willermus Tyrensis speaks of sugar as made in the neighbourhood of Tyre, and

and sent from thence to the farthest parts of the world.

Marinus Sanutus mentions, that in the countries subject to the Sultan, sugar was produced in large quantity, and that it likewise was made in Cyprus, Rhodes, Amorea, Marta, Sicily, and other places belonging to the Christians.

Hugo Falcandus, an author who wrote about the time of the emperor Frederic Barbarossa, speaks of sugar being in his time produced in great quantity in Sicily. It appears to have been used in two states; one wherein the juice was boiled down to the consistence of honey, and another where it was boiled farther, so as to form a solid body of sugar.

The foregoing are all the passages that have occurred to my reading on this subject. They are but few and inconsiderable, but may save trouble to others, who are willing to make a deeper inquiry into the history of this substance.

Jan. 24, 1790.

Account of Poetry in Scotland, during the Sixteenth Century. From Dr. Henry's History of Great Britain.

In Scotland, poetry, such as Chaucer might acknowledge, and Spenser imitate, was cultivated in a language superior to Chaucer's. Dunbar and Douglas were distinguished poets, whose genius would have reflected lustre on a happier period, and whose works, though partly obscured by age, are perused with pleasure even in a dialect consigned to rustics. Dunbar, an ecclesiastic, at least an expectant of church preferment, seems to have languished

at the court of James IV, whose marriage with Margaret of England he has celebrated in the Thistle and the Rose; an happy allegory, by which the vulgar topics of an epithalamium are judiciously avoided, and exhortation and eulogy delicately insinuated. The versification of the poem is harmonious, the stanza artificial and pleasing, the language copious and selected, the narrative diversified, rising often to dramatic energy. The poem from its subject is descriptive, but Dunbar improves the most luxuriant description by an intermixture of imagery, sentiments, and moral observation. The following is a specimen:

The purpoure sone, with tendir
bemys reid,
In orient bricht as angell did ap-
peir,
Throw goldin skyis putting up his
heid,
Quhois gilt, tressi schone so
wondir cleir,
That all the world tuke comfort,
fer and neir,
To luke upone his fresche and bliss-
full face,
Doing all sable fro the heavenis
chace,
And as the blissful sonne of cher-
arcley
The fowlis sung throw comfort of
the licht;
The burdis did with open vocis cry,
O luvaris fo, away thow dully
nicht,
And welcum day that comfortis
every wicht;
Hail May, hail Flora, hail Aurora
schene,
Hail princes Nature, hail Venus,
Luvis quene.

The

The Golden Terge is another allegorical poem of Dunbar's, constructed in a stanza similar to Spenser's, but more artificial, and far more difficult*. In description perhaps it excels, in sentiment it scarcely equals the Thistle and Rose. Its narrative is not intercharged with dialogue; its allegory refers to the passions, the dominion of beauty, the subjection of reason, and is less fortunate than the Thistle and Rose, whose occult and secondary signification is an historical truth, that subsists apart, and however embellished, cannot be obscured by the ostensible emblem. When the passions, or the mental powers are personified and involved in action, we pursue the tale, forgetful of their abstraction, to which it is relative; but to remedy this, the Golden Terge has a merit in its brevity which few allegorical poems possess. The allegorical genius of our ancient poetry discovers often a sublime invention; but it has intercepted what is now more valuable, the representation of genuine character and of the manners peculiar to ancient life. These manners Dunbar has sometimes delineated with humour, in poems lately retrieved from oblivion†; and from them he appears in the new light of a skillful satirist and an attentive observer of human nature.

Gawin Douglas, his contemporary, was more conspicuous by the rare union of birth and learning, and is still distinguished as the first

poetical translator of the classics in Britain. Early in youth he translated Ovid's *de Remedio Amoris* (a work that has perished); at a maturer age, Virgil's *Eneid* into Scottish heroics; a translation popular till superseded at the close of the last century by others more elegant, not more faithful, nor perhaps more spirited‡. His original poems are King Heart and the Palace of Honour, allegories too much protracted, though marked throughout with a vivid invention; but his most valuable performances are prologues to the books of his *Eneid*; stored occasionally with exquisite description. As a poet he is inferior to Dunbar, neither so tender nor so various in his powers. His taste and judgment are less correct, and his verses less polished. The one describes by selecting, the other by accumulating images; but with such success. His prologues descriptive of the winter solstice, of a morning and evening in summer, transport the mind to the seasons they delineate, teach it to sympathize with the poet's, and to watch with his the minutest changes that nature exhibits. These are the earliest poems professedly descriptive; but in description Scottish poets are rich beyond belief. Their language swells with the subject, depicting nature with the brightest and happiest selection of colours. The language of modern poetry is more intelligible, not so luxuriant, nor the terms so harmonious. De-

* Like Spenser's, it consists of nine verses, restricted however to two rhymes instead of three, which Spenser's admits of.

† Vide his poems in Pinkerton's Collection.

‡ It was finished in sixteen months; and, till Dryden's appeared, seems to have been received as a standard translation: till then it was certainly the best translation.

stription is still the characteristic, and has ever been the principal excellence of Scottish poets; on whom, though grossly ignorant of human nature, the poetical mantle of Dunbar and Douglas has successively descended*.

Extract from an account of the Collegiate Chapel of St. Stephen, Westminster.

KING William Rufus built the royal palace at Westminster; and, according to Stow, king Stephen erected this religious structure, in honour of St. Stephen, the proto-martyr. King Edward I. however, seems to have rebuilt this chapel; for, in the 20th year of his reign, the 28th of April, 1292, the works of the new chapel began, and continued for more than two years. An account of the expence of these operations is preserved in rolls of weekly payments remaining in the exchequer, which I have been indulged with the perusal of, by our learned brother, Craven Ord, esq. F. R. S. These curious rolls contain the articles purchased within the week, and the daily payments to each workman of every denomination.

The several articles bought are stated; then follow the payments to workmen. They are too minute to be here enumerated, but these are apparent—to carpenters five pence each per day;—to other workmen three pence halfpenny;—some three pence;—some two pence halfpenny each.

Although the amount of each separate week does not appear to

be much, being in general between twenty and thirty pounds, yet, from the length of time which the works continued, the cost of the whole must have been very considerable.

Whether king Edward I. completed his designs in beautifying this structure, we are not informed; but if he had, his labours were soon after unfortunately rendered abortive; for we are told by a very accurate chronicler, Stow—“that on the 29th of March, 1298, a vehement fire being kindled in the lesser hall of the king’s palace at Westminster, the flame thereof being driven with the wind, fired the monastery adjoining: which, with the palace were both consumed.”

This disastrous event could not be repaired for some time following: for Edward I. being almost constantly engaged, in the latter part of his reign, either in external wars, or in the conquest of Scotland, the prevailing object in the mind of that monarch, he cannot be supposed to have had either leisure or wealth to bestow on works of art; and the weak and turbulent reign of his son Edward II. did not allow much time for domestic improvements. But early in the succeeding reign this building engaged the royal attention; for, on the 27th May, 1330, 4 Edw. III. the works on this chapel again commenced. The comptroller’s roll of the expence of these operations, for near three years, is remaining in the king’s remembrancer’s office, in the exchequer.

The length of this account will not allow of the whole to be here inserted; but it is extremely curious because it preserves the

* Other poets of inferior reputation flourished during this period in Scotland; but it is the purport of this history to record the progressive improvement, not the stationary merit of poetry.

names of every artist employed, the wages they received, and the price of every article used, as far as the account continues.

The amount of the wages during the whole time of this account, was 350*l.* 12*s.* 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*; and of the materials used in the building, 158*l.* 4*s.* 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*; making together 508*l.* 16*s.* 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.*

These works were not completed for several years after the termination of this account; but on the 6th of August 1348, in the 22d year of Edward III. that king, by his royal charter, recited that a spacious chapel, situate within the palace of Westminster, in honour of St. Stephen, protomartyr, had been nobly begun by his progenitors, and had been completed at his own expence, which, to the honour of Almighty God, and especially of the blessed Mary his mother, and of the said martyr, he ordained, constituted and appointed to be collegiate.

Notwithstanding this constitution of the college, yet it is evident that the chapel was not then finished; for on the 18th of March, 1350, in the 24th Edward III. the king appointed Hugh de St. Albans, then master of the painters for the works within the chapel, to take and choose as many painters, and other workmen, as should be necessary for carrying on the works in the chapel, as he should find in the counties of Kent, Middlesex, Essex, Surry, and Sussex; such workmen to be employed and paid at the expence of the king. Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. 5, p. 670.

A like appointment was made of John Athelard, for the counties of Lincoln, Northampton, Oxford, Warwick, and Leicester; and of

Benedict Nightengale, for the counties of Cambridge, Huntingdon, Norfolk, and Suffolk.

Again in the 37th Edward III. June 4th, 1363, according to Rymer, William de Walsingham was appointed to take a sufficient number of painters and workmen, to be employed at the charge of the king, in the chapel of St. Stephen, within the royal palace. Unfortunately the accounts of these workmen have not come to our view.

King Edward III. erected for the use of this college, at some distance west, in the Little Sanctuary, out of the palace court, a strong clochard, or bell tower, of stone and timber, covered with lead; and placed therein three great bells, which were afterwards usually rung at coronations, triumphs, and funerals of princes, which gave such a huge sound, that it was commonly said they soured all the drink in the town. Howell's *Londinopolis*, p. 378.

This college of St. Stephen was valued at the suppression, to be worth 1085*l.* 10*s.* 5*d.* and was surrendered in the first year of king Edward VI. A list of the deans and canons of this college may be seen in Newcourt's *Repertorium*.

The chapel of St. Stephen was soon afterwards fitted up for the meeting of the house of commons, which had before usually assembled in the chapter house of the abbey of Westminster, and has since continued to be appropriated to the same use, to the present time.

Of ancient Spain and its original Inhabitants. From Mannert's Northern Geography of the Greeks and Romans.

THE name of Spain is probably of Phœnician origin. The Romans borrowed it from the Carthaginians, through whom they first became acquainted with the country. The Greeks every where call it Iberia, without attaching always the same idea to the denomination. The elder Greeks, till the period of the Achæan league and of their closer acquaintance with Roman affairs, understood by it the whole sea-coast from the columns of Hercules to the mouth of the Rhine: because throughout this district, the Iberi were to be found, sometimes apart, sometimes mingled with Ligurians. The river Ebro has its name from them.

The sea-coast beyond the pillars they called Tartessis. The interior of the country went long without a name among the inhabitants, because each nation considered itself as a whole, and lived nearly unconnected with its neighbours. Among the Greeks, it obtained the vague name of Kelrica; which was also applied to the whole north-west of Europe. Time altered these ideas, and the latter Greeks appropriate the name Iberia to the same country which the Romans called Hispania. Even this last name the Greeks occasionally use, but understand by it the region between the Pyrenées and Iber or Ebro. Not till the second or third century was the Latin name fully received into the Greek tongue, although earlier instances occur. Hesperia, or the west country, is a common name among the Greek poets both for Italy and Spain; for the latter, with the occasional epithet *ultima*.

History mentions as the most an-

cient settled inhabitants of the country in the western parts, the Kynetæ; and on the southern coast, the Tartessians beyond the Iberians within the Pillars of Hercules. Part of the latter, between the Pyrenées and the Ebro, were known by the name of Igletæ. Herodotus learned these names from the Phœcians; so that our first notices of the country reach back to the times of the early Persian kings. I pass over the fable of Luscus and Pan, Generals of Bacchus, said to have given their names to Lusitania and Hispania.

Herodotus also notices some intruded tribes, the Phœnicians who had colonized the coasts, and the Celts who had wandered into the interior. These dwell less westward than the Kynetæ, and probably in the same regions in which we find them at a later period; and these were probably the only Celts or Kelts of whom the Phœnicians had experimental knowledge; which occasions Herodotus to place erroneously among a city, Pyrene, near to which he supposes the Danube to rise.

Whether the Phœnicians or the Kelts were the earlier intruders cannot be ascertained. Both their emigrations precede the beginning of authentic history. The building of Gadeir, their chief sea-port, by the Phœnicians, is placed soon after the Trojan war. The intrusion of the Kelts loses itself in the midst of antiquity. Later history mentions them to have come from beyond the Pyrenées, to have waged long wars with the Iberi, and finally to have melted into one nation; which under the name of Keltiberi, possessed a considerable

tract

tract of land in the south, and was noted for its bravery, during the wars between the Carthaginians and the Romans. The union was not general; only the inhabitants of the south became one nation with the Kelts; the other Iberi remained unmixed. From the great Keltic army some tribes separated, who established themselves near to the mouth of the river Anas (Gua-diana). Another portion occupied the north-west extremity under the name of Artabri. The former preserved the general name of Kelts.

The Greeks established some colonies along the coast of Iberi within the columns: but, except the Saguntum of the Lakyntibans and the Emporium of the Massilians or Phœceans, they were of little importance.

All the numerous tribes, therefore, which are afterwards found in Spain, may be divided, I. into the unmixed aboriginal inhabitants, and II. into the tribes wholly or partially composed of intruders. The former occupied the east and west coast of the ocean, the Pyrenées, and great part of the country east of the Iber. It cannot be proved that the north-west inhabitants are the same with the proper Iberi of the south-east: but I find no obstacle to this opinion. To these belong the Lusitani, Karpétani, Kallaiki, and Vakkæi, of the west; the Asturian, Cantabrian and Vask, of the north; the inhabitants of the Pyrenées, through whose territory many hordes passed without staying, and some tribes dwelling along the Iber, of the east; finally, the inhabitants of the highlands, of Orzopedia, the Oretani Olkadi, and

Bastitani, of the south. The language, manners, and weapons of these people are alike: they are one people in many subdivisions.

The mixed tribes may be again divided into the Keltiberi and the people of the south-coast. The former comprehend in a manner all the inland inhabitants of the south. The Kelts chiefly struggled with the Iberi in the neighbourhood of the river so called; but after the incorporation they jointly occupied the mountainous country on the west of the Iber, as far as the source of the Durus and Tagus. This was Keltiberia in its narrowest import: but the nation, having multiplied greatly, dispossessed or reduced to slavery several tribes, as the Vakkæi, Karpétani, Oretani, &c. who are thence incorrectly reckoned as a part of it.

The people of the coast beyond the pillars are a mixture of the natives with Phœnicians; and, within the pillars, a mixture of the natives with Greeks, Romans, and Carthaginians. Their commerce with strangers destroyed all peculiarity of character. At first, they learned the Punic, afterward the Roman language and manners. The commerce to which they were devoted, habituated them to assume every form. For this reason, the inlanders despised them, made inroads on them, and forced them to recur for defence to foreign protection. The Keltiberians, on the contrary, prided themselves on retaining their native savageness of dress, weapons, language, and manners.

More will be said of the peculiarities of each people, when the description of their boundaries is undertaken. Thus much was necessary

cessary to prepare a clear survey of the remainder.

Of the Illyrians and Pannonians.
From the same.

The Illyrians are probably of the same stem with the Thracians; at least, the elder writers, who had visited the country or conversed with natives of it, confound them together: whereas the Kelts are always contradistinguished from them, even when resident among them. Of all the European nations, the Illyrians and Thracians only had the practice of tattooing their bodies. Their original language is probably preserved in the Epirotic dialect of the present times: but in Illyria itself, the Slayonian tribes have wholly extinguished every other tongue. The eastern continuation of the Alps comprised the ancient dwellings of the Illyrian nations. From the Julian Alps, the high lands spread uninterrupted between the Save and the Adriatic to the Hæmus and to Macedon. Of this mountainous district, the Illyrians occupied the southern declivity, together with the sea-coast, from about Aquileia to the modern Epirus.

On these very mountains, down the southern declivity towards the Save, were the oldest seats of the Pæonians, as the Greeks styled them; of the Pannonians, as the Latins called them. They extended from the Ukraine to Macedonia. Thus Strabo specifies their station, and he flourished while Augustus and Tiberius were in conflict with them; his account is confirmed by Velleius Paterculus, and Appian, from the commentaries of Augustus.

Strabo does not in any thing dis-

tinguish the Pæonians from the other Illyrians. Herodotus, who knew them experimentally, does not indeed expressly reckon them as a branch of the Thracian stem, because he says that the quantity of single tribes is too great to be enumerated: but he knows only of Thracians on the south side of the Danube; he describes them as covering many districts, and places among them the Pæonians by the Strymon and the Drinó, without distinguishing them from Thracians;—and as he deduces the Pæonians from the Teuceri of Asia, he farther corroborates the opinion of their being of Thracian race, whose Asiatic origin is certain. If the Thracians be one race with the Pæonians and Illyrians, the Kelts must not be derived from the Thracians; for the Romans constantly discriminate between the language and warfare of Kelts and Illyrians. Thucydides also notices the Pæonians in this site.

Perhaps, in elder periods, they had extended their seats farther north unto the Danube, and were compressed in the southern mountains by the Kelts; who, as I shall shew, overflowed at one period the whole south of Hungary. Certain it is that the Romans found towns of the Pannonians only about the Save:—but, when the Kelts were repulsed, and the plains emptied, the Pannonians began to migrate from their mountains into the campaign, and to extend their habitations to the Danube. At this period, probably under Claudius, Pannonia obtained its constitution and boundary as a Roman province; although fortresses had long before been raised along the river. The original district of the Pannonians materially differs, it should

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be remembered, from the Roman province of Pannonia.

Dion Cassius, himself a governor of Upper Pannonia, blames the Greeks for confounding the Pæonians near Macedon with the Pannonians near the Danube: but as he supports his opinions on slight grounds, and would derive the name Pannonia from *pannis*, (the material of their large sleeves), it seems more rational to reject his notion,—trusting rather to Strabo, Velleins, and Appian, who place the Pæonians and Pannonians all along these mountains. His error is natural enough to one who first knew the Pannonians in modern Hungary, in a tutored agricultural state, and had only heard of the rude Pæonians of Macedon; between which nations, much of Illyria and Mæsia seemed to interpose.

*China, as known to the Ancients.
From the same.*

Serica is bounded on the west by Scythia, on the north-east by an unknown country, on the south by India beyond the Ganges, and also by the Sinæ in a latitude of about 35°. This comprehends Koshotey, the Chinese province of Shiensi, Mongolia, and part of Siberia. The people are called Sères.

The southern part of the country has many mountains, which are continuations of those in Scythia; such as the Aszak mountains in the Russian province Nertshink; and consequently they have been already mentioned. Still farther south, occur the Asmiræan mountains (*Ασμιρæαι ὄρη*) which form the northern limit of the desert of Kobi. To these adjoin the Kasian mountains, which stretch along the Chinese wall.

Mount Thaguron (*τὸ Θαγυρον ὄρος*) stretches from south to north at the eastern end of the Kasian mountains, and must be that part of the Mongolian chain which meets the river Hoang-ho. Next lie the Emodian mountains, which extend from the north of Thibet towards the province Shiensi; of which the Ottorokorras, (*τὸ Οττοροκορρας*), on which many rivers rise that fall into the Yellow river, is a portion.

Two great rivers water the major part of Serica. First, the Oichardès, of which the northern source is to be sought in the mountains of Aszak. A second stream of it comes from the Asmiræan mountains of the south-east in the $47\frac{1}{2}$ degree of latitude. Farther west, where the main stream inclines towards the Emodian mountains, a third tributary river arises, under the 44th degree of latitude, but more to the north than the Bautisus. This latter arm is undoubtedly the Erzinèh, which loses itself in the desert of Sohuk, or in the lake Söpu. The eastern stream can hardly be any other than the river Onghen; which, like the Erzinèh, never mingles with the main stream, but in a manner approaches it. Ptolemæus, it should seem, had two accounts before him: an intervening district was unknown to both his travellers: it was only from probability that he conducted their several rivers into the great one. The main stream, Oichardès, then, must be the Selenga; which, according to the geographer, takes a southerly direction.

Secondly, the Bautisus (or, according to the edition of Erasmus, the Baure) has its source in the north by the Kasian mountains on the borders of Sogd in the 43d degree of latitude.

latitude. It trends south-east towards the Emodian hills for four degrees, when it receives a second arm thence descending. In their farther progress, they bend towards the mountain Ottorokorra, and pass into an eastern unknown country. The Hoang-ho, or Yellow river, can scarcely be more clearly described from mere reports. Its northern arm Olanmuren arises in Koshotey, near to the desert of Kobi, and from the same mountains as the Erzineh. Its course is south-eastward, when it receives a southern branch Haramuren; which from the mountains of Thibet, takes a crooked north-east course. Of its northern bend Ptolemæus says nothing: but he appears to pre-suppose it, as he assumes another bend to the east; which, if he supposed the stream to flow straight, would be needless.

The rivers Psitaras, Cambari, and Lanos, which Pliny assigns to the Seres, probably belong not here, but to the Indian coast east of the Ganges.

The people of Serica are divided into the Anthropophagi, (or, according to Ammianus, XXIII. 6. Alitrophagi), of the north, and the Annibi, who dwell contiguous to these. Between the latter and the Aszak mountains are the Sisgyes. The cannibals are placed in the north of Siberia, of which nothing was known; of the other two, who seem to have dwelt near the sea of Baikal, he may have heard. Above the Oichardes are the Damnæ and the Piadæ, and near to the river the Oichardæ.

Again, in the north, but east of the Annibi, are situated the Ga-

renæi and Rabaneî; probably among the Monguls of Kalkas:—for, immediately below them, occurs the district Asmiræa, at the foot of the mountains so named. Below these extends to the Kasian mountain the great nation of the Issedones. There can be no doubt that, by this name, Herodotus meant Monguls. Beside them are Throani, near a town of this name; and below them, on the east, Thaguri. Farther to the north-east, Dahuri. Among the Issedones dwell the Aspakaræ, who have their name from a city. Near these, the Batta; and the most southerly are the Ottokarra* mountaineers. These three nations occupy the province of Shiensi: Ptolemæus knows nothing of the more easterly parts.

The cities of Serica and Damna, at the west end of the Oichardes, and at some distance northward from the river: Piada, on the southern bend of the Selenga, here called the Itscha: Asmiræa, near the mountains so named: Throana, on the east side of the Onghen, in the region in which the ruins of Karakorum, once the metropolis of the Mongul sovereigns, are usually sought. The tribes above mentioned are probably named from these towns.

Issedon Serica is contradistinguished from Issedon Scythica, which lay more to the north-west. This Chinese town, which Ptolemæus names after the great nation of the Issedones, was situated north-east from the source of the Erzineh, and consequently on the borders of the desert of Shamo: he places, in fact, no town beyond it. Aspak-

* Perhaps Pliny, VI. 17, alludes to these by the name Attacoræ.

ara, which gives name to a tribe, lay near to the northern Bautisus, and eastward from its source; on the Olanmuren river, therefore, and probably in Koshotey. Rhoschoe lay much farther east in the same latitude. I know not where to seek it. Paliana and Abrugana were both on the banks of the northern Bautisus and in Koshotey. Togara and Daxata were both in the middle of the province Shiensi, and probably near the Hoa-ho; for all these places were in a south-east line towards the bend of the Bautisus, and towards Sera, the metropolis. Orosana lay near the source of the southern Bautisus, or the Haramuren. Ottorakorra along the course of the same river near its easterly bend, and to the north of the district to which and to whose inhabitants it gives its name. Solana was more eastward: I know not where.

Sera, the capital, was at some distance from the south bend of the Bautisus. If Ptolemæus means, by this south *ἑσπερος*, the contiguous river Hoa-ho, this Sera can be no other than Singan-fu, which is at some distance from its southern evolution:—but, if he knew of the bow of the Hoang-ho, it must be placed more eastward at Honan. The first seems to be more probable, as Ptolemæus appears ignorant of the eastern course of the river, and may well have mistaken a part of the Hoa-ho for a continuation of his Bautisus; and also as Singan-fu is named as a former metropolis of the north-west parts of China. Sera was the easternmost resort of the merchants; and beyond it Ptolemæus knows nothing.

Historical Account of Sculpture. From Falconer's Chronological Tables; beginning with the Reign of Sargon, and ending with the Death of Alexander the Great.

ALL the ancient writers have agreed in dividing it into two periods, the latter of which begins with the age of Phidias. Strabo ascertains these ages very exactly, tho' rather foreign to his subject; for, in describing the temples of Ephesus, there are some which he calls ancient, and in these were ἀρχαία ἑσπερον antique wooden figures. In the other temples, built, ἡ δὲ τοῖς ὕστερον, in after-times, he transgresses from his usual form, and describes three statues in particular, which were probably of the age of Phidias and Scopas. Pliny and Pausanias abound in examples of this division of the periods. The former, when discoursing of Myron, says, “capillum non emendatius fecisse quam rudis antiquitas instituisset.” This “rudis antiquitas” means what is termed the age of Dædalus and his scholars, who improved but little on the models brought from Egypt. However, as we have some dates in Pliny, which fix the progression of this art with tolerable accuracy, we shall briefly touch on the history of this period from the earliest times; though the vague, and nearly fabulous relations of Dædalus form some embarrassment in fixing the commencement of this æra. Diodorus Siculus and Pausanias agree in supposing there was an artist of that name who worked for Minos in Crete, and built a labyrinth at Gnosus, of which no vestige was left in the time of Augustus. Homer, in his 18th Iliad, does mention a Δαίδαλος who

formed.

formed a dance for Ariadne; but, as he used the same word, a few lines after, adjectively, to signify artificially made, he might mean by the former no more than what the word imports, an ingenious artist. Eustathius interprets Homer as meaning that Dædalus only invented the dance itself, and not that he worked it in either wood, stone, or metal.

The statues of Dædalus, mentioned by Pausanias, were all of wood, and resembled, as we may suppose, the Egyptian; for Philostretus says, that the statue of Memnon was formed with the feet joined together, and the arms resting on the seat, after the manner of cutting figures in the age of Dædalus. Such was probably the figure of Minerva in Troy, mentioned in the 6th Iliad, which seems to have been in a sitting posture. We have no remains of these rude ages; but the forms of the Juno of Samos, carved by Smilis of Ægina, said to be contemporary with Dædalus, and that of the Diana of Ephesus, by the hand of Endæus, or Endyus, a pupil of Dædalus, are preserved on the medals of their respective cities. These representations gave a very unfavourable idea of the Dædalean age; yet we have no reason to doubt their authenticity, for the artists of polished times would never have disgraced their coinage with such uncouth figures, had they not been exact resemblances of objects made venerable by superstition. Some more of these wooden statues are described as existing at Thebes, Lchaden, Delos, and Crete, to the reign of Hadrian. They were nearly destroyed by age; and yet Pausanias, fired by

religious and antiquarian enthusiasm, could find in them something divine; but what it was he does not explain. Some other of these statues were plated with gold, and their faces painted red, viz. two of Bacchus, in the forum of Corinth; which gives us but an indifferent idea of the taste of that period. The Venus of Delos had only a head and arms, with a quadrangular basis instead of feet; which shews that these sculptors had improved but little on the rude ages of Greece, when unhewn stones, or at best cut into a quadrangular form, were the only emblems of their divinities. Yet even these figures, I think, were not introduced into European Greece till after the days of Homer. The name of Dædalus was, we know, given to artists long after the Athenian Dædalus is supposed to have flourished. Pausanias himself mentions one of Sicyon of that name; which he seems to confound with the Dædalus mentioned by Homer. Dipœnus and Scyllus, according to Pliny, were the founders of the school of sculpture in Sicyon, and were the first who were celebrated for carving in marble. They flourished, says the same author, in the 50th Olympiad, which is very probable: for at that period, the states of Greece were beginning to cultivate their talents, and to settle a form of government. Pausanias, by a strange anachronism of above 400 years, says, that Dipœnus and Scyllus were the sons of that very Dædalus who lived so long in Crete. Pliny indeed says, they were Cretans by birth, but that they settled at Sicyon. Is it not then more likely that they were instructed long after by Dæ-

dalus Sicyonius, and that the identity of names was the source of the error?

However celebrated these artists were for marble sculpture, yet the most noted performances from their hands were cut in ebenus, a sort of lignum vitæ, with pieces of ivory interspersed; a practice much improved afterwards. Tectæus and Angelion were the scholars of Dipœnus; they carved the Apollo at Delos, and Callon, their pupil, the statue of Minerva Sthenias, in the citadel of Athens, about the 63d Olympiad. The other memorable pupils of this school were Theocles and Doricydas, both Lacedæmonians, whose works were to be seen, as Pausanius informs us, in his time at Elis.

The school of Chios, formed by Malas, about the same time with that of Sicyon, or probably before, was still more noted. Bupalus and Authermus carved well in the 60th Olympiad; some of whose works had a place in the palace of Augustus Cæsar. Yet even in this period we are uncertain whether the Greeks knew the art of casting statues in metal. The oldest brass statue known in Greece was one of Jupiter, in the Chalcidæos and Laconia, in which the limbs had been separately formed, and then nailed together; yet this imperfect essay was ascribed to Learchus, a scholar of Dipœnus, who must have lived about the 53d or 54th Olympiad. So little was this art known in the school of Sicyon, when it was celebrated for marble sculpture. About the 63d Olympiad, we find the name of Rhœceus and Theodorus, both of Samos, the same who built the temple of Juno,

in the reign of Polycrates, and practised the art of casting statues with success.

Hence, I think, the schools of Sicyon and Chios divide this period into two parts. The Dædalean, or barbarous age, ceases in the 50th Olympiad; the middle age, which gave better forms to the human figure, but not the last polish, nor an exact representation of the minuter parts, may be extended to the 83d Olympiad; when the great genius of Phidias broke out at once in full lustre in the Jupiter at Olympia, and the Minerva at Athens. Pausanius has described the former of these with great accuracy; and Livy, the historian, with a sublimity of expression almost equal to the ideas of the artist, points out, in a few words, its effect on the beholder. Paulus Æmilius, says that invaluable writer, travelling through Greece, entered the temple to survey the colossal statue; when Jove in velut præsentem intuens, motus animæ est. It is generally known that this figure was composed of ivory, and ornamented with gold, a practice of great antiquity in the East; but few consider the difficulty of executing a grand idea with so minute materials. If any other graces were still wanting in sculpture, the skill of Praxiteles and Lysippus gave those finished touches which produced sublimity in small figures without diminishing their elegance. Such was sculpture in the days of Alexander. Some specimens of this æra are most probably even now to be seen at Rome and Florence, viz. the Medicæan Venus, the Hercules Farnese, and the Belvidèrian Apollo. The great genius

genius of Michael Angelo was unequal to the imitation of these figures; and should we conceive them to be the production of a later age, as that of Augustus, or even later, as that of the Antonines, it will only raise our ideas of the age of Alexander, to find that the best artist of modern times was inferior to those sculptors who by the general consent of antiquity, were themselves below the merits of a Phidias or Praxiteles.

Letter from King Charles II. to the Duke of Ormond, upon his taking the Seals from Chancellor Clarendon. Copied from the Original in the King's own Hand, and indorsed in the Duke of Ormond's.

The King's

15 } Sept.
Rec. 24 }

at Kilkenny.

Answered, 2 Oct. 67.

Whitehall, 15 Sept.

I SHOULD have thanked you sooner for your melancholly letter of the 26th August, and the good counsel you gave me in it, as my purpose was also to say something

to you concerning my taking the seals from the chancellor, of which you must needs have heard all the passages, as he would not suffer it to be done so privately as I intended it. The truth is, his behaviour and humour was grown so insupportable to myself, and to all the world else, that I could not longer endure it; and it was impossible for me to live with it, and doe those things with the parliament which must be done, or the government will be lost. When I have a better opportunity for it, you shall know many particulars that have inclined me to this resolution, which already seems to be well liked in the world, and to have given a real and visible amendment to my affairs. This is an argument too big for a letter; so I add but this word to it, to assure you, that your former friendship to the chancellor shall not doe you any prejudice with me, and that I have not in the least degree diminished that value and kindness I ever had for you; which I thought fit to say to you upon this occasion, because it is very possible malicious people may suggest the contrary to you.

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

On the Influence of Cold upon the Health of the Inhabitants of London. From the Philosophical Transactions.

THE extraordinary mildness of last January, compared with the unusual severity of the January preceding, affords a peculiarly favourable opportunity of observing the effect of each of these seasons, contrasted with each other. For of these two successive winters, one has been the coldest, and the other the warmest, of which any regular account has ever been kept in this country. Nor is this by any means an idle speculation, or matter of mere curiosity; for one of the first steps towards preserving the health of our fellow-creatures, is to point out the sources from which diseases are to be apprehended. And what may make the present inquiry more particularly useful, is, that the result, as I hope clearly to make appear by the following statements, is entirely contrary to the prejudices usually entertained upon this subject.

During last January, nothing was more common than to hear expressions of the unseasonableness of the weather; and fears least the want of the usual degree of cold, should be productive of putrid diseases, and I know not what other causes of mortality. On the other

hand, "a bracing cold," and "a clear frost," are familiar in the mouth of every Englishman; and what he is taught to wish for, as among the greatest promoters of health and vigour.

Whatever deference be due to received opinions, it appears to me however from the strongest evidence, that the prejudices of the world are upon this point at least unfounded. The average degrees of heat upon Fahrenheit's thermometer kept in London during the month of January 1795, was 23° in the morning, and $29^{\circ}.4$ in the afternoon. The average in January 1796, was $43^{\circ}.5$ in the morning, and $50^{\circ}.1$ in the afternoon. A difference of above twenty degrees! And if we turn our attention from the comparative coldness of these months to the corresponding healthiness of each, collected from the weekly bills of mortality, we shall find the result no less remarkable. For in five weeks between the 31st of December 1794, and the 3d of February 1795, the whole number of burials amounted to 2823; and in an equal period of five weeks between the 30th of December 1795 and the 2d of February 1796, to 1471. So that the excess of the mortality in January 1795 above that of January 1796, was not less than of 1352 persons. A number sufficient surely to awak-

ken the attention of the most prejudiced admirers of a frosty winter. And though I have only stated the evidence of two years, the same conclusion may universally be drawn; as I have learned from a careful examination of the weekly bills of mortality for many years. These two seasons were chosen as being each of them very remarkable, and, in immediate succession one to the other, and in every body's recollection.

It may not be impertinent to the objects of this society, without entering too much into the province of medicine, to consider a little more particularly the several ways in which this effect may be supposed to be produced; and to point out some of the principal injuries which people are liable to sustain in their health from a severe frost. And one of the first things that must strike every mind engaged in this investigation, is its effect on old people. It is curious to observe

among those who are said in the bills to die above 60 years of age, how regularly the tide of mortality follows the influence of this prevailing cause: so that a person used to such inquiries, may form no contemptible judgment of the severity of any of our winter months, merely by attending to this circumstance. Thus their number last January was not much above one-fifth of what it had been in the same month the year before. The article of asthma, as might be expected, is prodigiously increased, and perhaps includes no inconsiderable part of the mortality of the aged. After these come apoplexies and palsies, fevers, consumptions, and dropsies. Under the two last of which are contained a large proportion of the chronical diseases of this country: all which seem to be hurried on to a premature termination. The whole will most readily be seen at one view in the following table.

1795.

Week ending	Mean heat.	Whole No. of deaths.	Aged above 60.	Asthma and Palsy.	Apoplexy and Palsy.	Fever.	Consumption.	Dropsy.
	Morn. Noon.							
6 Jan.	25° 29°	244	51	13	4	20	73	7
13 Jan.	26° 32°	532	139	26	13	49	158	20
20 Jan.	24° 30°	637	145	51	11	81	164	37
27 Jan.	19° 27°	543	143	64	11	42	157	17
3 Feb.	25° 37°	867	239	95	13	66	273	45
Result	23°. 29°.	2823	717	249	50	258	825	126

1796.

Week ending	Mean heat.	Whole No. of deaths.	Aged above 60.	Asthma and Palsy.	Apoplexy and Palsy.	Fever.	Consumption.	Dropsy.
	Morn. Noon.							
5 Jan.	40° 46°	300	35	5	7	34	79	13
12 Jan.	41° 49°	273	37	9	5	25	53	19
19 Jan.	48° 53°	313	29	2	4	29	77	11
26 Jan.	47° 52°	257	20	7	9	23	47	11
2 Feb.	41° 49°	328	32	6	6	23	86	16

Not

Notwithstanding the plague, the remittent fever, the dysentery, and the scurvy, have so decreased, that their very name is almost unknown in London; yet there has, I know not how, arisen a prejudice concerning putrid diseases, which seems to have made people more and more apprehensive of them, as the danger has been growing less. It must in great measure be attributed to this, that the consumption of Peruvian bark in this country has, within the last fifty years, increased from 14,000 to above 100,000 pounds annually. And the same cause has probably contributed, from a mistaken mode of reasoning, to prepossess people with the idea of the wholesomeness of a hard frost. But it has in another place * been very ably demonstrated that a long frost is eventually productive of the worst putrid fevers that are at this time known in London; and that heat does in fact prove a real preventive against that disease. And although this may be said to be a very remote effect of the cold, it is not therefore the less real in its influence upon the mortality of London. Accordingly a comparison of the numbers in the foregoing table will shew that very nearly twice as many persons died of fevers in January 1795, as did in the corresponding month of this year. I might go on to observe that the true scurvy was last year generated in the metropolis from the same causes extended to an unusual length. But these are by no means the only ways, nor indeed do they seem to be the principal ways, in which a frost operates to the destruction of great numbers of people. The poor, as

they are worse protected from the weather, so are they of course the greatest sufferers by its inclemency. But every physician in London, and every apothecary, can add his testimony, that their business among all ranks of people never fails to increase, and to decrease with the frost. For if there be any whose lungs are tender, any whose constitution has been impaired either by age, or by intemperance, or by disease, he will be very liable to have all his complaints increased, and all his infirmities aggravated by such a season. Nor must the young and active think themselves quite secure, or fancy their health will be confirmed by imprudently exposing themselves. The stoutest man may meet with impediments to his recovery from accidents otherwise inconsiderable; or may contract inflammations, or coughs, and lay the foundation of the severest ills. In a country where the prevailing complaints among all orders of people are colds, coughs, consumptions, and rheumatisms, no prudent man can surely suppose that unnecessary exposure to an inclement sky; that priding oneself upon going without any additional clothing in the severest winter; that inuring oneself to be hardy at a time that demands our cherishing the firmest constitution lest it suffer; that braving the winds, and challenging the rudest efforts of the season, can ever be generally useful to Englishmen. But if generally, and upon the whole, it be inexpedient, then ought every one for himself to take care that he be not the sufferer. For many doctrines very importantly erroneous; many remedies either vain, or even

* Observations on the jail fever by Dr. Hunter, Med. Trans. Vol. III.

noxious, are daily imposed upon the world for want of attention to this great truth; that it is from general effects only, and those founded upon extensive experience, that any maxim to which each individual may with confidence refer, can possibly be established.

*The Domiphobia, or dread of Home.
From the Monthly Magazine.*

SIR,

I very much approve of your allotting a particular part of your magazine to the valuable purposes of medical improvement; and what has been already done, will, I hope, lay the foundation of a series of communications, from which physicians may derive great advantage. From entertaining so high an opinion of this part of your magazine, I am induced to offer my mite, by contributing a few remarks on a disease, not yet touched upon by your medical correspondents, but which, by the time this communication will appear, must be pretty well known in most families. It is very prevalent in the months of June and July, is at the height in August, begins to decline in September, and about the end of October generally disappears, though much will depend upon the weather.

I am somewhat at a loss to describe this disorder, because being of very recent appearance in this country, it has escaped the attention of Sauvages, Vogel, Cullen, and all our late Nosologists. It has some symptoms peculiar to the class of fevers, and some to that of inflammations, but it is a disease, if I may use the phrase, so original, so much *per se*, that we must be

content to let it be the root of a peculiar class, which may hereafter be divided into species, when the faculty shall have made it more their study.

I call it, merely for distinction's sake, the Domiphobia, or dread of home, which is the principal symptom; it begins, as I said before, about the month of June, or earlier, for I have at this moment a family under my care, who are dreadfully afflicted with it. The mother, a remarkably healthy-looking, and indeed a very handsome woman, complains of a wasting of the flesh, want of appetite, listlessness, and dejection. The two daughters, though possessed of the finest bloom of complexion, are inclined to consumption, have also lost their appetites, and are, to use their mother's expression, in a very alarming situation. The sons have various pulmonic symptoms, shortness of breath, cough, and complain that the smoke of London entirely disorders them. The husband is the only person who has escaped the disorder, although he seems so much distressed at the sight of his family, that I should not wonder if he caught it from them. Every medicine I have prescribed, has failed in its operation. Indeed, I must confess, that this is one of those disorders, in which we are not to expect a cure from chemicals or Galenicals. On the contrary, if we leave nature to perform her work, a cure is immediately found, for nature suggests to the patients, from the very first attack of the disease, that it can be relieved only by a jaunt to a watering place. And hence a very expert practitioner in my neighbourhood, chooses to call it the

the *Hydro-mania*; but I apprehend he is mistaken, for I never knew a patient more attached to water when abroad, than when at home. There certainly, however, are symptoms, which indicate a *mania* of some kind or other; but so imperfect is our knowledge of *maniacal* cases, that I can derive no information from books. Arnold does not mention it in his last edition, although probably he may in the next, for which I am told he is preparing materials. Besides, I confess, that I am not very partial to increasing our catalogue of *manias*. So many things might be brought under this title, that a general history of madness would, I am afraid, be as comprehensive as the Annual Register, or any other work which professed to record the actions of man; but this is a digression.

It is peculiar to the disorder I am now speaking of, that the symptoms of it never appear, when the patients are by themselves: the presence, however, of a stranger, or a party of strangers, never fails to bring on the cough, dispaœa, and other concomitants. But above all other occasions, they are most exasperated in the presence of the head of the family, whether a father, an uncle, or a guardian. Now, as this is as much a disease of the mind as of the body, it strikes me, that the passion of envy or jealousy, is strongly excited by the sight of persons who are not afflicted with the disorder, which is generally the case with fathers, uncles, and guardians, and that the patient, from a desire of communicating the disease, is impelled to throw out those *miasmata*, contagious particles, which will affect all present.

That this is often done without producing the effect, I well know, but I must say, that, in general, where the disorder is of long continuance (a month or six weeks, for example) it seldom fails to impart such a degree of its virulence, as to affect the father, and then, I observe, the cure is as good as performed.

From the few remarks I have thrown out, you will perceive, sir, that although we cannot refer this disorder to any class hitherto mentioned by nosologists, yet we may rank it among *endemics*, or those disorders which affect the inhabitants of a certain district. This is most prevalent in the city of London, and extends a little way into the suburbs. I have met with a few cases of the kind in the Borough of Southwark; but the small villages near town are, I think, generally pretty free from it. As to the Borough, it is rather singular, that some of the patients, after returning from Margate or Brighton, apparently perfectly cured, take lodgings nevertheless in a large building in St. George's fields; whether this confirms the cure, I know not, but I apprehend it may prevent a relapse, and I am doubtful whether any thing will so effectually answer this purpose. The tendency of the disorder to return, is one of the worst circumstances belonging to it, and sufficiently convinces me, that there is a radical error in the mode of treatment. I am not ashamed to confess, that I have often failed. If we physicians are not as free in acknowledging our errors, as proud in announcing our cures, the medical art, as to practical usefulness, must stand still.

With respect to the causes of the

Domi.

Domophobia, they may be divided; as in the case of other disorders, into remote, proximate, and occasional. On these I shall not be prolix. It is a great mistake, however, to ascribe this disorder to low living, or a poor diet. If that were the case, the poor would be afflicted by it, particularly this season. But the fact is, it attacks persons who live well, freely, upon a generous diet. Excessive indulgence never fails to bring it on, and it is remarkable, that those who have once indulged, are sure to have a relapse the following year. I scarce know an instance to the contrary. The mental affections are also to be taken into the account, and I have known cases where it was brought on merely by talking about it; a wonderful proof of the intimate connexion betwixt the mind and the body. That there is an affection of the head, cannot well be doubted, from its being almost always attended with giddiness, wanderings, vain fears, and sometimes downright raving, the patient perpetually talking of balls, dances, breakfasts, raffles, subscriptions, and other things, which very seldom much occupy the attention of persons of sound minds and robust health.

I have now, sir, communicated the result of pretty accurate observation, and some practice in this disorder. I am aware, that, in the curative part, I have failed to impart much information. The fact is, and I honestly confess it, I have succeeded in very few cases, and those were chiefly where the disorder was slight. Taken at the beginning, much may be done, but the patients are very apt to

conceal it, probably from motives of delicacy, until it acquires strength which common remedies will not oppose. The indications are likewise sometimes so complicated, that one does not know how to obviate one system without increasing the violence of another. What can be done where there is an inflammatory tendency, accompanied by lowness and weakness, a very common form of the disease? I must, therefore, close the subject for the present, with observing, that an eminent physician of my acquaintance, Dr. Abraham Newland, has a very elegant form of prescription, which I never knew any patient refuse to take; but it is liable to the same objections I have already mentioned, namely, that it will not prevent a relapse.

I am, Sir,

Your very humble servant,

C.

Warwick-lane, May 9th.

On Watering Places. From the same.

I AM a country gentleman, and enjoy an estate in Northamptonshire, which formerly enabled its possessors to assume some degree of consequence in the country; but which, for several generations, has been growing less, only because it has not grown bigger. I mean, that though I have not yet been obliged to mortgage my land, or sell my timber, its relative value is every day diminishing by the prodigious influx of wealth, real and artificial, which for some time past has been pouring into this kingdom. Hitherto, however, I have found my income equal to my wants. It has enabled me to inhabit

inhabit a good house in town for four months of the year, and to reside amongst my tenants and neighbours for the remaining eight with credit and hospitality. I am indeed myself so fond of the country, and so averse in my nature to every thing of hurry and bustle, that, if I consulted only my own taste, I should never feel a wish to leave the shelter of my own oaks in the dreariest season of the year; but I looked upon our annual visit to London as a proper compliance with the gayer disposition of my wife, and the natural curiosity of the younger part of the family; besides, to say the truth, it had its advantages in avoiding a round of dinners and card parties, which we must otherwise have engaged in for the winter season, or have been branded with the appellation of unsociable. Our journey gave me an opportunity of furnishing my study with some new books and prints; and my wife of gratifying her neighbours with some ornamental trifles, before their value was sunk by becoming common, or of producing at her table, or in her furniture, some new invented refinement of fashionable elegance. Our hall was the first that was lighted by the lamp d'Argand; and I still remember how we were gratified by the astonishment of our guests, when my wife with an audible voice called to the footman for the tongs to help to the asparagus with. We found it pleasant too to be enabled to talk of capital artists and favourite actors; and I made the better figure in my political debates, from having heard the most popular speakers in the house.

Once too, to recruit my wife's

spirits, after a tedious confinement from a lying-in, we passed a season at Bath. In this manner therefore things went on very well in the main, till of late my family have discovered that we lead a very dull kind of life; and that it is impossible to exist with comfort, or indeed to enjoy a tolerable share of health, without spending a good part of every summer at a watering-place. I held out as long as I could. One may be allowed to resist the plans of dissipation, but the plea of health cannot decently be withstood.

It was soon discovered that my eldest daughter wanted bracing, and my wife had a bilious complaint, against which our family physician declared, that sea bathing would be particularly serviceable. Therefore, though it was my own private opinion that my daughter's nerves might have been as well braced by morning rides upon the Northamptonshire hills, as by evening dances in the public rooms, and that my wife's bile would have been greatly lessened by compliance with her husband, I acquiesced; and preparations were made for our journey. These indeed were but slight, for the chief gratification proposed in this scheme was, an entire freedom from care and form. We should find every thing requisite in our lodgings; it was of no consequence whether the rooms we should occupy for a few months in the summer, were elegant or not; the simplicity of a country life would be the more enjoyed by the little shifts we should be put to; and all necessities would be provided in our lodgings. It was not therefore till after we had taken them, that

that we discovered how far ready furnished lodgings were from affording every article in the catalogue of necessaries. We did not indeed give them a very scrupulous examination, for the place was so full, that when we arrived late at night, and tired with our journey, all the beds at the inn were taken up, and an easy chair and a carpet were all the accommodations we could obtain for our repose. The next morning, therefore, we eagerly engaged the first lodgings we found vacant, and have ever since been disputing about the terms, which from the hurry were not sufficiently ascertained; and it is not even yet settled whether the little blue garret which serves us as a powdering room, is ours of right or by favour. The want of all sorts of convenience is a constant excuse for the want of all order and neatness, which is so visible in our apartment; and we are continually lamenting that we are obliged to buy things of which we have such plenty at home.

It is my misfortune that I can do nothing without all my little conveniences about me; and in order to write a common letter, I must have my study table to lean my elbows on in sedentary luxury; you will judge therefore how little I am able to employ my leisure, when I tell you, that the only room they have been able to allot for my use is so filled and crowded with my daughter's hat-boxes, hand-boxes, wig-boxes, &c. that I can scarcely move about in it, and am this moment writing upon a spare trunk for want of a table. I am therefore driven to saunter about with the rest of the party; but in-

stead of the fine clumps of trees, and waving fields of corn I have been accustomed to have before my eyes, I see nothing but a naked beach, almost without a tree, exposed by turns to the cutting eastern blast, and the glare of a July sun, and covered with a sand equally painful to the eyes and to the feet. The ocean is indeed an object of unspeakable grandeur; but when it has been contemplated in a storm and in a calm, when we have seen the sun rise out of its bosom, and the moon silver its extended surface, its variety is exhausted, and the eye begins to require the softer and more interesting scenes of cultivated nature. My family have indeed been persuaded several times to enjoy the sea still more, by engaging in a little sailing party; but as, unfortunately, Northamptonshire has not afforded them any opportunity of becoming seasoned sailors, these parties of pleasure are always attended with the most dreadful sickness. This likewise I am told is very good for the constitution; it may be so for aught I know, but I confess I am apt to imagine that taking an emetic at home would be equally salutary, and I am sure it would be more decent. Nor can I help imagining that my youngest daughter's lover has been less assiduous, since he has contemplated her in the indelicate situation of a ship cabin. I have endeavoured to amuse myself with the company, but without much success; it consists of a few very great people, who make a set by themselves, and think they are entitled, by the freedom of a watering place, to indulge themselves in all manner of *polissonneries*: and the rest is a motley

motley group of sharpers, merchants' clerks, kept mistresses, idle men, and nervous women. I have been accustomed to be nice in my choice of acquaintance, especially for my family; but the greater part of our connexions here, are such as we should be ashamed to acknowledge any where else, and the few we have seen above ourselves will equally disclaim us when we meet in town next winter. As to the settled inhabitants of the place, all who do not get by us view us with dislike, because we raise the price of provisions; and those who do, which, in one way or other, comprehends all the lower class, have lost every trace of rural simplicity, and are versed in all the arts of low cunning and chicane. The spirit of greediness and rapacity is no where so conspicuous as in the lodging-houses. At our seat in the country, our domestic concerns went on as by clock-work; a quarter of an hour in a week settled the bills, and few tradesmen wished, and none dared, to practise any imposition where all were known, and the consequence of their different behaviour must have been their being marked, for life, for encouragement or for distrust. But here the continual fluctuation of company takes away all regard to character; the most respectable and ancient families have no influence any farther than as they scatter their ready cash, and neither gratitude nor respect are felt where there is no bond of mutual attachment, besides the necessities of the present day. I should be happy if we had only to contend with this spirit during our present excursion, but the effect it

has upon servants is most pernicious. Our family used to be remarkable for having its domestics grow grey in its service, but this expedition has already corrupted them; two we have this evening parted with, and the rest have learned so much of the tricks of their station, that we shall be obliged to discharge them as soon as we return home. In the country, I had been accustomed to do good to the poor; there are charities here too; we have joined in a subscription for a crazy poetress, a raffle for the support of a sharper, who passes under the title of a German Count, and a benefit play for a gentleman on board the hulks. Unfortunately, to balance these various expences, this place, which happens to be a great resort of smugglers, affords daily opportunities of making bargains. We drink spoiled teas, under the idea of their being cheap, and the little room we have is made less by the reception of cargoes of India taffeties, shawl-muslins, and real chintzes. All my authority here would be exerted in vain; for, I do not know whether you know it or no, the buying of a bargain is a temptation which it is not in the nature of any woman to resist. I am in hopes however, the business may receive some little check from an incident which happened a little time since: an acquaintance of our's returning from Margate, had his carriage seized by the Custom-house officers, on account of a piece of silk, which one of his female cousins, without his knowledge, had stowed in it; and it was only released by its being proved that what she had bought with so much satisfaction as con-

traband, was in reality the home-bred manufacture of Spital-fields.

My family used to be remarkable for regularity in their attendance on public worship; but that too here is numbered amongst the amusements of the place. Lady Huntingdon has a chapel, which sometimes attracts us; and when nothing promises us any particular entertainment, a tea-drinking at the rooms, or a concert of what is called sacred music, is sufficient to draw us from a church, where no one will remark either our absence or our presence. Thus we daily become more lax in our conduct, for want of the salutary restraint imposed upon us by the consciousness of being looked up to as an example by others.

In this manner, sir, has the season past away. I spend a great deal of money and make no figure; I am in the country and see nothing of country simplicity, or country occupations; I am in an obscure village, and yet cannot stir out without more observers than if I were walking in St. James's Park; I am cooped up in less room than my own dog-kennel, while my spacious halls are injured by standing empty; and I am paying for tasteless unripe fruit, while my own choice wall-fruit is rotting by bushels under the trees.—In recompense for all this, we have the satisfaction of knowing that we occupy the very rooms which my lord—had just quitted; of picking up anecdotes, true or false, of people in high life; and of seizing the ridicule of every character as they pass by us in the moving show-glass of the place, a pastime which often affords us a good deal of mirth, but which, I

confess, I can never join in without reflecting that what is our amusement is their's likewise. As to the great ostensible object of our excursion, health, I am afraid we cannot boast of much improvement. We have had a wet and cold summer; and these houses, which are either old tenements, vamped up, or new ones slightly run up for the accommodation of bathers during the season, have more contrivances for letting in the cooling breezes than for keeping them out, a circumstance which I should presume sagacious physicians do not always attend to, when they order patients from their own warm, compact, substantial houses, to take the air in country lodgings, of which the best apartments, during the winter, have only been inhabited by the rats, and where the poverty of the landlord prevents him from laying out more in repairs than will serve to give them a showy and attractive appearance. Be that as it may, the rooms we at present inhabit are so pervious to the breeze, that in spite of all the ingenious expedients of listing doors, pasting paper on the inside of cupboards, laying sand bags, puttying crevices, and condemning closet-doors, it has given me a severe touch of my old rheumatism, and all my family are in one way or other affected with it; my eldest daughter too has got cold with her bathing, though the sea-water never gives any body cold.

In answer to these complaints, I am told by the good company here, that I have stayed too long in the same air, and that now I ought to take a trip to the continent, and spend the winter at Nice, which would complete the business.

business. I am entirely of their opinion, that it would complete the business; and have therefore taken the liberty of laying my case before you; and am, sir,

Your's, &c.

HENRY HOMELOVE.

*The Invention of Organs. From Mad.
de Genlis' Knights of the Swan.*

The imprison'd winds, released with
joyful sound,
Proclaim their liberty to all around.

ANONYMOUS.

*Il n'est ame si revêché qui ne se sente
touchée de quelque reverence, à consi-
derer cette vastité sombre de nos églises
& qu'il le son devotieux de nos orgues.*

MONTAIGNE.

THE two friends having made the promise which he required of inviolable secrecy, Giaffer thus entered upon his wonderful story.

"I am thirty-six years old, and my career is completed. I have passed through it with honour, perhaps with glory; both love and fortune strewed it with flowers, till the fatal instant which discovered the abyss in which I was nearly overwhelmed. I have lost every thing, even to my very name; the inhabitants of the East mention it still with benedictions; the affection of a grateful people perpetuates the remembrance of it, and yet it must not be borne by me! Condemned to obscurity, I am become a stranger to my own fame; am unable to enjoy it, and dead to all the world; it is in the eternal silence of the tomb that I receive the approbation and the eulogies of my contemporaries! The unfortunate victim of despotism, and the fatal example of human vi-

cissitudes, I am Barmecide." At the sound of this great and celebrated name, the Knights of the Swan rose up. A sentiment of profound veneration and respect rendered them motionless for some minutes: to great minds proscription and misfortune tend to increase the interest which genius and virtue never fail to inspire! The two friends considered Barmecide with an eagerness of curiosity as if they beheld him now for the first time. The emotion and sympathy which they felt was painted on their countenances in so expressive a character, that Barmecide was very strongly affected by it. "O! my friends," cried he, "you restore me to my existence." In saying these words, he threw himself into their arms; and having received their affectionate embraces, thus resumed his narration.

"My father, born in the dominions of Gerold, had a passion for travelling. He inspired my mother with the same inclination, who was always his inseparable companion. I drew my first breath in Persia; my father was my only instructor, and he taught me by facts and observations founded on experience, and not by lessons derived from books. I had the misfortune to lose this excellent parent when I was twenty years of age; my mother had been dead some time before. I had three brothers. We had always lived together in the most perfect union, and were determined not to separate. Having often heard of the extreme magnificence of the Court of Aaron Raschid, we determined to visit Bagdad. Arrived at this superb capital, we became acquainted with several Europeans of our own age, and we

lodged all together under the same roof.

"My brothers played on several musical instruments, some of our new acquaintance had the same talents, and as we could not enjoy at Bagdat the free exercise of our religion, we agreed, that on the solemn festivals we should meet in a room, and chant the mass. Our apartment was towards the street, and the people, stopping to listen to us, soon discovered the motive of these religious exercises. Mahometan intolerance was alarmed; and obtained an edict from the Caliph, which was published throughout the city prohibiting the Christians, under pain of death, from assembling to celebrate their religious rites. They were allowed, however, the privilege of performing them individually.

"This prohibition offended me so highly, that I considered what means could be devised to elude it. I had always a genius for mechanics; and, after some reflection, I conceived the idea of constructing an instrument which might imitate all those with which I was acquainted, and even the human voice. I endeavoured to supply it at the same time with so prodigious a volume of sound, that it might produce to the ear the effect of a concert. I worked at my invention night and day, and in less than six months produced an instrument of an enormous size, to which I gave the name of Organ, and which perfectly answered my intentions. I then placed myself near my window, and played on it every morning and night, chanting the service at the same time. At the end of some days, information was sent to the Caliph, that

the Christians, notwithstanding the rigour of his prohibition, had begun again their religious concerts, and with more audacity than ever. The Caliph issued his orders in consequence; and one morning, while I was playing on my organ at the usual hour, I heard a violent knocking at my door. I shut up my organ, and rose to inquire into the cause; when at the same instant a number of armed men came into my room, and testified the greatest astonishment at finding me alone. The captain of the company asked me, where were my accomplices. I replied, that I had none. He paid no attention to this answer, and sought in vain in all my closets for the other musicians. He passed several times in the front of my organ, without imagining it to be a musical instrument; which was in some measure owing to my having given it the appearance of a chest of drawers. At length, not being able to comprehend how my companions had escaped, he ordered me to follow him. I desired to be conducted into the presence of the Caliph. He replied, that he was conveying me thither. In fact, the prince had resolved to see me, and to interrogate me himself. He received me with a gloomy and severe air, considering me sometime in silence; and struck with the serenity of my countenance, "Indiscreet young man," said he, "what could inspire thee with so much audacity, and so much contempt for life?" "Sir," said I, in reply, "nothing so effectually encourages innocence as the aspect of an equitable judge."—"Thou canst not," answered he, "deny thy disobedience. I myself have been

under thy window; I myself have heard the sound of instruments and voices; and yet none but thyself has been found in thy chamber. Where are thy companions? "I have," said I, "none." "Listen," replied the Caliph; "thy physiognomy interests and pleases me, and thy youth excites my pity. I am willing to pardon thee, but I expect a sincere confession." "No, my lord," answered I, "you will not pardon a man who shall be mean enough to inform against his companions and friends." "Well!" exclaimed the Caliph with violence, "all the Christians at present in Bagdat shall be this day put in irons." "They will be in that situation only a few hours," said I in a tranquil tone; "and who shall set them free?"—"I, my lord." At this answer the Caliph became mute with astonishment, and doubted whether he should pronounce my sentence, or dismiss me as a person insane. I began therefore again thus to address him. "Sir, I can venture to protest to you, that I have not disobeyed your orders, and that I was alone, of which it will be very easy to convince you, if you will deign to send for the chest of drawers, which is in my chamber. I will open in your presence this mysterious article of furniture, and you will find in it a complete evidence of my innocence." The Caliph, whose astonishment was augmented by this discourse, issued immediately the order for which I solicited, and my organ was conveyed into his apartment. While I employed myself in putting it into order, the Caliph, who waited with as much curiosity as impatience for the catastrophe of this singular scene, went out for the princess Abassa

his sister, gave her an account of our conversation, and returned along with her. The princess, covered with a long veil, which concealed entirely her shape and her face, placed herself on one of the cushions by the side of her brother at a little distance from, and in front of the organ. Then I asked permission of the Caliph to seat myself opposite my chest of drawers; and, at the same instant, I began to play, and to sing. The Caliph immediately heard those powerful and harmonious sounds imitating so completely flutes, horns, hautboys, and the human voice; when starting from his seat with wonder and delight, "is it possible," said he, "that these drawers are an instrument of music?" "Yes, my lord," replied I, "and I invented it to soften the severity of your prohibition." "In prohibiting these assemblies," said the Caliph, "I wished principally to prevent the celebrity and solemnity which the union of different instruments and several voices give to your ceremonies; I did not foresee that there could be such an ingenious contrivance to abrogate my edict; but it is but just," added he, "that those who are compelled to obedience should be more inventive than their governors." Saying these words, he turned towards Abassa, to ask her what she thought of this adventure. Immediately the most soothing and delightful voice which had ever yet attracted my ear, requested him in expressions the most flattering for me, to recompense the author of so wonderful an invention." "Young man," said the Caliph, who then approached me, "I admire the arts and every species of talents; thy person also pleases me. I de-

sire to have the mechanism of this marvellous machine explained to me, and I charge myself with thy fortune: Thus," pursued he, addressing himself to his sister, "you shall be satisfied, Abassa; I shall keep the instrument and its inventor."

"The very same day I was established in the palace. I was furnished with an extensive apartment, a multitude of slaves, and several magnificent presents. I had no fortune, and I was charmed that I had acquired one with so much rapidity and singularity; but I was not less struck with the despotism which this prince mingled with his favours, even those which were most distinguished. He had disposed of me as of a slave, without consulting my inclinations, without condescending to inform himself whether any particular engagement might interfere with the desire he felt of attaching me to him. I made on this subject many melancholy reflections; but I was young, without experience, and dazzled with the brilliant qualities of the Caliph. In truth, he has very exalted ones. I shut my eyes against the terrible effects of his disposition and character, and delivered up my mind to the splendid prospects with which fortune and ambition presented me." The next day the Caliph sent for me, to explain to him the mechanism of my organ. While demonstrating its principles, I perceived in a few minutes that he had no notion of the previous information that was necessary to comprehend with facility the mechanism of a machine somewhat complicated; and, at the same time, had so much self-conceit as to desire to conceal his ignorance.

"As he has a fund of intelligence

and good sense, I could easily, by explaining to him some of the first principles, and by clearing up his doubts, have shewn him plainly what he wished to know; but he required a learned explanation; he pretended to understand what it was impossible he could comprehend, so that my illustration was absolutely useless to him. He carried away with him only the secret persuasion that he had imposed on me on the subject of his instruction; and he left in my mind the chagrin of perceiving to what an extent of puerility may be strained the pride of the most enlightened of men, when their mind has been vitiated by a long possession of unlimited dominion.

"He made, however, of my organ, an use which was very grateful to me. The ambassadors of Charlemagne were then at his court, and the Caliph added my organ to the numerous presents with which he entrusted them for their master."

Madame Genlis here informs her readers in a note, that the first organ known in Europe was sent, as appears from history, to Charlemagne by the Caliph Aaron.

On the Injustice of the Charges brought against the genuine Philosophers. From De la Croix's French Spectator.

ACCORDING to those who suffer from our revolution, all the errors, the acts of injustice and the persecutions, which afflict the friends of humanity, are the work of philosophy. May it not be asserted, with more truth, that it is because men have despised her lessons, and been deaf to her voice, that so many troubles and disasters have

have happened, which have brought desolation on town and country? Has not philosophy assumed all forms, and borrowed all languages, in order to make our monarchs comprehend that they ought incessantly to occupy themselves with the happiness of their subjects; that, in sacrificing the public welfare to the desires of some individuals, they did not even satisfy the avidity of their courtiers; that they exposed themselves to the risk of seeing extinguished in the hearts of their subjects that love which is so natural to the people under their dominion, and which was the firmest support of their throne? Were not the days of the author of *Telemaachus* poisoned with exile, because he dared to trace, under the eyes of Louis XIV. the duties of a great king? Was not Racine overwhelmed with a load of disgrace, for having essayed to move the heart of the same prince to the misfortunes of his people?

Did not Voltaire, Montesquieu, Mably, Rousseau, in fine, all the philosophical and moral writers, use all their efforts to snatch Louis XV. from his scandalous indolence, and to sow in his frozen heart some seeds of virtue? What eulogies, even to exaggeration, have they not given to Henry IV. in order to excite the emulation of his descendants, and to cause him to be revived in the heirs of his throne? The wisest counsels have been disdained, the best intentions calumniated. Then the zeal of philosophy was irritated; she assumed the prophetic tone, and concluded with clearly announcing those events which now strike our eyes and astonish our minds. These truths appeared so improbable, that

scarcely any attention was paid to them. In proof of my assertion, I only quote the following passage from *Emilius*: "You trust to the existing order of society; without reflecting that this order is subject to inevitable revolutions. The great become little, the rich become poor, the monarch becomes a subject. Are the strokes of fate so uncommon that you may expect to be exempt from them? We approach the state of crisis and the age of revolution; who can answer to you for what you will then become?" To render this the more striking, the author adds in a note, "I consider it as impossible that the great monarchies of Europe can have long to last; all have shone, and every state which shines is near to its decline: I have more particular reasons for this maxim for my opinion; but it is not my business to mention them, and every one sees them too plainly."

King, prelates, nobles, financiers, was it possible more clearly to predict to you your present state? Happily for him who foretold your sudden fall, you only regarded him with contempt.

If the magistrates had not with inexorable insensibility rejected the maxims of the Beccarias, the Filangieris, and the Dupatys, and of all those who conjured them in the name of humanity to extend an equitable protection over innocence and wretchedness, would they not have found defenders in that national assembly which destroyed their power? The nobles, so jealous of their quit-rents, their corvées, their right of the chace, and all those claims of servitude which degrade the inhabitant of the coun-

try, have they not leagued against a minister who would have been the protector of their properties? Far from voluntarily yielding to the voice of reason, and making slight sacrifices to the public interest, they have aggravated their vexations, and immolated men to the preservation of their animals; yet, instead of reproaching their own injustice, and attributing to their pride and unfeeling sternness the vengeance of their former vassals, they impute it to philosophy. Ah! let her no longer be calumniated! she foresaw all our misfortunes, she braved and hazarded persecution to avert them: but her efforts have been fruitless! Princes have more heavily burthened their people instead of relieving them; the great have humbled instead of succouring them; pontiffs have scandalized instead of edifying them; magistrates have outraged instead of protecting them. The moment of their power arrived. Then they recollected nothing but the insults and sufferings which they had so long endured. If their vengeance has been terrible, it is not philosophy that has directed it; on the contrary, she has tried to alleviate its effects: but it has no more been in her power to stop the excesses at which she deeply groaned, than it was to realize the good which she proposed.

It is not during the flame of revolutions that the voice of sages has any empire over the human passions. What could the Roman orators and philosophers do amidst the proscriptions of Sylla and the triumvirs? no more than the de Thous and l'Hospitals in the rage of the League. Could Fene-

lon, Montesquieu, Voltaire, and Rousseau himself, were they still living, by their discourses or writings put a stop to the sanguinary acts which tarnish our liberty and excite the lamentation of our legislators? Reduced to fruitless regrets, we should see them resemble the pilot, who, during the fury of a horrible tempest, contemplates with stupefaction the vessel which he can no longer govern. Let a single philosopher, worthy of the name, be mentioned to me, who has excited the people to murder and conflagration; who has not recommended to them to be generous in victory, to respect legitimate property, to spare imbecility, to condemn the guilty by the rules of justice alone!

Of the Causes of the Increase of Crimes. From Colquhoun's Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis.

IN developing the causes which have so multiplied and increased those various offences and public wrongs which are at present felt to press so hard upon society, it may be truly affirmed in the first instances, much is to be imputed to deficient and inapplicable laws, and to an ill regulated police.

Crimes of every description have their origin in the vicious and immoral habits of the people;—in the want of attention to the education of the inferior orders of society;—and in the deficiency of the system which has been established for guarding the morals of this useful class of the community.

Innumerable temptations occur in a great capital where crimes are resorted

resorted to, in order to supply imaginary wants and improper gratifications, which are not known in lesser societies: and against which the laws have provided few applicable remedies in the way of prevention.

The improvident, and even the luxurious mode of living which prevails too generally among various classes of the lower ranks of the people in the metropolis, leads to much misery and to many crimes.

Accustomed from their earliest infancy to indulge themselves in eating many articles of expensive food in its season, and possessing little or no knowledge of that kind of frugality and care which enables well regulated families to make every thing to go as far as possible, by a diversified mode of cookery and good management:—Assailed also by the numerous temptations held out by fraudulent lotteries, and places of public resort and amusement; and above all, by the habit of spending a great deal of valuable time as well as money unnecessarily in public-houses; and often allured by low gaming, to squander more than they can afford;—there is scarce an instance of accommodating the income to the expenditure, even in the best of times, with a considerable body of the lowest orders of the people inhabiting the capital: and hence a melancholy conclusion is drawn, warranted by a generally assumed fact, that above twenty-thousand individuals rise every morning in this great metropolis, without knowing how, or by what means they are to be supported during the passing day, or where they are to lodge on the succeeding night.

Poverty is no where to be found clothed in so great a degree with the garb and emblems of the extremest misery and wretchedness, as in London.

Develop the history of any given number of these miserable fellow-mortals, and their distresses will be found, almost in every instance, to have been occasioned by extravagance, idleness, profligacy, and crimes:—and that their chief support is by thieving in a little way.

Allured and deceived by the facilities which the pawn-brokers and the old iron-shops hold out, in enabling the labouring people, when they marry, and first enter upon life in the metropolis, to raise money upon whatever can be offered as a pledge or for sale; the first step with too many, is generally to dispose of wearing apparel and household goods, which is frequently done upon the least pressure, rather than forego the usual gratification of a good dinner or a hot supper.—Embarrassments are speedily the consequence of this line of conduct, which is too often followed up by idleness and inactivity. The alehouse is resorted to as a desperate remedy, where the idle and dissolute will always find associates, who being unwilling to labour, resort to crimes for the purpose of supplying an unnecessary extravagance.

It is truly melancholy to reflect upon the abject condition of that numerous class of profligate parents, who, with their children, are constantly to be found in the tap-rooms of public-houses, spending in two days as much of their earnings as would support them a week comfortably, in their own dwellings;

lings;—destroying their health;—wasting their time, and rearing up their children to be prostitutes and thieves before they know that it is a crime.

So early as the reign of Queen Anne, this abandoned and mischievous race of men seem to have attracted the notice of the legislature in a very particular degree, for the act of the 9th of her majesty reciting “that divers lewd and dissolute persons live at great expences, having no visible estate, profession, or calling, to maintain themselves; but support these expences by gaming only; and enacts that any two justices may cause to be brought before them, all persons within their limits, whom they shall have just cause to suspect to have no visible estate, profession, or calling, to maintain themselves by, but who for the most part support themselves by gaming, and if such persons shall not make the contrary appear to such justices, they are to be bound to their good behaviour for a twelve month, and in default of sufficient security, to be committed to prison; until they can find the same, and if security shall be given, it will be forfeited on their playing or betting at any one time for more than the value of twenty shillings.”

If in conformity to the spirit of this wise statute, sharpers of every denomination who support themselves by a variety of cheating and swindling practices, without having any visible means of support, were in like manner to be called upon to find security for good behaviour in all cases where they cannot shew they have the means of subsisting themselves honestly, the number of these pests of society,

under an active and zealous magistracy, would soon be diminished, if not totally annihilated.

By the 12th of George the Second, “the games of Faro, Hazard, &c. are declared to be lotteries, subjecting the persons who keep them to a penalty of two hundred pounds, and those who play, to fifty pounds.”—One witness is only necessary to prove the offence before any justice of the peace, who forfeits ten pounds if he neglects to do his duty:—and by the 8th of George the First, “the keeper of a Faro table may be prosecuted for a lottery, where the penalty is five hundred pounds.”

Such has been the anxiety of the legislature to suppress Faro tables and other games of chance, that the severest penalties have been inflicted, founded on the fullest impression of the pernicious consequences of such practices, and yet to the disgrace of the police of the metropolis, houses are opened under the sanction of high sounding names, where an indiscriminate mixture of all ranks are to be found, from the finished sharper to the raw inexperienced youth, and where all those evils exist in full force which it was the object of the legislature to remove.

When a species of gambling, ruinous to the morals and to the fortunes of the younger parts of the community who move in the middle and higher ranks of life, is suffered to be carried on in direct opposition to a positive statute, surely blame must attach somewhere!

The idle vanity of being introduced into what is supposed to be genteel society, where a fashionable name announces an intention of

of seeing company, has been productive of more domestic misery and more real distress, poverty, and wretchedness to families in this great metropolis (who but for their folly might have been easy and comfortable), than many volumes could detail.

A mistaken sense of what constitutes human happiness, leads the mass of the people who have the means of moving, in any degree, above the middle ranks of life, into the fatal error of mingling in what is called genteel company, if that can be called such where Faro Tables and other games of hazard are introduced in private families.—Where the least recommendation (and sharpers spare no pains to obtain recommendations) admits all ranks who can exhibit a genteel exterior, and where the young and the inexperienced are initiated in every propensity tending to debase the human character, and taught to view with contempt every acquirement connected with those duties which lead to domestic happiness, or to those objects of utility which can render either sex respectable in the world.

To the horde of sharpers at present upon the town, these places of rendezvous furnish a most productive harvest.

Many of this class, ruined perhaps themselves in early life in seminaries of the same description, to which they foolishly resorted, when vanity predominated over

prudence and discretion, have no alternative but to follow up the same mischievous trade, and to prey upon the ignorant, the inexperienced, and the unwary, until they too see the fatal delusion when it is too late.

When such abominable practices are encouraged and sanctioned by high-sounding names,—when sharpers and black-legs find an easy introduction into the houses of persons of fashion, who assemble in multitudes together for the purpose of playing at those most odious and detestable games of hazard, which the legislature has stigmatized with such marks of reprobation, it is time for the civil magistrate to step forward:—and to feel, that in doing that duty which the laws of his country impose on him, he is perhaps saving hundreds of families from ruin and destruction, and preserving to the infants of thoughtless and deluded parents that property which is their birth-right: but which, for want of an energetic police in enforcing the laws made for the protection of this property, would otherwise have been lost, leaving nothing to console the mind but the sad reflection, that with the loss of fortune, those opportunities (in consequence of idle habits) were also lost of fitting the unfortunate sufferer for any reputable pursuit in life, by which an honest livelihood could be obtained.

P O E T R Y.

O D E *for the* N E W Y E A R.*By H. J. PYE, Esq. Poet-Laureat.*

I.

WHERE is immortal Virtue's meed,
 Th' unfading wreath of true renown,
 Best recompense by Heaven decreed
 For all the cares that wait a crown;
 If Industry, with anxious zeal,
 Still watchful o'er the Public Weal;
 If equal Justice' awful arm,
 Tempered by Mercy's seraph charm,
 Are ineffectual to assuage
 Remorseless Faction's harpy rage?
 But the fell Damons, urg'd by Hell's behest,
 Threaten, with frantic arm, the royal Patriot's breast!

II.

Yet not, Imperial George, at thee,
 Was the rude bolt of Malice sped,
 E'en fiends that Crown with rev'rence see
 Where Virtue consecrates th' anointed head—
 No—at thy bosom's fondest claim,
 Thy Britain's peace, their shafts they aim.
 Pale Envy, while o'er half the world
 War's bloody banners are unfurl'd,
 Beheld our coasts from ravage free,
 Protected by the guardian sea,
 Where Commerce spreads her golden stores,
 Where fleets waft triumph to our shores:
 She saw, and sick'ning at the sight,
 Wish'd the fair prospect of our hopes to blight;
 Sought out the object of our dearest care,
 Found where we most could feel, and try'd to wound us there.

III.

The broken shaft that coward Malice rear'd
 Shall to thy fame eternal lustre give,
 Inscribe on Hist'ry's page thy name rever'd,
 And bid it there with endless blazon live.
 For there our sons' remotest race,
 In deathless characters, shall trace
 How Britain's baffled foes proclaim'd their hate,
 And deem'd her Monarch's life the bulwark of the state.

IV.

Now strike a livelier chord—This happy day,
 Selected from the circling year
 To celebrate a name to Britain dear,
 From Britain's sons demands a festive lay.
 Mild Sov'reign of our Monarch's soul,
 Whose eyes meek radiance can controul
 The pow'rs of Care, and grace a throne
 With each calm joy to life domestic known,
 Propitious Heav'n has o'er thy head
 Blossoms of richer fragrance shed
 Than all th' assiduous Muse can bring,
 Cull'd from the honey'd stores of Spring :
 For see, amid wild Winter's hours
 A Bud its silken folds display,
 Sweeter than all the chalic'd flow'rs
 That crown thine own ambrosial May.
 O may thy smiles, blest infant, prove
 Omens of concord, and of love !
 Bid the loud strains of martial triumph cease,
 And tune to softer mood the warbling reed of Peace.

ODE on HIS MAJESTY'S *Birth-Day, June 4, 1796.*

By H. J. PRE, Esq. Poet-Laureat.

I.

WHERE are the vows the Muses breath'd,
 That Discord's fatal reign might cease ?
 Where all the blooming flow'rs they wreath'd,
 To bind the placid brow of Peace ;
 Whose angel-form, with radiant beam,
 Pictur'd in Fancy's fairy dream,
 Seem'd o'er Europa's ravag'd land,
 Prompt to extend her influence bland.
 Calm the rude clangors of the martial lay,
 And hail with gentler note our Monarch's natal day !

For

II.

For, lo! on yon devoted shore,
 Still through the bleeding ranks of war,
 His burning axles steep'd in gore,
 Ambition drives his iron car:
 Still his eyes, in fury roll'd,
 Glare on fields by arms o'errun;
 Still his hands rapacious hold
 Spoils injurious inroad won;
 And, spurning with indignant frown
 The sober olive's proffer'd crown,
 Bids the brazen trumpet's breath
 Swell the terrific blast of destiny and death.

III.

Shrinks Britain at the sound? Though, while her eye
 O'er Europe's desolated plains she throws,
 Slow to avenge, and mild in victory,
 She mourns the dreadful scene of war and woes:
 Yet, if the foe, misjudging, read
 Dismay in Pity's gentlest deed,
 And, construing mercy into fear,
 The blood-stain'd arm of battle rear,
 By insult rous'd, in just resentment warm,
 She frowns defiance on the threat'ning storm;
 And, far as Ocean's billows roar,
 By every wave-encircled shore,
 From where o'er icy seas the gaunt wolf roves,
 To coasts perfum'd by aromatic groves;
 As proudly to the ambient sky
 In silken folds her mingled crosses fly;
 The soothing voice of Peace is drown'd
 A while in war's tumultuous sound,
 And strains, from Glory's awful clarion blown,
 Float in triumphant peal around Britannia's throne.

*A beautiful SPRING in a VILLAGE.**From POEMS by S. T. COLERIDGE.*

ONCE more, sweet stream, with slow foot wand'ring near,
 I bless the milky waters, cold and clear.
 Escap'd the flashing of the noontide hours
 With one fresh garland of Pierian flowers
 (Ere from thy Zephyr-haunted brink I turn)
 My languid hand shall wreath thy mossy urn;
 For, not through pathless grove with murmur rude,
 Thou soothest the sad wood-nymph SOLITUDE.

Nor thine, unseen in cavern depths to dwell,
 The *Hermit-fountain* of some dripping cell!—
 Pride of the vale, thy useful streams supply
 The scatter'd cots and peaceful hamlet nigh.
 The Elfin tribe around thy friendly banks,
 With infant uproar, and soul-soothing pranks,
 Releas'd from school, their little hearts at rest,
 Launch paper navies on thy waveless breast.
 The rustic here at eve, with pensive look
 Whistling lorn ditties, leans upon his crook,
 Or, starting, pauses with hope-mingled dread,
 To list the much-lov'd maid's accustom'd tread:
 She, vainly mindful of her dame's command,
 Loiters—the long-fill'd pitcher in her hand.
 Unboastful stream, thy font with pebbled falls
 The faded form of PAST delight recalls,
 What time the morning sun of HOPE arose,
 And all was JOY, save when another's woes
 A transient gloom upon my soul imprest—
 Like passing clouds impictur'd on thy breast?
 Life's current then ran sparkling to the noon,
 Or, silv'ry stole beneath the pensive moon.
 Ah now it works rude brakes and thorns among—
 Or o'er the rough rock bursts, and foams along!

*To Mrs. BISHOP, with a Pocket Looking-Glass. Written by the late Rev.
 Mr. BISHOP, Master of Merchant-Tailors' School.*

TO you, dear Wife (and all must grant
 A wife no common confidante),
 I dare my secret soul reveal,
 Whate'er I think, whate'er I feel;
 This verse, for instance, I design
 To mark a female friend of mine,
 Whom long with passion's warmest glee,
 I've seen, and could for ever see.
 But hear me first describe the dame;
 If candour then can blame me—blame.
 I've seen her charm, at forty, more
 Than half her sex at twenty-four;
 Seen her, with equal power and ease,
 Draw right to rule, from will to please;
 Seen her so frankly give, and spare
 At once, with so discreet a care,
 As if her sense, and her's alone,
 Could limit bounty like her own;
 Seen her, in Nature's simplest guise,
 Above arts, airs, and fashions, rise:
 And, when her peers she had surpass'd,
 Improve upon herself at last;

Seen her, in short, in ev'ry part,
 Discernment, temper, figure, heart,
 So perfect, that 'till Heav'n remove her!
 I must admire, court her, love her.

Molly, I speak the thing I mean;
 So rare a woman I have seen;
 And send this honest glass, that you
 Whene'er you please, may see her too!

LENORA.

A BALLAD, FROM BURGER.

From the Monthly Magazine.

The following translation (made some years since) of a celebrated piece, of which other versions have appeared, possesses so much peculiar and intrinsic merit, that we have given it the preference in this Selection.

A T break of day, with frightful dreams
 Lenora struggled sore:
 My William, art thou slain, say'd she,
 Or dost thou love no more?

He went abroade with Richard's host,
 The Paynim foes to quell:
 But he no word to her had writ,
 An he were sick or well.

With sowne of trump, and beat of drum,
 His fellow-soldiers come;
 Their helmes bydeckt with oaken boughs,
 They seek their long'd-for home.

And ev'ry roade and ev'ry lape
 Was full of old and young,
 To gaze at the rejoicing band,
 To hail with gladsome tounge.

"Thank God!" their wives and children saide,
 "Welcome!" the brides did saye:
 But greeke or kiss Lenora gave
 To none upon that daye.

She askte of all the passing traine,
 For him she wisht to see:
 But none of all the passing traine
 Could tell if lived hee.

And when the soldyers all were bye,
 She tore her raven haire,
 And cast herself upon the growne
 In furious despaire.

Her mother ran and lyfte her up,
 And clasped in her arme,
 " My child, my child, what dost thou ail ?
 Cod shield thy life from harm ! "

" O mother, mother, William's gone !
 What's all besydes to me ?
 There is no mercye, sure, above !
 All, all were spar'd but hee ! "

" Knell downe, thy paternoster saye,
 'Twill calm thy troubled spright :
 The Lord is wyse, the Lord is good ;
 What hee hath done is right. "

" O mother, mother ! say not so ;
 Most cruel is my fate :
 I prayde, and prayde ; but watte awayl'd ?
 'Tis now, alas ! too late. "

" Our Heav'nly Father, if we praye,
 Will help a suff'ring childe :
 Go take the holy sacrament ;
 So shall thy grief grow milde. "

" O mother, what I feel within,
 No sacrament can staye ;
 No sacrament can teche the dead
 To bear the sight of daye. "

" May be, among the heathen folk
 Thy William false doth prove,
 And puts away his faith and troth,
 And takes another love. "

Then wherefore sorrow for his loss ?
 Thy moans are all in vain :
 And when his soul and body parte,
 His falsehode brings him paine. "

" O mother, mother ! gone is gone :
 My hope is all forlorne :
 The grave mie onely safeguarde is—
 O, had I ne'er been borne ! "

Go out, go out, my lampe of life ;
 In grislie darkness die :
 There is no mercye, sure above !
 For ever let me die. "

" Almighty God ! O do not judge
 My poor unhappy child ;
 She knows not what her lips pronounce,
 Her anguish makes her wilde. "

My girl, forget thine earthly woe,
And think on God and bliss;
For so, at least, shall not thy soule
Its heavenly bridegroom miss."

"O mother, mother! what is blisse,
And what the fiendis celle?
With him 'tis heaven any where,
Without my William, helle.

"Go out, go out, my lamp of life;
In endless darkness die:
Without him I must loathe the earth,
Without him scorne the skye."

And so despaire did rave and rage
Athwarte her boiling veins;
Against the Providence of Heaven
She hurld her impious strains.

She bet her breaste, and wrung her hands,
And rollde her tearlesse eye,
From rise of morn, till the pale stars
Again did freeke the skye.

When harke! abroade she hearde the trampe
Of nimble-hoofed steed;
She hearde a knichte with clank alight,
And climb the staire in speede.

And soon she herde a tinkling hande,
That twirled at the pin;
And thro' her doot, that open'd not,
These words were breathed in.

"What ho! what ho! thy dore undoe;
Art watching or asleepe?
My love, dost yet remember mee,
And dost thou laugh or weep?"

"Ah! William here so late at night!
Oh! I have watchte and wak'd:
Whence dost thou come? For thy return
My herte has sorely ak'd."

"At midnight only we may ride;
I come o'er land and sea:
I mounted late, but soone I go;
Aryse, and come with me."

"O William, enter first my bowre,
And give me one embrace:
The blasts athwarte the hawthorne hiss;
Awayte a little space."

" The blasts athwarte the hawthorn hiss,
 I may not harbour here ;
 My spur is sharpe, my courser pawes,
 My houre of flighte is nere.

" All as thou lyest upon thy couch,
 Aryse, and mounte behinde ;
 To-night we'le ride a thousand miles,
 The bridal bed to finde."

" How, ride to-night a thousand miles ?
 Thy love thou dost bemocke :
 Eleven is the stroke that still
 Rings on within the clocke."

" Look up ; the moon is bright, and we
 Outstride the earthlie men :
 I'll take thee to the bridal bed,
 And night shall end but then."

" And where is, then, thy house and home ;
 And where thy bridal bed ?"

" 'Tis narrow, silent, chilly, dark ;
 Far hence I rest my head."

" And is there any room for mee,
 Wherein that I may creepe ?"

" There's room enough for thee and mee,
 Wherein that we may sleepe.

" All as thou ly'st upon thy couch,
 Aryse, no longer stop ;
 The wedding guests thy coming waite,
 The chamber dore is ope."

All in her sarke, as there she lay,
 Upon his horse she sprung :
 And with her lily hands so pale,
 About her William clung.

And hurry-skurry forth they go,
 Unheeding wet or dry ;
 And horse and rider snort and blow,
 And sparkling pebbles fly.

How swift the flood, the mead, the wood,
 Aright, aleft, are gone !
 The bridges thunder as they pass,
 But earthlie sowne is none.

Tramp, tramp, across the land they speede ;
 Splash, splash, across the see ;
 " Hurrah !" the dead can ride apace ;
 Dost feare to ride with mee ?"

The moone is bryghte, and blue the nyghte ;

Dost quake the blast to stem ?

Dost shudder, mayde, to seeke the dead ?"

" No, no, but what of them ?

How glumlie sownes yon dirgye song !

Night-ravens flappe the wing,

What knell doth slowlie toll ding-dong ?

The psalmes of death who sing ?

It creeps, the swarthie funeral traine,

The corse is onn the beere ;

Like croke of todes from lonely moores,

The chaunte doth meet the eere."

" Go, bear her corse when midnight's past,

With song, and tear, and wayle ;

I've gott my wife, I take her home,

My howre of wedlocke hayl.

Lead forth, O clarke, the chaunting quire,

To swell our nuptial song :

Come, prieste, and reade the blessing soone ;

For bed, for bed we long."

They heede his calle, and husht the sowne ;

The biere was scene no more ;

And followde him ore feelde and flood

Yet faster than before.

Hallo! hallo! away they goe,

Unheeding wet or drye ;

And horse and rider snort and blowe,

And sparkling pebbles flye.

How swifte the hill, how swifte the dale,

Aright, aleft, are gone!

By hedge and tree, by thorpe and towne,

They gallop, gallop on.

Tramp, tramp, across the land they speede ;

Splash, splash, acrossse the sea ;

" Hurrah! the dead can ride apace ;

Dost fear to ride with mee ?

Look up, look up, an airy crewe -

In roundel daunces reele :

The moone is bryghte, and blue the nyghte,

Mayst dimlie see them wheele.

Come to, come to, ye gostlie crew,

Come to, and follow mee,

And daunce for us the wedding daunce,

When we in bed shall be."

And brush, brush, brush, the ghostlie crew,
 Come wheeling o'er their heads,
 All rustling like the wither'd leaves,
 That wyde the wirlwind spreads.

Halloo! halloo! away they go,
 Unheeding wet or dry;
 And horse and rider snort and blowe,
 And sparkling pebbles flye.

And all that in the moonshyne lay,
 Behynde them fled afar;
 And backwarde scudded overhead
 The sky and every star.

Tramp, tramp, across the lande they speede;
 Splash, splash, across the sea;
 "Hurrah! the dead can ride apace;
 Dost fear to ride with mee?

I weene the cock prepares to crowe;
 The sand will soone be runne:
 I snuffe the earlye morning aire;
 Downe, downe! our work is done.

The dead, the dead can ryde apace;
 Oure wed-bed here is fit:
 Oure race is ridde, our journey ore,
 Oure endlesse union knit.

And lo! an yren-grated grate
 Soon biggens to their viewe:
 He crackte his whyppe; the clanginge boltes,
 The doores asunder flewe.

They pass, and 'twas on graves they trode:
 "Tis hither we are bounde:"

And many a tombstone gostlie white
 Lay inn the moonshyne round.

And when hee from his steede alytte,
 His armour, black as cinder,
 Did moulder, moulder all awaye,
 As were it made of tinder.

His head became a naked scull;
 Nor haire nor eyne had hee,
 His body grew a skeleton,
 Whilome so blythe of blee.

And att his drye and boney heele
 No spur was left to be;
 And inn his witherde hande you might
 The scythe and hour-glasse see.

And lo! his steede did thin to smoke,
 And charnel fires outbreathe;
 And pal'd, and bleach'd, then vanish'd quite
 The mayde from undernethe.

And hollow howlings hung in aire,
 And shrekes from vaults arose.
 Then knew the mayde she might no more
 Her living eyes uncloze,

But onwarde to the judgement-seat,
 Thro' myste and moonlighte dreare,
 The gostlie crewe their flyghte persewe,
 And hollowe in her eare:—

“ Be patient; tho' thyne herte shoulde breke,
 Arrayne not Heven's decree;
 Thou nowe art of thie bodie reft,
 Thie soule forgiven bee!”

Mr. SURREBUTTER'S *Commencement in his Legal Career. From the*
 PLEADER'S GUIDE, *a Didactic Poem in two books.*

WHO'E'R has drawn a Special Plea,
 Has heard of old TOM TEWKESBURY,
 Deaf as a post, and thick as Mustard,
 He aim'd at Wit, and bawl'd and bluster'd,
 And died a *Nisi prius* Leader—
 That Genius was my SPECIAL PLEADER—
 That great man's office I attended,
 By HAWK and BUZZARD recommended,
 Attornies both of wond'rous skill
 To pluck the Goose and drive the Quill;
 Three years I sat his smoky room in,
 Pens, paper, ink, and pounce consuming.
 The fourth, when *Essoign Day* begun,
 Joyful I hail'd th' auspicious Sun,
 Bade TEWKESBURY and Clerk adieu,
 (Purification, Eighty-two)
 Of both I wash'd my hands; and though
 With nothing for my cash to shew,
 But Precedents so scrawl'd and blurr'd,
 I scarce could read one single word,
 Nor in my books of Common Place
 One feature of the law could trace,
 Save BUZZARD's nose and visage thin,
 And HAWK's deficiency of Chin,
 Which I while lolling at my ease
 Was wont to draw instead of Pleas;

My chambers I equipt complete,
 Made Friends, hir'd Books, and gave to eat;
 If haply to regale my friends on,
 My Mother sent a haunch of Ven'son,
 I most respectfully intreated
 The choicest Company to eat it,
To wit, old BUZZARD, HAWK, and CROW,
Item, TOM THORNBAC, SHARK, and Co.
 Attorneys all as keen and staunch
 As e'er devour'd a Client's haunch;
 Nor did I not their Clerks invite
 To taste said ven'son hash'd at night,
 For well I knew that hopeful Fry
 My rising merit would descry,
 The same litigious course pursue,
 And when to fish of prey they grew,
 By love of food and contest led,
 Would haunt the spot where once they fed;
 Thus having with due circumspection
 Form'd my professional connexion,
 My desk with precedents I strew'd,
 Turn'd critic, danc'd, or penn'd an ode,
 Studied the *Ton*, became a free
 And easy man of Gallantry:
 But if while capering at my Glass,
 Or toying with some fav'rite Lass,
 I heard the aforesaid HAWK a coming,
 Or BUZZARD on the stair-case humming,
 At once the fair angelic maid
 Into my Coal-hole I convey'd,
 At once with serious look profound,
 Mine eyes commercing with the ground,
 I seem'd like one estrang'd to sleep,
 "And fix'd in cogitation deep,"
 Sat motionless, and in my hand I
 Held my *Doctrina Placitandi*,
 And though I never read a page in't,
 Thanks to that shrewd well-judging Agent,
 My Sister's husband, Mr. SHARK,
 Soon got six Pupils and a Clerk,
 Five Pupils were my stint, the other
 I took to compliment his Mother;
 All round me came with ready money
 Like Hybla bees surcharg'd with honey,
 Which, as they press'd it so genteelly,
 And begg'd me to accept so freely,
 Seem'd all so fond of SPECIAL PLEADING,
 And all so certain of succeeding,

I, who am always all compliance,
 As well to Pupils as to Clients,
 Took as genteelly as they paid it,
 And freely to my purse convey'd it;
 That I might practically shew,
 And they in *special* manner know
 Ere they began their Pleas to draw,
 What an ASSUMPSIT meant in Law—
To wit, for divers weighty sums
 Of *lawful cash* at Pleader's Rooms,
 By me said Pleader, as was prudent,
Had and received to use of Student;
 In short, I acted as became me,
 And where's the Pleader that can blame me?
 Not one of all the trade, that I know,
 E'er fails to take the Ready-rino,
 Which haply, if this purse receive,
 No human art can e'er retrieve.
 Sooner—when Gallia's credit's flown
 To some *Utopian* world unknown,
 ASTREA shall on earth remain
 The last of the celestial train,
 To tender *Assignats* at *Par*
 Triumphant in the *Champ de Mar'*,
 And when their deep-laid projects fail,
 And *Guillotines* no more avail,
 Her baffled Statesmen shall excise
 Some new found region in the skies,
 And tow'ring in an air balloon,
 Pluck *Requisitions* from the Moon;—
 Sooner the daring wights who go
 Down to the watery world below,
 Shall force old Neptune to disgorge
 And vomit up the ROYAL GEORGE;—
 Than He who hath his bargain made
 And legally his cash convey'd,
 Shall e'er his pocket reimburse,
 By diving in a Lawyer's Purse.

Address to Forgetfulness. From MERRY'S Pains of Memory. A Poem.

THOU too, forgetfulness! whose opiate charm
 Can hush the passions, and their rage disarm;
 Approach, O kindly grant thy suppliant, aid!
 Wrap him in sweet oblivion's placid shade;
 Veil the gay, transitory scenes that fled
 Like gleamy sunshine o'er the mountain's head;
 Sink in the dark abyss of endless night

The artificial phantoms of delight ;
 Nor let his early ign'rance, and mistake,
 The sober bliss of age and reason shake.
 Hide from his heart each suff'ring country's woe,
 And o'er its chains thy cov'ring mantle throw ;
 Hide yon deluded agonizing train,
 Who bleed by thousands on the purple plain ;
 Their piercing cries, their dying groans controul,
 And lock up all the feelings of his soul.
 Shield him from slander's persecuting race,
 Who seek to wound, and labour to disgrace,
 Who view the humblest worth with jealous eye,
 The viper brood of black malignity !
 So shall, perchance, content with thee return,
 'Mongst vernal sweets to raise his wintry urn ;
 To his retreat tranquillity repair,
 " And freedom dwell a pensive hermit there."
 O ! in retirement may he rest at last,
 The present, calm, forgotten all the past ;
 Beside the babbling brook at twilight's close,
 Taste the soft solace of the mind's repose ;
 List the lorn nightingale's impressive lay,
 That soothes the evening of retiring May,
 When the young moon her paly flag displays,
 And o'er the stream the panting zephyr strays ;
 No heedless hours recall'd, no festive roar,
 That once deluded, but can please no more ;
 No wild emotions bid his comforts cease,
 Or from his cottage drive the angel peace ;
 Nor vain ambition tempt his thoughts anew,
 But still preserve the friendship of the few ;
 Still, still preserve the fond domestic smile,
 Of her, whose voice can ev'ry care beguile ;
 With meek philosophy his hours employ,
 Or thrilling Poetry's delicious joy ;
 And from the faded promises of youth,
 Retain the love of liberty and truth.

SONNET.

Sacred to the Memory of Penelope. By Sir Brook Boothby, Bart.

THOUGH since my date of woe long years have roll'd,
 Darkness ne'er draws the curtains round my head,
 Nor orient morning opes her eyes of gold,
 But grief pursues my walks, or haunts my bed.
 Visions, in sleep, their tristful shapes unfold ;
 Show Misery living, Hope and Pleasure dead,

Pale shrouded beauty, kisses faint and cold,
 Or murmur words the parting angels said.
 Thoughts, when awake, their wonted trains renew ;
 With all their stings my tortured breast assail ;
 Her faded form now glides before my view ;
 Her plaintive voice now floats upon the gale.
 The hope how vain, that time should bring relief !
 Time does but deeper root a real grief.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PERSON AND HABITATION OF DESPAIR.

From Southey's Joan of Arc. An Epic Poem.

AN aged man
 Sat near, seated on what in long-past days
 Had been some sculptured monument, now full'n
 And half-obscur'd by moss, and gathered heaps
 Of withered yew-leaves and earth-mouldering bones :
 And shining in the ray was seen the track
 Of slimy snail obscene. Composed his look,
 His eye was large and rayless, and fix'd full
 Upon the Maid ; the blue flames on his face
 Stream'd a drear light ; his face was of the hue
 Of death : his limbs were mantled in a shroud.

Then with a deep heart-terrifying voice,
 Exclaim'd the spectre, " Welcome to these realms,
 These regions of DESPAIR ! O thou whose steps
 By GRIEF conducted to these sad abodes
 Have pierc'd ; welcome, welcome to this gloom
 Eternal ; to this everlasting night ;
 Where never morning darts the enlivening ray,
 Where never shines the sun, but all is dark,
 Dark as the bosom of their gloomy king !"

So saying he arose, and by the hand
 The virgin seized with such a death-cold touch
 As froze her very heart ; and drawing on,
 Her, to the abbey's inner ruin, led
 Resistless : through the broken roof the moon
 Glimmer'd a scatter'd ray : the ivy twin'd
 Round the dismantled column : imaged forms
 Of saints and warlike chiefs, moss-canker'd now
 And mutilate, lay strewn upon the ground ;
 With crumbled fragments crucifixes fallen,
 And rusted trophies ; and amid the heap
 Some monument's defaced legend spake
 All human glory vain.

The loud blast roar'd
 Amid the pile ; and from the tower the owl

Scream'd

Scream'd as the tempest shook her secret nest.
 He, silent, led her on, and often paus'd
 And pointed, that her eye might contemplate
 At leisure the drear scene.

THE SORROWS OF SUNDAY; AN ELEGY.

*From the Royal Tour, or Weymouth Amusement. By Peter Pindar, Esq.
 The intended Annihilation of Sunday's harmless Amusement, by three or
 four most outrageously zealous Members of Parliament, gave birth to the
 following Elegy. The Hint is borrowed from a small composition intituled
 "The Tears of Old May-Day."*

MILD was the breath of morn: the blushing sky
 Receiv'd the lusty youth with golden hair,
 Rejoicing in his race, to run, to fly;
 As Scripture says, "a bridegroom débonnaire;"

When, full of tears, the decent Sunday rose,
 And wonder'd sad on Kensington's fair green:
 Down in a chair she sunk with all her woes,
 And touch'd with tenderest sympathy, the scene.

"O hard Sir Richard Hill!" exclaim'd the dame;
 "Sir William Dolben, cruel man!" quoth she;
 "And Mr. Wilberforce, for shame! for shame!
 To spoil my little weekly jubilee.

"Ah! pleas'd am I the humble folk to view;
 Enjoying harmless talk, and sport, and jest;
 Amid these walks their footsteps to pursue,
 To see them smiling, and so trimly drest.

"Since the Lord rested on the seventh day,
 Which sheweth that Omnipotence was tir'd;
 As Moses, in old times, was pleas'd to say,
 (And Moses was most certainly inspir'd;)

"Why should not man too rest?" "No!" cries Sir Dick;
 'At brother Rowland's let him knock his knees,
 Pray, sweat, and groan; of this damn'd world be sick;
 Of mangy morals crack the lice and fleas;

'Break Sin's vile bones—pull Satan by the nose;
 Scrub, with the soap and sand of Grace, the soul:
 Give unbelief, the wretch, a rat's-bane dose;
 And stop, with malkins of rich Faith, each hole.

'Spit in foul Drunkenness's beastly mug;
 Kill, with sharp prayers, each offspring of the Devil;
 Give to black blasphemy a Cornish hug;
 And box, with bats of Grace, the ears of Evil.'

"Susan, the constant slave to mop and broom;
 And Marian, to the spit's and kettle's art;

Ah!

- Ah! shall not they desert the house's gloom,
 Breathe the fresh air one moment, and look smart?
- "Meet, in some rural scene, a Colin's smile;
 With Love's soft stories wing the happy hour;
 Drop in his dear embraces from the stile,
 And share his kisses in the shady bowe?"
- "No;" roars the Huntingtonian Priest—"No, no!
 Lovers are liars—Love's a damned trade;
 Kissing is damnable—to hell they go—
 The Devil's claws await the rogue and jade.
- "My chapel is the purifying place;
 There let them go to wash their sins away;
 There, from my hand, to pick the crumbs of grace,
 Smite their poor sinful craws, and howl, and pray."
- "How hard, the lab'ring hands no rest should know,
 But toil six days beneath the galling load,
 Poor souls! and then the seventh be forc'd to go,
 And box the Devil in Blackfriars Road.
- "Heaven glorieth not in phizzes of dismay;
 Heaven takes no pleasure in perpetual sobbing;
 Consenting freely, that my fav'rite day
 May have her tea and rolls, and hob and nobbing.
- "In sooth, the Lord is pleas'd when man is blest;
 And wisheth not his blisses to blockade;
 'Gainst tea and coffee ne'er did he protest,
 Enjoy'd, in gardens, by the men of trade.
- "Sweet is White Conduit-house, and Bagnigge-wells,
 Chalk-farm, where Primrose-hill puts forth her smile;
 And Don Saltero's, where much wonder dwells,
 Expelling work-day's matrimonial bile.
- "Life with the down of cygnets may be clad!
 Ah! why not make her path a pleasant track;
 "No!" cries the Pulpit Terrorist, how mad!
 "No! let the world be one huge hedge-hog's back."
- "Vice (did his rigid mummery succeed)
 Too soon would smile amid the sacred walls;
 Venus, in tabernacles, make her bed;
 And Paphos find herself amid St. Paul's.
- "Avaunt; Hypocrisy, the solemn jade,
 Who, wilful, into ditches leads the blind:
 Makes of her canting art, a thriving trade,
 And fattens on the follies of mankind!
- "Look at Archbishops, Bishops, on a Fast,
 Denying hackney-coachmen e'en their beer;

Yet,

Yet, lo! their butchers knock, with flesh repast;
 With turbot, lo! the fishmongers appear!
 "The pot-boys howl with porter for their bellies;
 The bakers knock, with custards, tarts, and pies;
 Confectioners, with rare ice-creams and jellies;
 The fruiterer, lo, with richest pine supplies!
 "In secret, thus, they eat, and booze, and nod;
 In public call indulgence a damn'd evil;
 Order their simple flocks to walk with God,
 And ride themselves an airing with the Devil."

THE MAN OF METHOD.

From the Pursuits of Literature. A Satirical Poem.

THERE liv'd a Scholar late (*a*) of London fame,
 A Doctor (*b*), and Morosophos (*c*) his name:
 From all the pains of study freed long since,
 Far from a Newton, and not quite a (*d*) Vince;
 In metaphysics bold would spread his sails,
 And with Monboddos still believ'd (*e*) in tails;
 At anatomic lore would sometimes peep
 And call Earle (*f*) useful, Abernethy (*g*) deep;

With

(*a*) When I am very particular in the description of the character, I abstain from giving the least hint of a real name. "Quis rapiet ad se quod erit commune omnium?" or in Le Sage's inimitable language, "qui se fera connoître mal à propos?" I only give this as *A Character*, and say no more.

(*b*) The word and title of "Doctor" is miserably abused. Erasmus long ago, in an Epistle from Louvain, in 1590 to the celebrated Cardinal Campeggio, observed, with some indignation, "*Unde DOCTORIS titulo gloriantur, nisi ut doceant?*" Erasmus Epist. Ed. Lond. Fol. 662. I wish this were written in large characters over the door of the Theatre at Oxford, and the Senate-House at Cambridge.

(*c*) Morosophos, i. e. *Stultus sapiens*———But more presently of Dr. MOROSOPHOS, *the Man of Method*.

(*d*) A learned and useful Professor of Natural Experimental Philosophy at Cambridge. See his Works.

(*e*) All the learned world know *how* Lord Monboddos believed, and still believes, that men had once tails depending from the *gable end* of their bodies, supposing them to go upon all fours.

(*f*) James Earle, Esq. Senior Surgeon at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and Editor of the celebrated PERCIVAL POTT's Works. I have been informed that the notes which Mr. Earle has added are valuable; nor would I pass in silence the treatises he has given to the world in his own name, the result of extensive practice and observation.

(*g*) A young Surgeon of an accurate and philosophical spirit of investigation, from whose genius and labours I am led to think, that the medical art and natural science will hereafter receive great accessions.

(*b*) The

With Symonds, and with Grafton's Duke (*b*) would vie,
 A Dilettante in Divinity;
 A special clerk for *method* and for plan,
 Through science by the alphabet he ran.
 Prudent, as Newton, in domestic care,
 With no Scriblerian (*i*) scruples for his Heir;
 He took, not e'en in thought inclin'd to rove,
 A wife for regularity, not love.
 A little architect in all his schemes,
 Some say, he had a *method* in his dreams.
 Three sessions in the House he daily toil'd,
 In every plan, in every *motion* foil'd;
 Till like grave Nicholls in pet he swore,
 "I'll *move myself*; the House I move no more;"
 Then penn'd to Pitt his monitory strain, (*k*)
 As Murray, clear, and as fond Randolph, plain.

Resolv'd on ease, his travels were at home,
 And Lum'sden (*l*) taught him to converse of Rome:
 The arch Palladian and the Parian stone
 He lov'd, the pride of Chambers and of Soane. (*m*)
 But late, by Carter's (*n*) *holy* pencil won,
 Wyatt and Gothick *heresy* would shun;

And

(*b*) The Duke of Grafton the Chancellor, and John Symonds, L.L.D. Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge, have both attracted the public attention by their various *Hints and Observations* on subjects of Scripture.

(*i*) See the *Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus*, chap. 1. *How* Dr. Cornelius observed all the rules given by the ancients to those who desire to generate children of wit, which Dr. Morosoph's magnanimously disregarded. He neither cared for the South or the West Wind.

(*k*) The three great, yet familiar *Letter-writers of the age*, are, John Nicholls, Esq. M. P. for Tregony, 1797. Sir James Murray (Pulteney) Secretary to the Duke of York in Germany, and the Rev. Dr. Randolph.—See "A Pair of Epistles in verse, with notes: the first to the Rev. Dr. Randolph, &c." second edition, 1796. I recommend them to the general entertainment, and perhaps instruction of the public.

(*l*) That ingenious, accomplished, and very learned gentleman, ANDREW LUMSDEN, Esq. F.A.S. Edinb. has since that time taught us all, in the most agreeable scholar-like manner. See his "Remarks on the Antiquities of Rome and its Environs, being a classical and topographical Survey of the Ruins of that celebrated City." 4to. 1797. It is a pleasing and most judicious performance of a Gentleman who appears to have enjoyed the united advantages of foreign travel, studious leisure, and polite company.

(*m*) Two celebrated architects. The professional knowledge of Sir W. Chambers, Knight, (of most *heroic* memory) was profound and substantial. Mr. Soane has more fancy and airiness of design, and is certainly a man of information and ingenuity. But he indulges himself a little too much in extravaganzas and *rebims*. See the Bank.

(*n*) I am obliged for this information to a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries.—
 Mr.

And oft in thought, by antique pavements laid,
With Lysons guide the military spade ;
And once, for purer air o'er *rural* ground,
With little Daniel went his twelve miles round.

On Sundays at Sir Joseph's (*o*) never fail'd,
So regular, you might have thought him bail'd.
With Jones a linguist, Sanscrit, Greek, or Manks,
And could with Watson play some chemick pranks ;
Yet far too wise to roast a diamond (*p*) whole,
And for a treasure find at last a coal.
Would sometimes treat, his wines of chosen sort ;
Will. Pitt, with *honest* Harry, lov'd his (*q*) port ;
In Scrip : not Hemings' (*r*) self more vers'd than he,
The Solomons, or Nathan, or E. P. ;

The

Mr. Carter is a draftsman of the very first merit, but his *catholic* zeal betrayed him, assisted by some *Morosophists* of the Society, to attack THE FIRST GENIUS IN ARCHITECTURE, in this kingdom, MR. WYATT. *Longa est injuria: longe ambages.* It is difficult to prove that the Society of Antiquaries was instituted solely to preserve the purity of Gothic Architecture, or to listen to the tiresome cabals of busy Baronets, and meddling Romish priests.—But to us, under the auspices of Wyatt,

O Fortunati quorum pia tellus resurgunt !
Æneas ait, et fastigia suspicit urbis.

(*o*) SIR JOSEPH BANKS, Bart. Knight of the Bath, President of the Royal Society, Privy Councillor, &c. &c. has instituted a meeting at his house in Soho-Square, every Sunday evening, at which the Literati, and men of rank and consequence, and men of no consequence at all, find equally a polite and pleasing reception from that justly distinguished gentleman. Sir JOSEPH BANKS is fitted for his station in the learned world, not more from his attainments and the liberality of his mind, than by his particular and *unremitted* attention to the interest and advancement of natural knowledge, and his *generous* patronage of the Arts.

FORTUNE MAJORIS HONOS, ERECTUS ET ACER !

(*p*) The ingenious Mr. Tennant has shewn, in a paper read at the Royal Society, that he can reduce a *Diamond* by evaporation to *Charcoal*. I have heard, that Mrs. Hastings, and other great possessors of Diamonds, have a kind of *Tennant-phobia*; and are shy of this gentleman. A poor Poet, like myself, who has neither diamonds nor any thing precious belonging to him, can only remind Mr. Tennant and the Royal Society of the old proverb, "*Carbonem pro Thesuro.*"

(*q*) I can give no better character of his old Port. We all know on such occasions, "*Bacchum in remotis rupibus*" is the song of *honest* Harry Dundas, in all the wildness of *highland* Dithyrambick; while Mr. PITT, on the battlements of Walmer, in his own and Virgil's sober majesty, "*OCEANO LIBEMUS*, ait."

(*r*) Dr. Morosophos now and then dabbled in the funds. The gentlemen of the *Stock Exchange*, or *The College*, (as it is termed in City-wit) are much indebted to that eminent calculator of *different* payments, Mr. Hennings. Boyd, Benfield, Solomon Solomon, Nathan Solomon, E. P. Solomon, Thelluson, Old Daniel Giles, Mr. Battie, Lord Lansdowne, Dr. Moore, Little Count Rupee, and all those who *look an eighth better or worse* for the opening, know that I am right, in pronouncing the panegyric of this learned classic on the *Stock-Exchange*.

"Prens

The Bengal Squad he fed, though wondrous nice ;
 Baring his curry took, and Scott his rice.
 Loyal and open, and liberal of cash,
 (Not your damn'd dollars (*s*) or Bank-paper trash)
 Nor tax, nor loan he feared, at table free,
 And drank the Minister with three times three ;
 Till with a pun old Caleb (*t*) crown'd the whole,
 " Consols, and not philosophy; *console*."

He talked, like Indian (*u*) Rennell rather long ;
 And would at time regale you with a song :
 But seldom that ; in music though a prig,
 The little Doctor swell'd, and look'd so big :
 Nay to Greek (*x*) notes would trill a Grecian ode,
 In diatonic kind and Lydian mode,
 And then with Burney, as his fit grew warmer,
 Convers'd of Stentor, the great (*y*) *throat-performer* ;
 Or with Raimondi's fire, and warlike art,
 Play'd some French General's *obligato* part.
 Banks gave him morning lessons how to dress,
 And Morgan (*z*) whisper'd courage and finesse.

" Prenez moi là bon parti ; laissez la tous les livres.

" Exerce-toi, mon fils, dans ces hautes sciences ;

" Prenez au lieu d'un Platon, *ce Guidon des Finances*."

Avis de Boileau, Sat. 8.

(*s*) This verse was evidently written after the 26th of Feb. 1797, after the order of Council was sent to the Bank of England, when the whole nation was made to pass *through the pillars of Hercules* ; or, in plain English, to take dollars for current silver.

(*t*) Caleb Whitefoord, Esq.—N. B. If you do but touch him, puns stand as ready as quills upon the *fretful porcupine*. I wish him health and spirits for many a year, in a green old age ; and then with the Epinicion of Horace, *Vita cedat, uti conviva satur*.

(*u*) Major James Rennell, the great Geographer of India, ὁ πρῶτος. A gentleman to whose accuracy and extent of knowledge this country is considerably indebted. But this has nothing to do with his *conversation*.

(*x*) Dr. Morosophos, the man of method, was rather troublesome to his friends on this subject of Greek Music. He wished to pass for another Meibomius. But there is still reason to think that he never saw the three hymns to Calliope, Apollo, and Nemesis, printed with the Greek musical notes to which they were sung, at the end of the Oxford edition of Aratus in 1672, by Dr. Fell, or the more accurate copy of these hymns in Mr. Burette's Memoire on this subject. *Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, tom. 5.—Dr. Morosophos knew but little of the system of the Lydian Mode in the diatonic genus. There is also reason to think that he knew as little as Bishop Horsley, of the Προσλαμβανόμενος, or the Ὑπατη ὑπερων, or the Παρυπατη μετων, &c.

(*y*) " Stentor is celebrated by Homer as the most illustrious *throat performer* of antiquity." Burney's Hist. of Music, 4to. vol. i. p. 340.

(*z*) Maurice Morgan, Esq. an ingenious writer, author of the pleasant *Extravaganza* on the *Courage* of Sir John Falstaff. Mr. Morgan is known to his friends by the name of *Sir John*. In his politics, he is of the *Lansdown School*.

A Poet

A Poet too he was, not very bright,
 Something between a Jerningham and (a) Knight :
 He dealt in tragic, epic, critic lore,
 With half, whole plans, and episodes in store,
Method was all; yet would he seldom write,
 He fear'd the ground-plot wrong, or—out of sight.
 At last the Doctor gave his friends a work!
 (Not verse, like Cowper, or high prose, like Burke),
 CHAMBERS ABRIDG'd! in sooth 'twas all he read,
 From fruitful A to unproductive Zed.

RICHARDSON, ROUSSEAU, AND GOETHR.

From Thompson's Paradise of Taste.

WHAT other names some other tombs might show,
 (Such was our haste) we did not stop to see;
 But moving onward, gain'd the vault of woe,
 Where mournful passion reach'd its last degree.
 For there eternal silence reign'd profound,
 And all the naked wall, with horror hung;
 And there one dying lamp o'er all around,
 With quiv'ring flame, the light of darkness flung.
 Full in the midst a sable coffin stood,
 On which reclin'd the priest of virtue lay,
 Of all that e'er essay'd the melting mood,
 Who rul'd the heart with most despotic sway.
 'Twas he who told so well the the touching tale,
 Of proud Bologna's melancholy maid,
 And taught the world Clarissa's fate to wail,
 By tyrant force and hellish fraud betray'd.
 Two pensive pupils at his feet were laid,
 Who drew sweet pictures of domestic life;
 Whose art in Virtue's tend'rest robe arrayed,
 The forms of Wolmar's and of Albert's wife.
 The friend of Julia, from her soul refin'd,
 Obtain'd a balm to soothe his am'rous woe;
 While here no rest could Werter's spirit find,
 But rush'd indignant to the shades below.

(a) Knight and Jerningham.

"Soyez plutôt maçon, si c'est votre talent,
 Ouvrier estimé dans un art nécessaire,
 Qu'écritain du commun, d'un poste vulgaire."

Avis de Boileau, A. P. chap. 4.

ACCOUNT of BOOKS for 1796.

Zoonomia; or the Lævis of Organic Life. Vol. II. 4to. By Erasmus Darwin, M. D. F. R. S. 1796.

HAVING in our volume for 1794, given an account of the first volume of this ingenious work, it might perhaps be sufficient for us barely to announce to our readers the appearance of the second volume of a work, the former part of which has already excited the attention of most of those who pursue the study of medicine as a branch of science, and interest themselves in all its ingenious novelties; and indeed, we mean to do little more than give such a general idea of its contents as may serve to afford information of what may be expected from it. A full analysis of the work would be dry; a minute criticism would occupy too many of our pages with a topic addressed only to professional men; and partial criticisms would be unfair and impertinent, where the whole is concatenated by a system, only to be properly comprehended in an universal view.

The volume consists of part 2d and 3d of the *Zoonomia*. The 2d contains 'a catalogue of diseases distributed according to their proximate causes, with their subse-

quent orders, genera, and species, and with their methods of cure.' The 3d comprises 'the article of the *Materia Medica*, with an account of the operation of medicine.' Thus the volume is properly a practical system of physic, founded on the doctrines of the animal economy laid down in the preceding volume. The classification of diseases follows that of the faculties or powers of the sensorium, established in the first part of *Zoonomia*. As all diseases are affirmed to originate in the exuberance, deficiency, or retrograde action of these faculties; and to consist in disordered motions of the fibres, the proximate effect of the exertions of these disordered faculties; four natural classes of diseases are derived from the four powers of the sensorium; which the author denominates those of irritation, of sensation, of volition, and of association. The orders under each of these classes are formed from the circumstances of increase, diminution, and retrogradation of the actions; the genera are derived from the proximate effect; the species from the locality of the disease in the system.

It is not to be expected that a classification, founded on such peculiar and abstract notions, should coincide

coincide with those of former pathologists and nosologists. The reader must therefore prepare himself for a considerable portion of surprize, at the view of assemblages of which he has had no previous idea: and at the appearance of many things in the catalogue of diseases, which he had reckoned mere symptoms, and even some that are natural actions, and reducible to no received definition of disease. It would be easy for us to anticipate his surprize by the production of examples of this sort: but this would be acting unfairly towards the truly ingenious author; who could doubtless shew that a regular pursuit of his system led to analogies and associations, which no other train of reasoning could discover.

Meantime, it is obvious that an arrangement of diseases from their proximate causes is a business so thoroughly scientific, that it must suppose a degree of perfection in our knowledge of the animal body in its healthy and diseased state, which elevates medicine from its humble rank of an experimental art, to that of a true and full formed science. This state, indeed, is that in which every friend to its progress would wish to view it, and that which every man of genius will attempt to acquire for it:—but the misfortune is, that such attempts, if premature or inadequate, interfere with the humbler efforts of practical utility, and mislead by false views as much as they instruct by true conceptions. It is not easy to imagine an arrangement of diseases less applicable to common purposes than that in the present work; nor is it probable that even those who receive, and comprehend, the au-

thor's system of medical philosophy, will always agree with him in his pathological conclusions.

We by no means intend, however, to give a hasty decision on a performance which is the result of much thought and labour, and is certainly replete with ingenuity. Though we do not think that it will make an era in medicine, yet it seems calculated to throw new light on many subjects, and considerably to improve the principles of medical reasoning. It likewise contains much curious and entertaining facts, and many valuable practical hints and directions. With a marked propensity to try new expedients, in cases that call for extraordinary exertions, the author displays a thorough acquaintance with all the old rules; nor does he, more than the late Dr. Cullen, seem over-solicitous to make his practice square with his theory, but freely allows its due preference to the former. Many suggestions are given in the modest form of queries; and though quickness of imagination may be the most prominent character, yet it is not emancipated from the rule of sober judgment. As a supplement to the fourth class of diseases of association, he gives a sympathetic theory of fever, derived from the most intricate and recondite speculations belonging to the Zoonomia, which requires not less attention in the reader to follow, than ingenuity in the writer to have conceived. The distribution of the *Materia Medica* into seven classes possesses as much novelty as the rest of the work; it turns entirely on the supposed power of the several articles in influencing the different motions of the system.

Principles of Legislation. By Charles Michell, of Forcett, Esq. 8vo. 1796.

AS the most useful publications are not always the most entertaining, those which are calculated chiefly for the instruction of mankind are rarely perused, except by the small circle of readers who are endowed with a clear understanding and sound judgment; and who, divested of passion or party spirit, seek only for the improvement of the mind, or the means of meliorating the condition of the bulk of their fellow-creatures. The great mass of men in every nation, though they feel oppression with as much sensibility as the most enlightened, are rendered incapable, through the want of education, of finding out a remedy of precisely that degree of strength which is sufficient to remove the evils of which they complain, without producing in its place any other grievance of equal or greater magnitude. Those who feel pain are unquestionably best able to tell in what part they are affected, and how acute are their sufferings: but it does not follow that they best know how to get rid of it without destroying themselves. The case is the same in the political as in the natural body. The poor can tell, for instance, when the scarcity of provisions raises the price of them, and when the usual sum with which they go to market will not produce the usual supply of food; but we may venture to say that they are not the best judges of the causes of scarcity, nor of the means either of guarding against or removing it. Some may

think that it arises from too small a division of farms, others from too great a consolidation of them; some from the policy of allowing an exportation of grain, others from want of a bounty on the importation; and some from a radical defect in the organization of government, while others ascribe it to some particular measure pursued by administration. These various causes having numbers of partizans, each proposing different remedies, and having nothing in common between them but the certain experience of the scarcity, the remedies, if left entirely to those who suffer, must be as various as the parties proposing them; and consequently, the evil, instead of being destroyed, would necessarily be aggravated.

Fully convinced of the calamities that may be brought on society by a departure from sound principles of legislation, or by the adoption of such as are suggested by the uninformed, the prejudiced, or the designing, the author of the work before us makes an appeal to the sound sense of his countrymen, and calls them to the serious consideration of the grounds on which political constitutions ought to be raised and maintained. Those who look into books only for amusement; those who are incapable of seeing objects with calm philosophic temper and clearness, or whose judgments are chained down in adamantine fetters by their passions or by party connections; we advise to throw aside, without reading, the volume that we are going to review: but let it be seriously perused by those who are in search only of truth, and who are ready to embrace it under
what.

whatever form it may present itself. Let such persons open it, in the full certainty of meeting with principles, we will not say in all cases irrefragably just, but in general irresistibly true. They may be sure of finding calm discussion, and a fair appeal to their understanding. They will find the author the steady friend of rational liberty, and the determined enemy of despotism, whether arising from the cold blooded tyranny of an individual, or from general confusion and anarchy. They will see that Mr. M. combats many opinions which are at present extremely popular, not because they are entertained by a great part of the people, but because they are calculated, in his opinion, to injure the public, and to endanger the throne of liberty. There are many points in it on which we differ widely from Mr. M.: but what work of equal extent, particularly in the present ferment, could be produced, that must command the acquiescence of mankind in all its doctrines? His conceptions, indeed, are generally just, and his arguments powerful; his knowledge of human nature is profound; his acquaintance with the history of ancient and modern times is extensive and correct; and his powers of reasoning are to be surpassed only by his moderation and temper:—which failed but once (we believe) in the course of 513 pages, and that was when speaking of Thomas Paine.

Having thus characterized the publication before us, we will now proceed to give a summary of its contents. It is divided into two books, the former subdivided into eight, the latter into ten chapters.

The author sets out with a quotation from Mr. Burke's celebrated *Reflections on the French revolution*, "that circumstances alone render every political principle beneficial or obnoxious;" and he strongly controverts the truth of it, or at least shews that it might lead to error from the ambiguity of the term "political." Politics, he observes, is a word that serves to express both the whole science of government, and the art and practice of administering public affairs. It ought, therefore, to be ascertained in which sense it is used. Legislation he employs as a more proper, because an unambiguous term, for expressing the former. He says it may be resolved into principles that are invariable; and that the mode only of applying them depends on the circumstances of the moment. The doctrine of expediency, he admits, may be useful to a statesman actually engaged in the government of a particular nation: but even with him the author would have it operate only negatively.

'Circumstances (says he) may render pernicious a measure abstractedly good, but no circumstances can render permanently beneficial a measure abstractedly bad. A virtuous and intelligent statesman is influenced by expediency no further, than if occasion requires to desist from action. Unlike the mariner who is ignorant of navigation, and who therefore, for the sake of immediate ease and safety, from whatever point the wind may blow, steers his ship right before it: he proceeds in spite of adverse winds, by an oblique course, to his destined port, or at the worst casts anchor. For from that ex-

temity to which the seaman is sometimes exposed, of being forced to scud before the storm, the statesman is or ought to be exempt. The elements which he has to manage, the passions, habits, and prejudices of the people, are in some degree under his controul or guidance; and if ever a political tempest arises, it must be ascribed to some gross violation, immediate or remote, of the principles of legislation*.

Mr. Michell blames those who, at the present moment, see in our political constitution nothing but perfection, while its assailants are pointing out numberless defects in it. General panegyric opposed to general censure does not, in his mind, convey any idea of ability in the defenders of our own frame of government; and nothing honourable to it can be derived from the arguments of those who defend it only by pointing out greater defects in the French constitution;

He then proceeds to examine the principles that the French have laid down as fundamental maxims of legislation, which he reduces to two:

Man is born equal;

And he continues equal in his rights;

So far is he from admitting them to be true, that he contends most strenuously that, as far as they are applicable to legislation, they strongly enforce the necessity of framing a constitution on principles directly opposite. Nature, he allows, shews no partiality to any rank in the distribution of her fa-

vours either mental or corporeal; a difference, however, and a great one, exists between individuals of all ranks, and it is produced not by nature but by education, occupation, and exertion. The two former, he observes, separates by an immense space the savage from the civilized man, and the clown from the gentleman; the latter produces a distinction not much less between one gentleman and another. He contends that it is only in an age of general corruption and apathy respecting the duties of citizens, that one man so far excels his contemporaries; and that, as the depression of one wave is necessary to raise another to the appearance of a mountainous height, he is indebted for his super-eminence as much to their indolence as to his own exertions.

Integrity distinguishes one able man from another, as much as ability distinguishes an enlightened from an ignorant man. Men, therefore, he concludes, ought not to be placed on a footing of equality in the service of the public; the man of sense ought to be preferred to the blockhead; and the man of sense and honesty united to him who possesses the former without the latter. 'The chief care of a legislator should be to insure the integrity of those who must be trusted; and if that be inflexible, we may be satisfied that their abilities will prove equal to their duties.'

In his II^d chapter, he pursues the consideration of the equality of rights; and he maintains that, in

* * Bacon speaks with great contempt of this system of expediency. *Essays on Empire.*

the acceptation of the term by the French, it is either inapplicable to or subversive of their system of legislation. Equal protection from the power of government, and from the injustice of individuals, he admits to be the right of every man in society; and on this point he makes this judicious remark:

‘Civil rights may be as sacred in an absolute monarchy, as in a pure democracy: in neither, is there much security that they will continue so. But the degree of authority which the sovereignty assumes over its subjects is by no means a criterion of liberty, for personal independence is often most restrained in constitutions that are esteemed most free.’

The inequality of rights exemplified in the exemptions from certain burthens of the state enjoyed by privileged orders, he traces up to times of conquest, when the conquerors assumed to themselves privileges which they did not allow to the conquered.

‘Latterly indeed (says he), all peasants, whether descended from the conquerors or their subjects, became vassals; but it was because, in those times of confusion and violence, the poor Frank, unable to defend himself, voluntarily surrendered his liberty, in order to obtain protection under the wing of a powerful chieftain. And although all the states of Europe may shew privileged orders, exempt from the burthens which bear on the community, this is the remnant of what conquerors formerly arrogated to themselves, and what no one pretends to justify.’

It is not necessary, he observes, to annihilate a constitution and disorganize a nation, in order to force privileged bodies to make a sacri-

fice of such exemptions; in France, at least, it certainly was not necessary, because, whether from virtue or necessity, the French nobles were ready to surrender them without a struggle. The exemptions and the rank which the nobility enjoyed he considers in a very different point of view; the former, he says, ought to be abolished, as originating from the arrogance of conquerors oppressing or guarding against a vanquished nation; the latter ought to be retained as derived from sound principles of legislation, tending to the general benefit of the community. The views of the French, when contending for the equality of rights, he insists, are *political powers*, the *public offices* of governments; and the filling of them, he maintains, ought not to be called a *right*, but a *duty*. In this sense he shews that, instead of saying every man has a right to aspire to such offices, we ought to say that the state has a right to call on every man, according to his capacity, to take his share in the service of his country. This leads him to considerations respecting the army and navy. When citizens wish to serve only in lucrative or easy stations, either the public service must stand still, or government must have recourse to measures the most harsh and apparently incompatible with liberty, in order to keep up a public force by both land and sea for the general defence.

From the whole he deduces the following inferences:

‘The various offices of state are duties created by society, not rights brought by men into society, and possessed antecedent to it. The object therefore of the social union could not be as the French legislators,

tors declare, "The maintaining our natural, civil, and political rights*;" for this last right (if they will use the term) has existence only subsequent to, and in consequence of, the formation of society. The natural rights of men, in which it is allowed all continue equal, are not infringed, although the offices of state are restricted to particular classes. And their civil rights may be equally respected or violated in any form of government whatever; if the latter should happen, no more is proved, than that the governors neglect or betray their duty.

In chapter III. book I. Mr. M. examines another favourite position of the French revolutionists, viz. "the will of the majority is binding on the whole;" and he controverts it, if not with complete success, at least with great ingenuity. His first objection is founded on the difficulty, if not impossibility, of ascertaining what is the unbiassed will of the majority of a nation as to any particular question:

"In cities (says he), a very small portion of the inhabitants may, with the advantages of union and preconcerted operations, dictate with uncontrollable authority to the whole. The less sanguinary Romans (among whom this principle prevailed) were content to surround the forum, and pre-occupy all the avenues to the hustings with an armed mob, by means of which the most alert faction passed what laws it pleased†. The ferocious Parisians, by a liberal exercise of the lanthorn and pike, awe

their opponents into silence, and compel them to adopt the same opinions. As to the will of a great nation, we need only refer to the arguments so often used by our opposition, to prove the futility of addresses, as evincive of the general opinion. The same arguments may be applied with equal force to petitions or resolutions of any kind, on any particular question, from corporate bodies or districts. It is more difficult indeed for a faction to establish a tyrannic sway over an extensive country, than over a single city; but that sway, if once established, is, from the obstacles which the discontented meet in their endeavours to form a union, far more secure. The inferior but united force of Paris itself, awed into acquiescence by a faction, has easily quelled the successive insurrections in La Vendee, Lyons, Marseilles, Toulon, and various other places and provinces of France; though there can be no doubt but that the discontented would, if united, as easily have overwhelmed the city of Paris."

Supposing this difficulty about ascertaining the will of the majority to be removed, there would remain a strong objection to the principle itself. He allows, for argumentation, the right of the majority of a nation to change the constitution from monarchy to a republic, or its religion from Christianity to Paganism: but it does not follow that the majority has any right to legislate for the minority. Such a change as is above stated, he contends, would amount to a dissolution of the compact on which

* New Constitution of France, by Condorcet, &c.

† Fergus. Rom. Repub. book iii. chap. 7. and passim.

the society of such a nation was originally founded. His sentiments on this head are thus expressed :

‘ Admitting that the majority have a right to legislate for themselves, they have no right to legislate for others. An appeal to reason or equity is futile; for what appears to one man very reasonable, may to another seem perfect nonsense, or pernicious sophistry. But in these cases, reason is always neglected, and force or fraud must determine the dispute. The former society being dissolved, all rights of pre-occupancy are superseded; for one party has as good a claim as the other; and they are virtually in the situation of two independent tribes or nations, landing at the same moment on an unsettled country. If they cannot agree to divide it, one must expel the other. It is a legitimate cause of war, in which neither party can assume a right to treat the other as rebels or traitors. If the victors in such a contest deny the vanquished the liberty of withdrawing themselves, their families, and property, from the disputed territory, and settling themselves elsewhere, they violate every principle of justice and humanity.

‘ That a part of a nation, whether they form a majority or not, may be justified in endeavouring to obtain an alteration in the established constitution, and even in committing, if necessary, the justice of their cause to the decision of the God of battles, I do not deny. But be it remembered, no slight motives can justify them; for they in fact dissolve the social bond, and renounce the parent that gave them birth. Whereas they who support the established constitution, can in hardly any case deserve

blame. The sincerity of that man, who, when advanced in years, changes his religion, has always been held suspicious; for similar reasons, if a man should at once renounce the established constitution of his country, and adopt one of an opposite nature, we may reasonably suspect him to be actuated by passion, or selfish interest. At least, if, instead of appealing to the sword, such men choose to try their cause at the bar of reason, the *onus probandi* lies solely on them: their opponents have only to urge that they still prefer the constitution and religion in which they were bred. If such a cause were to be tried by Minos himself, surely the majority must be infinitely great on the side of the innovators, or he would decree that it is for them to seek some foreign settlement, and there try what success will attend their new adopted situations.

In chapter IV. the writer adverts to the abuses that have followed closely on the heels of the French principles, and which (he observes) some politicians have endeavoured to excuse, by alluding to the gross ignorance of the people; to which, and not to the doctrines, they ascribe the excesses that have disgraced France. Mr. M. lays the blame on those who promulgated doctrines which it was not possible that the people should truly understand, because they could not comprehend the niceties of metaphysical definitions.

He next examines the opinion ‘ that the most unlimited freedom of the press is essential to the acquirement and preservation of freedom;’ and he says that, if by this be meant that freedom cannot exist, unless all kinds of doctrines are without

without restraint promulgated among all ranks of society, experience has proved the maxim to be false. Calling history to his aid, he thus argues :

‘ The republics of ancient Greece were undoubtedly free ; many carried freedom to excess ; yet the art of printing being then unknown, the communication of knowledge was necessarily confined to a few. Books were scarce and excessively dear, therefore beyond the reach of the multitude : and in matters of religion, the most jealous and cruel inquisition was exercised over writers and teachers. The Swiss Cantons acquired their freedom at a period, when probably not one in a thousand could read or write ; they have continued to preserve it for centuries (many of the Cantons in the form of a pure democracy), without the aid of newspapers and political pamphlets, which their poverty banishes much more effectually than any law could do. In our own country, almost in our own times, freedom triumphed over monarchical prerogative, both in the æra of Charles I. and James II. Yet from the former to the latter period, the communication of political knowledge was much confined by the disinclination or inability of the people to read. It is said, that now corruption and mismanagement are in the extreme, and we are directed to restore the constitution to its former purity ; a good one, therefore, could subsist without this general diffusion of political knowledge, which, if it has not produced, at least has not prevented the progress of corruption.’

He then goes on to animadvert on the advice given by those who

desire that the public may not be alarmed at the want of restraint on the press, for that truth and virtue will always preponderate. The following observations on this head are just and forcible :

‘ Let parents and tutors answer for the youth under their care ; let us, if possible, rise above our own vices, and answer for ourselves. Have we not experienced, that the exhortation of the divine, the lecture of the moralist, though aided by the dictates of our own conscience, form but an insufficient barrier against the suggestions of passion, and the corruption which artful sophistry, flattering inclinations which we are secretly ashamed of, pours into the heart ? In the declining age of Greece and Rome, did the doctrines of Zeno or Epicurus make the greater number of proselytes ? In both nations there was no want of men, who by their writings, even by the examples of their lives and actions, endeavoured to uphold the cause of virtue ; yet they scarcely retarded, they did not prevent, the rapid progress of vice, which pursued its triumphant course, until it expired in the ruins of a corrupted people.’

Having combated the opinions of others respecting the licentiousness of the press, he thus delivers his own :

‘ The licentiousness of the press, such as is now permitted, is incompatible with national prosperity ; it requires to be regulated ; but to ascertain the line which separates excess of liberty from improper restraint, and to determine where the power of enforcing the law should be placed, is a task which requires, if it does not ex-

ceed,

need, the greatest abilities. Thus much, however, may be established as certain; it is better that many things should be concealed which might be communicated, than that even a few should be communicated which ought to be withheld. It is absolutely necessary to take every precaution against this dangerous class of men. The eloquence of a writer is as powerful as that of an orator, is more extensive in its effects, and full as likely to be made an engine to introduce despotism into the bosom of liberty.

The 5th chapter of this work treats of *luxury*; by which term the author means that excessive appetite for enjoyment of any kind, mental or corporeal, active or passive, which leads a man to neglect his duties, and to injure himself or others, in order to obtain the object of his desire. Mr. M. unequivocally denies that luxury, which is a vice in those who are addicted to it, is productive of good to others; and—hear it, ye financiers, who look to luxury for the chief source of revenue; hear it, ye manufacturers, who are engaged in those branches by which luxury is fed, and the kingdom, it is said, is enriched!—he maintains that ‘*no national advantage whatever can justly be ascribed to luxury.*’

Chapter VI. contains a dissertation on the law of Primogeniture; which Mr. M. seems to consider as unjust, but which he would not venture to abolish, because he thinks the abolition would be attended with some collateral injurious circumstances, more than counterbalancing the good that might be expected from it. An equal right of inheritance would

tend, in his opinion, to support that natural noblesse, without which all legal institutions would soon be abolished, or become nugatory; more members of opulent families would marry, and fewer families would become extinct.

He then proceeds to shew that the accumulation of landed property might arrive at a most pernicious excess, without the operation of the law of primogeniture. ‘To abelish this law (says he) would not therefore ensure the removal of the evil, while the most preponderating genius could not pretend to foresee the probable consequences of a sudden and violent abrogation of a custom that has grown with our growth, and strengthened with our strength, and actually pervades, like a vital principle, the whole system of our jurisprudence, legislation, and manners.’

In chapter VII. Mr. M. enters at large into the discussion of the much agitated question, which ought most to be encouraged, “great or small farms?” and on this subject he displays much knowledge and ability; but we cannot pretend to give a summary of his different arguments, the matter branching out into a great variety of collateral considerations, such as poor’s rates, new enclosures, &c. In the agitation of this important question, he has principally in his eye Mr. Arthur Young’s System of Agriculture, which he in many instances strongly condemns.

Chapter VIII. treats of the Game laws. However they might have been originally introduced, Mr. M. is of opinion that in some countries in Europe they are oppressive, and perhaps absurd in England;

England : but he does not allow, with modern reformers, ' that every one should have a right to kill game wherever he can find it.'

After all, Mr. M. recommends a material alteration in the whole system of game laws, and thinks it would be better for the public that game should be made private property.

From game the author proceeds to the consideration of the tithe laws. He pronounces the opinion to be ill-founded, which states tithes to be a heavy burthen on the farmer; whose situation would, according to him, be precisely the same, whether a tenth, a fifth, or a twentieth of the produce of the land were levied for the support of the clergy. He contends that this tax falls solely on the landlord, who is obliged to let his land proportionably lower on account of the tithes.—He, however, admits the tax to be impolitic, for this plain reason, that it is a continually varying one, on the produce of skill and labour, and on the uncertain bounty of nature; and consequently that it is always galling and vexatious.

Chapter I. of Book II. opens with the important questions; whether there ought to be allowed, in a state, a distinction of orders among its citizens; and which form of government is preferable, a monarchical or a republican. For his arguments on these topics we must refer to the chapter itself, which contains much sound sense and able reasoning. We shall content ourselves with stating, that he is decidedly for the existence of a body of nobility; without which, he maintains, there would be an

infinitely greater distance than with it, between the rich and the poor; he insists that population is increased by an institution which contributes to render marriages more frequent in the higher classes of society; because, wherever birth, without any other recommendation, is a passport into society, celibacy will be less frequent; that it checks the rage of appearance, the vanity of shew, and removes one great temptation to expence, the chief cause of venality; that it brings forwards to public life that description of men by whom the nation has the best chance of being served; that it renders manners more amiable and sociable; and finally, that almost all the objections which are urged against the institution of nobility, may be equally if not more justly urged against wealth; the abolition of which would convulse and destroy society.

The discussion of this subject, together with that of the form of government, is carried on through the first five chapters of the second book, and branches out into a very long, interesting, and ingenious dissertation respecting a standing army; for which Mr. M. is a strenuous advocate. He does not argue for a standing army as a mere machine of government, calculated to enable the crown to enforce measures dangerous to or incompatible with a free constitution,—but, for a standing army modelled on principles that would make it a guardian and firm support of the constitutional liberty of the subject; a body so organized and officered as that, though the crown might at all times look for its co-operation in all constitutional pursuits,

it would be the last part of the community from which the government would dare to ask for or expect assistance, when the service in which it was to be employed would be attended with injury or even danger to the liberty of the country.

Mr. Michell suggests several improvements respecting the age at which gentlemen should be allowed to sit in parliament. At 21 he thinks a man cannot be properly qualified for the important duties of a legislator; and therefore he is of opinion that he ought not to be eligible by law for a seat in the legislature, before he has attained the age of 30 years.

In chapter VI. Mr. M. speaks of the qualification of electors; and, instead of extending the right of suffrage to every male of the age of 21, he contends most strenuously for withholding it from all those who possess not fixed property, but who are altogether dependent for their subsistence on the wages of their daily labour; and he maintains that, without this restriction, it is impossible that the constitution should be secure.

Mr. M. would disfranchise only the populace, and would communicate the right of voting to all above that class, with the double view of preventing an aristocratic tyranny, and spreading as widely as possible an interest in the public welfare. 'To mark the line of discrimination is the business (says he), of a legislator occupied in framing a particular constitution, and must be adapted to the manners of each particular people. It belongs to him also to ascertain what are the offices which may be rendered

elective, and to what in a monarchy the prince, in a republic the senate, should nominate.'

The question of suffrage naturally leads to that of representation. The author gives an historical account of the manner in which it was introduced into our constitution, and then observes that the idea of it became at last so cherished by the people, that representation was with them a synonymous term for liberty; so that those who were not represented were considered as not free. Mr. M. insists that this opinion is founded in error; or that it must be admitted that women, minors, and foreigners, residing among us are slaves; for they are not represented by any one deputed by them to appear and act for them.

He concludes the chapter with some very handsome compliments to the British House of Commons; from which, he says, constituted as it always has been, the nation has derived great happiness, wealth, and glory.

The VIIth chapter treats of a monarchical and a republican form of government, and gives to the former a decided preference.

In chapter VIII. he treats of the nature and extent of power that ought to be trusted to the king. He remarks that, if a sovereign does not possess sufficient legal power to enforce a vigorous and effective government, he must obtain it through influence, or anarchy will ensue.

In chapter IX. he investigates the origin, progress, and decay of absolute power in France; and this discussion leads him to search for the foundation of British freedom,

dom, and the causes of the real danger that threatens our constitution.

In the beginning of the Xth and last chapter, our author is impartial enough to acknowledge that, though the British constitution be in its nature calculated to preserve the fabric of liberty in this country, it does not follow that any other state would to a certainty act wisely in adopting it. 'The blessing of freedom, (he says), depends chiefly on the manners of a people; its existence therefore is compatible with almost every form of government; and perhaps it will be found that every community, far advanced in civilization, or long established, contains within itself such remnants of past, or such seeds of future freedom, in customs and prejudices, which have crept in by degrees, that an enlightened patriotic legislator will always adopt the maxim of Tacitus—the secret of fitting up a new state consists in retaining the image of the old.' Observing, next, that the British parliament is the only senate that ever was able to restrain the power of kings, without annihilating monarchy, and to effect this restraint without tumult or violence, he says, 'it is worth while to discover, if possible, what in reality are those peculiarities in its construction, to which we ought to ascribe its peculiar excellencies.' This investigation forms the principal subject of the Xth chapter, which touches on too great a variety of objects to be particularized by us. Some remarks, however, made by Mr. M. we cannot refrain from inserting here, as containing new ideas on subjects already so trite, that it

might have been thought that nothing new could be said on them.

It has been a favourite measure with reformers, to counteract the venality of rotten boroughs, either by admitting the inhabitants of the neighbouring hundreds to a right of voting equally with the burgesses, or persons holding by burgage tenure, or by entirely disfranchising those boroughs, and granting to populous towns the right not now enjoyed by them, of sending members to parliament. Neither of these remedies would, in his opinion, remove the evil; for the venality, taking its rise from the corrupt manners of the people, cannot be remedied by a transfer of the franchise from one set of electors to another, 'as both would most certainly act in the same manner.' The expences attending elections, he says, are such, that gentlemen of moderate landed property are almost excluded from the House of Commons; and such land-owners as do take seats it is are possessed of estates so very large, as to be candidates for a peerage, and therefore are more open to corruption than men of moderate incomes. The number of merchants admitted into the House of Commons he also considers as highly dangerous to the constitution; assuming it as a maxim, that they attend more to their private interest than to the public weal. He also objects, in the following terms, to the admission of a great number of lawyers into the house.

'Lawyers must be bad legislators, unless to professional skill they join a mass of general knowledge. This cannot be expected in men whose time, from their youth up-

wards,

wards, has been totally absorbed in the studies and practice of their profession, and this must be the case with all eminent lawyers, who alone can afford a seat in parliament. But if we also consider, that of late years the highest honours and the most lucrative offices of state, are prizes which every lawyer, who can join parliamentary consequence to professional eminence, is sure to obtain; we cannot be surprized if lawyers have, in general, proved themselves the most zealous partisans of faction, the most subservient tools of government.*

The constitution is also in danger, he says, from the admission of too many military men; since such members, in his opinion, for the most part consider their seat in parliament as a step subservient to, perhaps necessary for, their professional advancement, and therefore betray their duties as senators. He then adds the following observation:

‘If, in addition to this change in the character of the members, we also take into consideration the great increase of power that the senate has necessarily arrogated to itself, since the crown was rendered entirely dependent on its good will; when we recollect that excessive power corrupts the best dispositions; that the actual exercise of what the House of Commons possess, is incompatible with a mo-

narchical government; and that this defect in the constitution can be palliated only by the general venality of individuals; we need not be at a loss to account for the degeneracy of parliament*.’

Hence it is evident that our author is an advocate for reform, but on principles very different from those on which reform has hitherto been defended: he would first reform the manners of the electors, as the best means of securing political integrity in the elected: he would then introduce a greater portion of the landed interest into parliament, and considerably lessen the number of professional men and merchants who should be admitted to sit in it; and he would extend the power of the crown, at the same time that he would diminish that of the House of Commons, by making the prince less dependent on it:—but it is not the lower house alone, according to Mr. M. that calls for reform; the House of Lords, in his opinion, stands in as much need of it.

‘A moment’s reflection (says he) will serve to convince us, that the political power vested in the lords, enables them to perform but a small part of what is required of them; and unless this power, their titles of honour, and their *insignia* of rank, are united to great personal authority, derived from ample hereditary possessions, and to the respect which is always paid to

* ‘Those who are advocates for the present system of government, yet allow that it is supported by influence, seem not aware that their arguments lead to an absurdity. The power of influencing a preponderating part of the people vested in the crown, is nugatory, unless there is also a disposition in the people to be influenced. Such a disposition implies a proportional annihilation of political integrity. But where political integrity is in general extinct, the nation must decline.’

honourable birth, their power would be nugatory, their *insignia* ridiculous. Luxury, that bane to national prosperity, by causing the extinction of old families, incurably vitiates, to a certain degree, the constitution of the house of lords. A new-created peer will never be respected as much as one who derives his honours from a long line of ancestors. This evil would not, however, be very considerable, if the vacancies were supplied as they ought to be; but of late years, instead of selecting those commoners who are most distinguished by their family and fortune, peerages have been lavished on professional men, often of the most obscure birth, and who sometimes have not even attained an independence, but are compelled still to follow their professions, or trust to places and pensions for a maintenance. This practice partly arises from the indolence and effeminate frivolity of those who are born to opulence, and who desert the service of the public, or at least consider it as subordinate to their pleasures and amusements; they therefore not only have no claims to any recompense from government, but, from the degradation of their personal character, are of little importance in the eye of the minister. It proceeds, however, still more from the necessity the minister lies under, of attaching to himself as many men of professional eminence as possible, who, knowing their own importance, make their own terms; and also of securing a devoted majority in the upper as well as in the lower house.

It behoves all parties at present to recollect themselves. Power, such as is vested in an English

peer, can safely be entrusted only to one who is altogether independent of the smiles of the prince, or the minister, as to his fortune; and if the house of lords is, as it always has been esteemed, the firmest support to royalty, and a necessary refuge to the constitution against the fickleness and violence of the people, it is the interest both of the people and of the crown to unite, as formerly, political power and honorary splendour to hereditary opulence and personal authority. Whatever may be his abilities and merits, however splendid his services, a new man (*novus homo*), particularly if he has his fortune to make, is not competent to fulfil all that is required of a peer.'

Then, criticising the famous passage in Goldsmith,

"Princes and peers may flourish
or may fade,
A breath can make them, as a
breath has made;
But a bold peasantry, their coun-
try's pride,
When once destroy'd, can never
be supplied:"

he says—The sentiment is false, for it would be still more difficult to re-establish a peerage than a peasantry; and he is certainly right, if it be true that hereditary nobles are useful inasmuch as they are venerated by the public, and that antiquity of descent is one of the causes, if not the principal one, of the veneration in which they are held by the people. He then proceeds to shew that, notwithstanding the many additions made to the list of peers, the power of the aristocracy is rather on the wane, and that

that the influence of the democracy has long been gaining ground in our constitution. He insists that the monarchy, deprived as it is of the legal power necessary to its defence, cannot maintain itself without influence: but at the same time he admits that a government of influence is baneful in its nature; and that the resources of no state whatever can for a continuance support it: he is therefore an advocate for a reform, though, as we have already said, on principles different from any yet recommended to the public.

' Unless (says he) a radical amelioration of legislative policy takes place, anarchy will triumph, or despotism will crush every remnant of liberty. This horrid alternative can be prevented only by active and strenuous exertions of the advocates for order and rational freedom. Whoever values his property and his honours, must owe their preservation to himself: he can no longer enjoy them in indolence under the protection of laws, or a constitution, for which the contending parties feel no reverence, which the one endeavours to destroy, and the other to abuse.'

A great blessing attending our government, he observes, is, that we need not disorganize in order to regenerate; and that a complete reformation may be obtained by adhering to the spirit, without departing from the forms, of our present constitution:—but, in order to proceed with effect, he thinks the legislature ought to begin in time. To those who have property, and to those who have hitherto possessed a kind of monopoly of places, he gives very wholesome advice in the following words:

' The rich would do well to imitate the fabled policy of the beaver, who is said to bite off the patt for

which the hunters pursue him; and submits to be maimed in order to save his life. The upper rank cannot long retain an exclusive right to the lucrative offices of the state. The greedy multitude will at first insist on having a share; they will then take the whole, and the private possessions of the rich will soon follow. Before it is too late, all salaries and profits arising from offices of state should be infinitely reduced, and neither the populace nor their leaders will then be very keen in the pursuit of barren honour and unprofitable labour.'

After the last chapter, are given 101 pages of notes, illustrating various propositions laid down in the body of the work; to which is subjoined an Appendix of 31 pages, containing many very judicious observations on agriculture, enclosures, &c.

Such is the outline of a work, which, we are convinced, cannot be read without benefit by any class or description of thinking men. It contains undoubtedly much that will be condemned, or at least disputed, by many, on the subjects of the army, militia, religion, garrisons, royal prerogative, commerce, and reform: but the parts which may be condemned by some, will be infinitely overbalanced by those that must be praised by all.

The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester, compiled from the best and most ancient Historians, &c. Including also, Mr. Burton's Description of the County, published in 1622; and the later Collections of Mr. Stewkley, Mr. Carte, Mr. Peck, and Sir Thomas Cave. By John Nichols, F. S. A. Edinburgh and Perth. In 4 vols. folio.

Vol. 1. Part 1. Containing Introductory

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duffory Records, Illustrations, &c. and the Early History of the Town of Leicester.

Vol. 2. Part 1. Containing Framland Hundred.

Common Paper, 5l. 5s. Royal Paper, 7l. 7s. boards. Nichols. 1796.

WE cannot sufficiently admire or applaud the extraordinary perseverance and assiduity of research which our estimable author must have bestowed on so dry but useful a publication as the one now before us.

We have no hesitation in placing the history of Leicestershire at the head of all the county histories which have yet appeared, for extent of information and minuteness of investigation, and though from its bulk and locality, its merit is not likely to be sufficiently appreciated by the present generation, yet posterity will consider it as an invaluable legacy, and be grateful to its disinterested author for so complete a collection of ancient records, authentic documents, and original information.

The introductory volume begins with an account of Leicestershire extracted from Domesday book, with a translation. It is succeeded by a curious and valuable dissertation on Domesday book, closed by a tabulary description of Leicestershire as it was in the time of William the Conqueror. Then follows an essay on the Mint at Leicestershire, with views of coins. The names and arms of knights of the county of Leicester who served under Edward I. are next given, with other lists of persons who bore honours, &c. A copy of the Testa de Neville, as far as it relates to this county, a matriculus of the churches of the archdeaconry of

Leicester in 1220, a rotula of the churches of Leicestershire in 1344, and other tables relating to ecclesiastical matters, come next. These are followed by a variety of papers, containing taxations, lists of freeholders, knight's fees, tenants *in capite*, &c. &c. Mr. Leman's treatise on the Roman roads and stations in Leicestershire, with additional observations by the bishop of Cork, and remarks on Roman roads by other writers, together with a learned essay on a Roman milliary found near Leicester, by the Rev. George Ashby, form the succeeding set of papers. The rivers and navigations of Leicestershire are the subject of the next article, chiefly consisting of copies of the acts obtained for the purposes of navigation, mostly of very late date. Dr. Pulteney then contributes a catalogue of rarer plants found in the neighbourhood of Leicester, Loughborough, and in Charley forest, drawn up with the judgment and accuracy that might be expected from so able a botanist. The returns made to parliament of charitable donations within the county, fill a large number of succeeding pages. All the remainder of the volume is composed of the history and antiquities of the town of Leicester, with a series of its bishops, of the kings, dukes, and earls of Mercia, and their successors, earls of Leicester. A great portion of this trenches deeply on the general history of England, in which the Montfort family, with others who bore the Leicester title, made so conspicuous a figure. The writer (an anonymous friend of Mr. Nichols) has also contrived to bring in the whole story of Thomas à Becket, who seems to be

be a favourite character with this memorialist, who certainly displays an intimate acquaintance with many nice historical points; though few, we imagine, will follow him through all his narrations and disquisitions, which are however little enlivened by the beauties of composition. An appendix of charters, deeds, and other legal papers, concludes this first part of the introductory volume.

The first part of the second volume, containing an account of Framland Hundred, is a specimen of what is to constitute the proper matter of the work. Every township in the hundred is separately treated in an alphabetical order. The author's general method is to give the name, situation, and contents of the district; then to trace all the owners of the manor and the landed property of the place, from the earliest records, down to the present time: with this are introduced genealogies of all the principal families, as well as anecdotes, biographical and literary, of all extraordinary persons connected, by birth or otherwise, with the township. Ecclesiastical matter comes next, such as notices of all religious and charitable foundations, account of the church-living, its nature and value, patrons, and incumbents; monumental inscriptions, extracts from the parish register, population, and bills of mortality at different periods, &c. Very few details of natural history or economical matter are to be found; and, indeed, little occurs for the amusement of a common reader, except the biographical relations, some of which are curious. The present volume, comprising Belvoir castle and Sta-

pleford, has a minute account of the noble families of Rutland and Harborough, the latter of which is peculiarly rich in genealogical illustrations, decorated with many fine engravings. Other distinguished families, and not a few men of letters and divines of note, are recorded in the course of the work. We shall present our reader with the transcript of one article, as a neat model of topographical description, unattended with antiquities. It is an account of the natural history of the parish of Little Dalby, communicated by professor Martyn.

'This lordship is remarkably hilly, being thrown about in small swellings in such a manner, that in the greater part of it, it is difficult to find a piece of flat ground. The largest portion of it is an ancient enclosure; and none of the inhabitants know when it took place. I thought at first to have discovered the date of it from the age of the trees in the hedge-rows; but none of them which I have had an opportunity of examining are more than about 120 years old; but if the enclosure went no further back than this, we should have learnt the date of it from tradition. I then searched the parish register, to find whether any depopulation had taken place since the time of Elizabeth; but could find none, and therefore concluded that the enclosure was at least as early as her reign. That there has been a depopulation I conclude, not only from the natural consequence of enclosing, but from the foundations of buildings which are discovered in the closes near the church.

'The whole lordship is in pasture,
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except here and there a small piece which the landlords permit the tenants to break up occasionally, when it becomes very mossy; but then this is laid down again usually at the end of three or four years. There are no woods; but there are some small plantations of oak, ash, and elm of no very long date. There is abundance of ash in the hedge-rows, and scarcely any other tree. The soil is a strong clay; there is no waste ground in the lordship; but it is not cultivated, in my opinion, to the best advantage. They depend chiefly on their dairies; they breed, however, very fine sheep, famous for the whiteness of their fleeces, which weigh from seven to nine pounds: they breed also fine horned cattle; but the lordship, in general, is not good feeding ground.

'This lordship is remarkable for having first made the best cheese perhaps in the world, commonly known by the name of Stilton cheese, from its having been originally bought up, and made known, by Cooper Thornhill, the landlord of the Bell inn at Stilton. It began to be made here by Mrs. Orton, about the year 1730, in small quantities; for at first it was supposed that it could only be made from the milk of the cows which fed in one close, now called Orton's close; but this was afterwards found to be an error. In 1736 it was made only by three persons, and that in small quantities; but it is now made, not only from one, but from almost every close in this parish, and in many of the neighbouring ones. It is well known that this sort of cheese is made in the shape, and of the size, of a collar of brawn. It is extremely

rich, because they mix among the new milk as much cream as it will bear. It requires much care and attendance; and, being in great request, it fetches 10d. a pound on the spot, and 1s. in the London market.

'There is no stone, gravel, or sand, in this lordship, except a little sand-stone on the side of Burrow-hills: it is mostly a strong blue clay; and in some parts of it is a good brick-earth. There is only one spring, and that a chalybeate; it lies high, in a close belonging to the vicar, known by the name of the Spring-close; it runs over a great part of the year, and discharges itself into the valley, where the village lies. Nobody ever attempted to sink for a well in this parish, till, in the winter of 1777 and 1778, Edward Wigley Hartop, Esq. dug and succeeded. He penetrated through a bed of stiff blue clay; and at the depth of 66 feet the water gushed in, when, I apprehend, the workmen were coming to the limestone rock, by their having thrown out some fragments of blue stone. To the depth of 10 feet were frequent nodules of chalk; at that depth the clay was full of small selenites. At 30 feet deep the clay was found to be full of peccens, and other shells very perfect, but extremely tender. Nodules of *Lodus beknontii* were interspersed; ammonites of different species in great quantities, gryphites, and other shells; and plates of a clear foliaceous mica, resembling Muscovy glass. I am informed that the water did not prove good, and that little or no use is made of this well.

'I have not found any natural productions, either animal, vegetable,

table, or fossil, but what are common in other places. There is neither wood nor waste ground in the parish; and we know, that where man has completely subdued the soil to his own use, he permits nothing to feed or prosper, but what is serviceable to his private interest.

‘The air here is dry and healthy; fogs are not frequent, and clear off early when they happen. The inhabitants are happy, and many of them live to a good old age.

‘Their fuel here is pitcoal, which they have chiefly brought from Derbyshire and some from lord Middleton’s coal-pits near Nottingham. The carriage being heavy, and the roads bad, it used to cost them 15d. or 16d. per hundred weight: but, since the navigation has been completed to Loughborough, they get it for 10d. or 11d. per hundred.

‘No great road leads through the parish; but the turnpike road from Oakham to Melton passes within a mile by Leesthorp, and they come upon it in going to Melton, at about the same distance before they come to Burton.

‘There is not any river that runs through the parish, or comes near it; and only one inconsiderable brook, which is sometimes dry. This joins another, more considerable, that comes from Somerby by Leesthorp, and both, proceeding jointly by Burton Lazars, fall into the river Eye, between Brentingby and Melton.

‘There is no papist in this parish, nor one dissenter of any denomination.

‘The parochial feast follows St. James; to whom the church is dedicated.

‘There have been no perambulations time immemorial.

‘The rent of the whole parish is 1422l. 5s.

‘The number of houses is 21; families 22; and inhabitants 123; three teams kept.

‘The land-tax at 4s. raises 164l. 14s. 2d.

‘Labourers have 1s. 2d. per day in summer, and 1s. in the winter; in harvest 1s. 6d. and their victuals. Land lets at 15s. an acre.

‘The nett expence of the poor in 1776 was 27l. 16s.

‘Medium of three years, 1783—1785, 45l. 8s. 4d.’

These volumes are illustrated by a very liberal provision of engravings, in which a view is given of every individual parish-church, as well as of seats, monuments, antiquities, and other remarkable objects. An appendix to the second volume contains a number of deeds, charters, and other papers relative to each hundred; which addition will doubtless be repeated in the future volumes.

Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Abbate Metastasio. In which are incorporated Translations of his principal Letters. By Charles Burney, Mus. D. F. R. S. 8vo. 3 Vols. 1796.

THE name of Metastasio has long been associated in every European metropolis with the exquisite pleasures of the noble, the opulent, and the polished. The euphony of his lines and the fitness of his sentiments have been impressed on our recollection, in concert with the most vivid and brilliant displays of all the arts of delight. Melodies of the most fascinating composers, assisted by punctual or-

chestras, by singers the most compassing and smooth toned, have concurred in winging the shafts of his song to our inmost sensibility. The painter's magnificent perspectives, the dazzling pageants of the decorator, the easy floating motions of groups of graceful dancers, and all the magic glories of realized mythology, have mingled at the theatre their influence with that of the poet, and have assisted in stirring up within us that luxurious irritation and tumult of feeling, which form the highest scope of the artist and the purest enjoyment of the connoisseur. Stript, however, of all these circumstances of effect, Metastasio has acquired a reputation for genius and abilities, which the philosopher who peruses his writings in the closet will not probably, hesitate to ratify. Yet how often does it happen that, removed from within the glare of theatric illumination, the god of the opera-house has withered into an ordinary man; and that the liquid language of the skies had lent an oracular solemnity to simple thoughts, or a bewitching harmony to insignificant insipidities? Be this, however, as it may, and even supposing that the literary character of Metastasio himself should be fated to suffer depreciation by time and revolutions in taste; should his dramatic writings even become a mere school-book for the learner of Italian;—yet he has resided so much at courts, and has been the darling of so many artists, that his life can never be an object of indifference to those whose gentle eye preferably fixes on those places and periods, in which the pleasures of man have been the chief occupation of his rulers; and in which

factions have confined their bloodless struggles to the establishment of a theory of music, and have never extended their proscriptions beyond the condemnation of a tragedy.

To the inherent fashion of the subject of these volumes, is super-added the stronger recommendation which they derive from the celebrity of the author. The historian of music is accustomed to convene and to satisfy an elegant audience; and, whether he touches the harp or the monochord, he displays a masterly hand. His materials have been industriously collected at Vienna and in Italy, and comprehend, besides the well-known biographies of Retzer and of Christini, many works of inferior note, as well as the posthumous edition of the poet's letters. The bulk of this publication consists indeed of a translation of those letters, connected by the requisite interstices of narrative; all which form a very amusing *whole*.

Metastasio was born at Rome in 1698, where his father had settled as a confectioner. At school he displayed early talents as an *improvisatore*, and before eleven years of age could sing extemporaneous verses. Gravina, the civilian, known by having written tragedies on the Greek model, heard, admired, and adopted the young bard; to whom he gave a literary education, getting him admitted to the bar, and to deacon's orders, that civil and ecclesiastical preferment might be alike open to him. When 22 years of age, Metastasio visited Naples, having inherited the property of Gravina, and attached himself as cicisbeo to the female singer Romanina. He there wrote an opera, which succeeded,

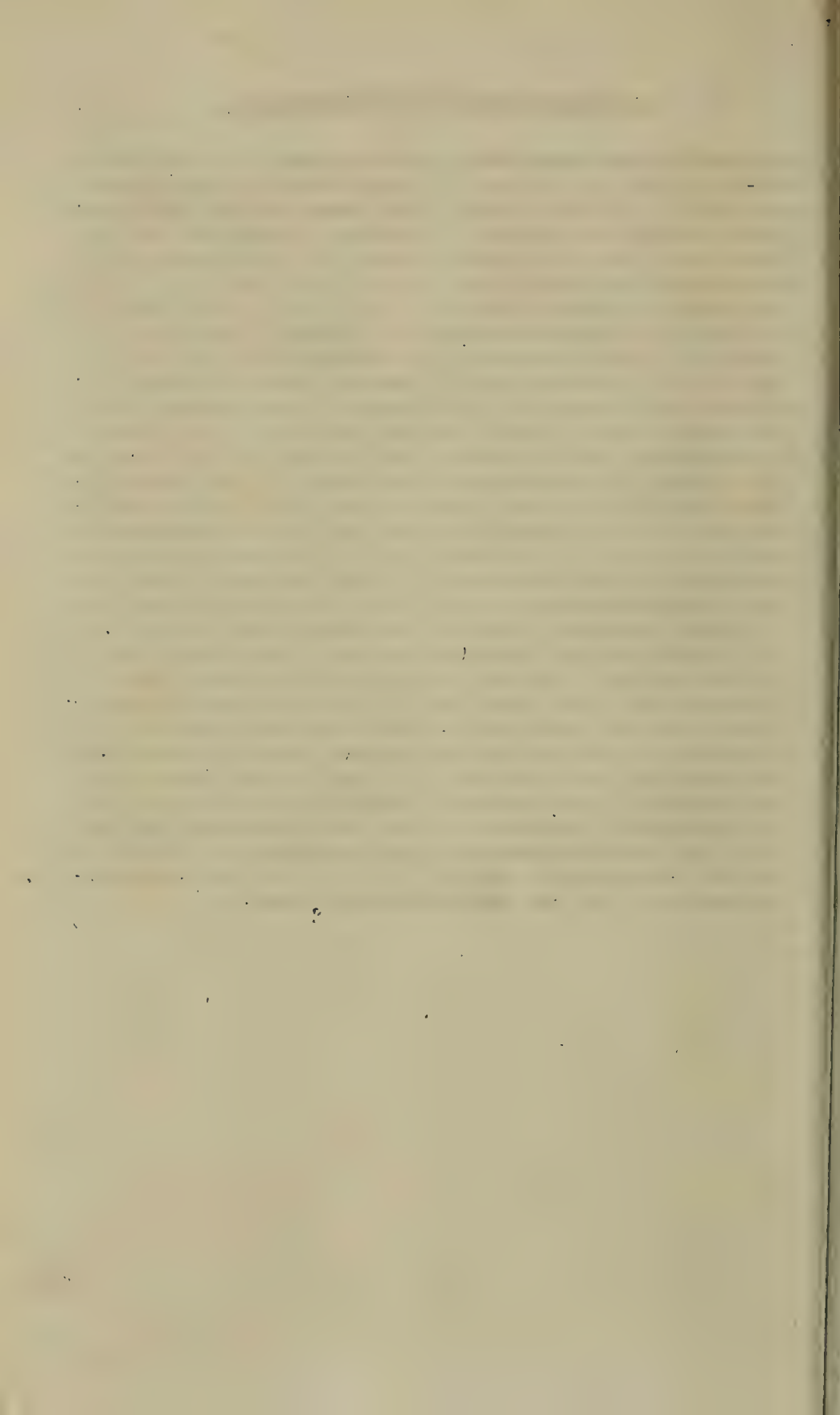
and

and from this time he applied wholly to theatric poetry. In 1729 he was invited to Vienna as the Imperial Laureate, and continued to furnish such dramas as his patron bespoke, until his death in 1782.

Dr. Burney well observes, that it is possible for a man of learning, study, and natural acumen, to be a good critic on the works of others, without genius for producing original works himself, similar to those which he is able to censure. The opinion of Metastasio, therefore, may have its weight even when he criticises the great opera-writers of antiquity : for the modern opera is the only faithful imitation of the ancient tragedy. From his practice it appears, however, that he entertained one fundamental error in theory, and had not discovered that, in the opera, the means of imitation being peculiarly apparent, the distress should be more harassing, and the crimes more atrocious, in order to excite an equal degree of tragic emotion with these representations which approach more nearly to real and common life. We had selected

some passages in order to give an idea of the spirit of his criticism : but, finding them too long for our insertion, we must refer our readers to the 3d vol. in which they occur, p. 356-379.

Let it not be a reproach to our estimable biographer, that he has described, with the voluminous gravity of history, a groupe of poets, singers, actors, and musicians. It is well that a work of this kind should make its appearance. We are scarcely accustomed as yet to assign, in human story, a place to each proportioned to the extent of his influence on human happiness. The crowned and the titled have their peculiarities immortalized, although they may have never added to the enjoyments of a nation ten evenings of glowing delight. The amusers of our leisure, the artists of our pleasures, may justly be ranked among the benefactors of society. Let it belong, then, to the muse of fame to elevate monuments over their remains, and to strew flowers on their grave, in token of our grateful remembrance!



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